

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 1 TO 12, INCLUSIVE

1934



JUDD & DETWEILER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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OFFICERS

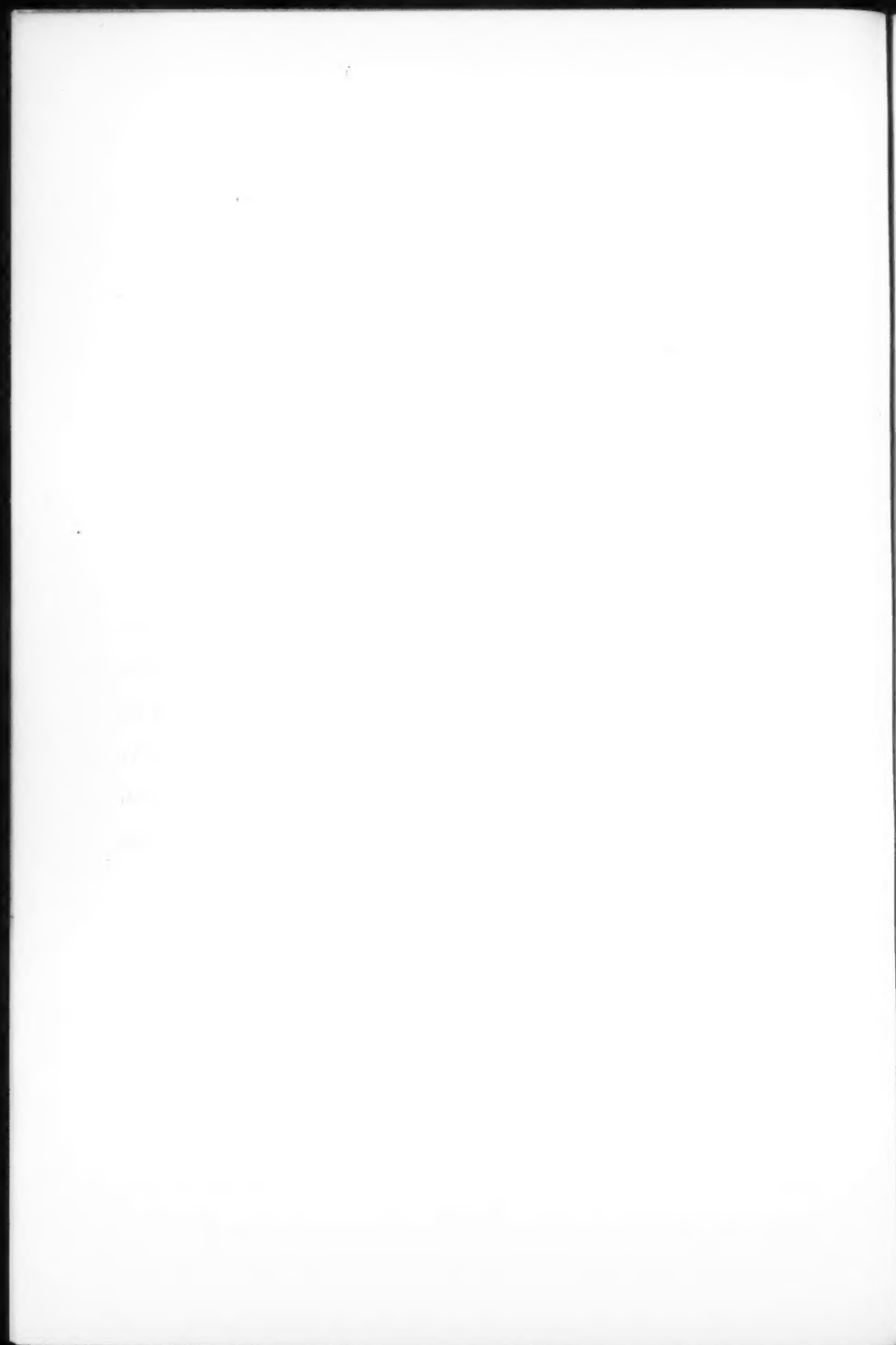
OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1935

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-fourth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	1	27	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, New York.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	7	Ragnar T. Freng, 967 Hillcraft Circle, Oakland, California.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	25	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
		46	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	J. Goldstone, 2401 Davidson Avenue, New York, New York.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	4	45	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Street, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		45	Henry Koch, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		79	James C. Shanessy, Barbers' Building, 12th and Delaware Streets, Indianapolis, Indiana
		79	Wm. C. Birthright, Barbers' Building, 12th and Delaware Streets, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	79	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Place, Rochester, New York.
		78	Charles T. Crane, 403 Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
		78	Anthony Merlino, 97 Dyer Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	14	C. C. Garnett, 1616 West 21st Street, Los Angeles, California.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		25	John Pelkofer, 2328 West Orchard Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	48	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		48	William E. Walter, 637 North 25th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		47	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		60	John B. Haggerty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	2	59	J. B. Prewitt, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	192	John J. Mars, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	85	Joseph Obergfell, Station E., Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		85	Albert J. Kugler, 56 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		85	Emil Muri, 340 Hobart Avenue, San Mateo, California.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America-----	4	115	Harry C. Bates, Bowen Building, 815-817 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		115	John J. Stretch, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		114	Wm. J. Moran, P. O. Box 677, El Paso, Texas.
		114	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Avenue, New York, New York.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United-----	1	14	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Second Floor, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association-----	4	40	W. J. McCain, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	Edward Ryan, 120 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		48	Jerry J. Horan, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees, International Union-----	4	48	Oscar F. Nelson, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		48	Gus Van Heck, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		47	Louis Alteire, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		138	Martin F. Ryan, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway-----	4	138	J. O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		137	L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery Street, Montreal Quebec, Canada.
		137	F. H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
		334	William L. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of-----	6	334	Frank Duffy, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		333	G. E. Warren, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		333	Dave Ryan, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		333	C. E. Risley, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Cigarmakers International Union of America-----	1	333	Bert P. Ward, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		70	I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
		67	Leo E. George, Room 300, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		67	Gilbert E. Hyatt, Room 304, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office-----	5	67	Carl T. Frisvold, P. O. Clerk, Ferry Station, San Francisco, California.
		66	Sol Cohen, 1242 Winnemac Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		66	John McCarthy, P. O. Clerk, Ferry Station, San Francisco, California.
		220	George M. Harrison, Room 701, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway-----	3	220	E. A. McMillan, 818 Pacific Building, San Francisco, California.
		220	J. I. Gilbert, 818 Pacific Building, San Francisco, California.
Clerks International Protective Association, Retail-----	2	29	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		29	W. G. Desepete, 2940-16th Street, Labor Temple, San Francisco, California.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
		139	Sidney Hillman, 15 Union Square, New York, New York.
		139	Joseph Schlossberg, 15 Union Square, New York, New York.
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated.....	6	139	Frank Rosenblum, 333 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		139	Jacob S. Potofsky, 15 Union Square, New York, New York.
		139	Gustave Strebel, 265 Grant Blvd., Syracuse, New York.
		138	August Bellanca, 15 Union Square, New York, New York.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	20	M. S. Warfield, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	25	James J. Doyle, 168 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	10	C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		284	Daniel W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	284	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		284	E. D. Bierzets, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		283	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	Frank Feeney, Room 1505, Fox Building, 1612 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		34	Harry Milton, 1835 20th Avenue, San Francisco, California.
		34	Thomas O'Brien, 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		70	John Possehl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	70	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		70	Joseph S. Fay, Room 1511, 578 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		70	O. W. Carter, 1908 East 45th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.
		70	William E. Maloney, Room 716, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	29	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 202 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		29	Matthew Woll, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York.
		28	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 South Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	99	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		98	A. J. Dooney, 1928 S. E. Forty-first Avenue, Portland, Oregon.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	34	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		34	John Clinton, Room 1304, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		33	John Conway, 56 Longfellow Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	1	20	Henry D. Dannenberg, 2908 Chippewa Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	1	20	Pietro Lucchi, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island, New York.
		74	T. A. Rickert, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
		74	I. W. Hashkins, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	74	A. Gordon, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.
		74	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		74	Mrs. D. A. Houck, 621 Bible House, New York City, New York.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
		250	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
		250	Louis E. Langer, 127 West 33rd Street, New York, New York.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies-----	6	250	Z. L. Freedman, 7 East 15th Street, New York, New York.
		250	Morris Bialis, Joint Board, 222 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		250	Israel Feinberg, Joint Board, 767 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
		250	Giacomo Dinola, 232 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada-----	2	30	James Maloney, Room 1801, P. S. F. S. Building, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		30	Walter Dunlap, 916 9th Avenue, Brockway, Pennsylvania.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint----	1	61	M. J. Gillooly, 200 American Bank Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Government Employees, American Federation of-----	2	42	E. C. Babcock, 704 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		41	John E. Hoffmaster, 21st and Johnston Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Quartermaster's Department).
		50	Michael F. Greene, 11 Tuxedo Parkway, Newark, New Jersey.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union-----	4	50	Max Zaritsky, 245 5th Avenue, Room 1810, New York, New York.
		49	Martin Lawlor, 245 5th Avenue, Room 1810, New York, New York.
		49	Nathaniel Spector, 31 West 37th Street, Millinery Workers' Union, New York, New York.
		89	Jos V. Moreshei, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International.	5	89	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		88	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
		88	J. B. Etchison, 230 East 9th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		88	A. C. D'Andrea, 822 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		76	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		76	Robert B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.	5	76	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
		75	Chris Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		75	Maurice C. Cohn, 180 West Randolph Street, 2nd Floor, Chicago, Illinois.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of-----	1	55	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal-----	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	George T. Moore, 5807 Cornelia Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		27	Chas. J. Case, 4 West 7th Street, Room 61, Leverone Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union----	2	27	Robert Roy Burt, 758a Church Street, San Francisco, California.
		26	Miss Anna J. Brown, 2329 Santa Clara Avenue, Office 4, Alameda, California.
		104	Edward J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		104	Michael T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of----	5	103	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		103	Luther E. Swartz, 1540 Pratt Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		103	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	29	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		29	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
		86	Joseph P. Ryan, Room 1210 County Trust Building, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	86	William Lewis, 113 Stuart Street, San Francisco, California.
		86	A. H. Peterson, 130 5th Street, San Pedro, California.
		85	W. T. Morris, 3119 Arcade Building, Seattle, Washington.
		137	Arthur O. Wharton, Room 703, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		137	W. F. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	137	Charles Fry, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		137	N. P. Alifas, Room 303, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
		136	R. A. Henning, Rooms 203-204, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		136	Dan P. Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
		78	F. H. Fljoodal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of.....	4	78	T. J. Finneran, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		78	J. J. Farnan, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		78	Elmer E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	28	William McCarthy, Room 306, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	Joseph A. McInerney, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	20	George M. Fouratt, Room 21, Ferry Building, San Francisco, California.
		49	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	4	49	Dennis Lane, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		49	M. J. Kelly, 128 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		48	M. S. Maxwell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		40	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers, International Association, Sheet.....	4	40	James J. Ryan, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		40	William H. Wickman, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		40	James Close, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	2	57	A. E. Wilkerson, P. O. Box 81, Kellogg, Idaho.
		56	Victor F. Smith, Box 527, Warren, Arizona.
		375	John L. Lewis, 712 Tower Building, Washington, D. C.
		375	Philip Murray, 701 Tower Building, Washington, D. C.
		375	Thomas Kennedy, 724 Tower Building, Washington, D. C.
		375	William Green, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	375	John Boylan, 512 Miller Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
		375	Michael Hartneady, 305 Traders Bank Building, Hazelton, Pennsylvania.
		375	Mart F. Brennan, 508 Dime Trust and Safe Deposit Company Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania.
		375	P. T. Fagan, 408 Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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Molders' Union of North America, International.....	3	30 29 29	Lawrence O'Keefe, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. Stephen A. Miller, Route No. 3, Box 451, Indianapolis, Indiana. J. M. Myles, 57 Clinton Street, Guelph, Ontario, Canada.
Musicians, America Federation of.....	6	167 167 167 167	Joseph N. Weber, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York. Edward Canavan, care Local 802, A. F. of M., 1265 6th Avenue, New York, New York. Chauncey A. Weaver, Court House, Des Moines, Iowa. Chas. Leland Bagley, 720 Washington Building, 311 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	3	42 42 41	Vincent Castronova, care Local 198, A. F. of M., 37 Weybosset Street, Providence, Rhode Island. Otto J. Kapl, 2200 East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Harvey C. Fremming, 1130 Barr Building, Washington, D. C. John L. Coulter, 1130 Barr Building, Washington, D. C.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	5	116 116 116 115 115	Ethel B. Daniel, 1300 18th Street, Bakersfield, California. L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana. Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana. Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. James L. Meehan, 54 Olive Avenue, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	58 57	Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey. Matthew J. Burns, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York. Frank P. Barry, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of.....	1	20 45	Edward I. Hannah, 819 3rd Avenue, New York, New York. Michael J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative....	4	45 45 45 90	John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Walter Redmond, 3635 Castalia Avenue, Los Angeles, California. John H. Donlin, 5145 West Cermak Road, Cicero, Illinois. John Coefield, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	90 90 90 90	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C. Charles M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois. Charles Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. William Fallon, 583 Summit Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	1	35	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	40 39	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio. James McGowan, Cadmus Street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	12	Maurice McAuliffe, 726 Rock Creek Church Road, Washington, D. C.

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Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	64	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		64	Wm. H. McHugh, 184 Bookwalter Building, Springfield, Ohio.
		64	Edward F. McGrady, Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.
		64	Daniel Murphy, 415 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, California.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	64	George Spooner, 630 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, California.
		35	John P. Burke, Drawer B, Fort Edward, New York.
		34	Herbert W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
		140	W. D. Mahon, 4464 Seminole Street, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	140	John A. McConnell, 1130 Industrial Trust Building, Providence, Rhode Island.
		140	Arthur Appleton, 86 Barrows Avenue, Ruth-erford, New Jersey.
		140	John F. O'Brien, 64 Belmont Street, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		140	John C. Carey, 320 Kimball Building, Boston, Massachusetts.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	64	William M. Collins, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		64	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Build- ing, Washington, D. C.
		64	Hugh Sparks, 1239 42d Avenue, San Fran- cisco, California.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Com- position.....	2	20	George W. Jones, 404 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
		20	J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleve- land Heights, Ohio.
		25	Andrew Furuseth, 59 Clay Street, San Fran- cisco, California.
Seamen's Union of America, International..	2	25	Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
Sheep Shearers' Union of North America..	1	8	A. A. Evans, Box 1992, Butte, Montana.
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	60	Geo. E. Browne, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		60	Fred J. Dempsey, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		60	Thomas V. Green, 703 Sanford Avenue, Newark, N. J.
		60	Thomas E. Maloy, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	40	Leon De Veze, 89 West 33d Street, Bayonne, New Jersey.
		40	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	28	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		28	P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	15	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	37	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		36	Paul M. Carter, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen....	1	26	Wm. Remick, 7915 Clyde Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		29	Raymond F. Lowry, 219 15th Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	3	28	Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		28	John Harold Swan, 2314 V Street, Sacra- mento, California.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
		160	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		159	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	159	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		159	L. G. Goudie, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		159	John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.
		159	J. J. McKenna, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
		175	G. E. Leighty, Rhame, North Dakota.
Telegraphers Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	20	Percy Thomas, 222 Hearst Building, San Francisco, California.
		129	Thomas F. McMahon, 605 Bible House, New York, New York.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	3	129	Francis J. Gorman, 605 Bible House, New York, New York.
		129	Alexander McKeown, 3332 B Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		42	E. Lewis Evans, Income Life Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Tobacco Workers International Union.....	2	41	J. E. Lentie, Murphy's Hotel, Richmond, Virginia.
		122	Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		122	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		122	William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	122	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan.
		122	John Simons, 423 West 120th Street, New York, New York.
		121	Jack Gill, 1559 East 17th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	33	James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
		32	George V. Fay, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	6	Alfred H. Billet, 108 South Richland Avenue, York, Pennsylvania.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	Michael J. McDonough, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. W. Hoch, Room 173, City Hall, Los Angeles, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John E. Gross, 323-325 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Sid Tiller, 713 Glenn Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	August Rosqvist, Box 249, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, United Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, Suite 428, Iowa Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert J. Watt, Room 404, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jesse L. Rogers, 1400 Woodland Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Room 17, Montana Building, Helena, Montana.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, 627 West 9th Street, Reno, Nevada.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Louis Mastriani, 9 Shepherd Place, Arlington, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Meany, Room 301, 265 West 14th Street, New York City.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben T. Osborne, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John A. Phillips, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Alfred Bailey, 928 Missouri Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. I. Thompson, 24 South 4th East Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Washington State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James A. Taylor, 108 Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor..	1	1	John B. Easton, Daniel Boone Hotel, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Paul O'Brien, P. O. Box 892, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Redmond Burr, 320 South 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charlie H. Gresty, 820 South Summitt Street, P. O. Box 32, Arkansas City, Kansas.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	A. Steve Nance, 713 Glenn Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John G. Hirschfeldt, Room 32, Boardwalk Arcade, Tennessee Avenue and Boardwalk, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council.....	1	1	Wallace W. Watson, Bakersfield, California.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harvey A. McConaughy, 1722 Stewart Street, Berkeley, California.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	T. J. O'Brien, 47 North Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Boulder City, Nev., Central Labor Council..	1	1	D. W. Jackson, Auto Court, Boulder City, Nevada.
Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. W. Schwartz, P. O. Box 234, Bremerton, Washington.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Harry W. Joel, 204 Columbia Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	T. R. Cuthbert, 3611 South Terrace Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chester, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Walsh, 44 Main Street, Trainer, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles F. Willis, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress, Clinton and Lyons, Ia., and Fulton, Ill....	1	1	Geo. C. Campbell, 1309 Camanche Avenue, Clinton, Iowa.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Ray A. Gross, Box 1408, Denver, Colorado.
El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Council.....	1	1	James E. Restine, Box 1245, El Centro, California.
Elizabeth, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Robert R. McNroy, Middlebury Center, Pennsylvania.
Eureka, Calif., Federated Trades & Labor Council.....	1	1	Michael J. Burns, 1644 Summer Street, Eureka, California.
Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades Labor Council.....	1	1	Walter C. Brooks, 479 North Fresno Street, Fresno, California.
Hamilton, O., Co-Operative Trades & Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton Doll, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades & Labor Council.....	1	1	Humphrey Mitchell, M. P. 29 Houghton Avenue, South, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Henry De Witt, P. O. Box 706, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Charles A. Meyers, 6 Worthen Place, Haverhill, Massachusetts.
Houston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	G. E. Woods, Labor Temple, Houston, Texas.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Earl Eby, 535 East B Street, Hutchinson, Kansas.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 208 Holliday Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jerome, Ariz., Central Labor Council, Yavapai County.....	1	1	H. M. Watson, Jerome, Arizona.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades & Labor Council of Will County.....	1	1	Anthony Augustino, 305 Van Buren Street, Joliet, Illinois.
Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry L. Ames, 261 East Merchant Street, Kankakee, Illinois.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council.....	1	1	Ray England, 11116 East 10th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Steve Sumner, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Kilgore, Texas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. Carl Ellis, P. O. Box 911, Kilgore, Texas.
Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union....	1	1	A. L. Rice, Box 901, Klamath Falls, Oregon.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred J. Graham, 91 Larchwood Road, Methuen, Massachusetts.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union....	1	1	J. C. Coulter, 1231 Locust Avenue, Long Beach, California.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council..	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, 540 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council..	1	1	Jacob J. Friedrick, 536 West Juneau Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Edward P. Ringius, 614 First Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Modesto, Calif., Stanislaus Co. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	H. T. Pitner, P. O. Box 682, Modesto, California.
Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Chas. Farrell, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union....	1	1	E. J. Shave, 219 Mallory Avenue, Hampton, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater N. Y. and vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, Room 301, 265 West 14th Street, New York City.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Vernon S. Gornito, c/o Central Labor Union, 406 McKevett Building, Norfolk, Virginia.
Norristown, Pa., Central Labor Union of Montgomery County.....	1	1	Edwin F. Bale, 1322 Pine Street, Norristown, Pennsylvania.
Oakland, Calif., Central Labor Council of Alameda County.....	1	1	James H. Doyle, 433 28th Avenue, Oakland, California.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, Baltimore Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George B. Jackson, Box 1614, Orlando, Florida.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Assn.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Pasadena, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Louise R. Hooker, 2895 Sierra Grande Street, Pasadena, California.
Port Angeles, Wash., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Rollin Bowles, 705 East 4th Street, Port Angeles, Washington.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	George W. Townshend, care 612 Ryland Street, Reno, Nevada.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James R. Davison, 219 North Day Avenue, Rockford, Illinois.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. I. R. Marsh, Box 2, Labor Temple, Sacramento, California.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. L. Eggert, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. A. Wright, Labor Temple, San Diego, California.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. O'Connell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
San Jose, Calif., Central Labor Council....	1	1	F. G. Volkers, 72 North 2nd Street, San Jose, California.
San Pedro, Calif., Central Labor Council....	1	1	Cecil O. Johnson, 757 Santa Cruz Street, San Pedro, California.
Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union....	1	1	James Matthams, 313 West Victoria Street, Santa Barbara, California.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George Dorsey, 420 Service Street, Miller Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council....	1	1	George D. Early, care Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	T. W. Holmes, Box 1003, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Edwin Turnock, 1221 Campeon Street, South Bend, Indiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South 6th Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Reuben T. Wood, 1530 North Douglas Street, Springfield, Missouri.
Stockton, Calif., Central Labor Council....	1	1	R. E. Mercer, 1717 Berkeley Avenue, Stockton, California.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council....	1	1	C. M. Dahlager, 621 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, Washington.
Taft, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert G. Franklin, P. O. Box 594, Maricopa, California.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	W. P. Covert, 257 Brock Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Tucson, Ariz., Central Trades Council....	1	1	Sam Kontas, 121 East Tenth Street, Tucson, Arizona.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades and Labor Council....	1	1	Harry Schwartz, 1118 South Boston, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Jack Geraghty, 218 York Street, Vallejo, California.
Ventura, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. B. Jenkins, Ventura, California.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union....	1	1	David Glass, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	John T. Kmetz, Kosciuszko Street, Nanticoke, Pennsylvania.
Windsor, Ont., Can., Trades & Labor Council.....	1	1	George Lauder, 128 Crawford Avenue, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sam M. Smith, 611 South 14th Avenue, Yakima, Washington.
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union United, No. 18310, South Bend, Ind....	1	8	John Bartee, 1033½ Lincoln Way West, South Bend, Indiana.
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	13	Edward Stubbee, 13805 Rugby Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, No. 18512, Flint, Mich.....	1	16	Frank Johnson, 210 East Newall Street, Flint, Michigan.
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18785, Racine, Wis.....	1	9	Rudolph E. Anderson, care 1519 Winslow Street, Racine, Wisconsin.
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18525, Racine, Wis.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 19241, Racine, Wis.....			
Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19188, Racine Wis.....	1	3	Melverne P. Russell, 1129 Blaine Boulevard, Racine, Wisconsin.
Battery Workers Federal Labor Union, 18551, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	64	Wade Read, 3258 North Front Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Battery Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18588, Philadelphia, Pa.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18473, Philadelphia, Pa.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.....			
Radio and Television Workers, Local No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.....			
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12846, New York.....	1	3	Walter M. Cook, 174 State Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Brush Workers' Union No. 18919, Hartford, Conn.....	1	11	Francis X. Moore, 23 Oakwood Avenue, West, Hartford, Connecticut.
Electrical Device Workers' Union No. 18946, Hartford, Conn.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 19420, Hartford, Conn.....			
Heating Exchange Workers Union No. 19676, Hartford, Conn.....			
Horse Nail Workers No. 19590, Hartford, Conn.....			
Plastic Workers Union No. 18945, Hartford, Conn.....			
Sewing Machine Makers' Union No. 19541, Hartford, Conn.....			
Typewriter Workers' Union No. 18920, Hartford, Conn.....	1	1	Virgil S. Duyungan, care 417 Sixth Avenue, Seattle, Washington.
Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union No. 18257, Seattle, Wash.....			
Cannery Workers Union No. 18893, Oakland, Calif.....	1	1	J. B. Nathan, 1013 Chestnut Street, Oakland, California.
Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 18387, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	4	A. A. Townes, 1236 Waverly Street, Tarrant, Alabama.
Federal Labor Union No. 18373, Birmingham, Ala.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18388, Birmingham, Ala.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18718, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	2	C. E. Lowe, 221 F Street, Colma, California.
Cemetery Employees Union No. 10634, San Francisco, Calif.....			
Cereal Workers Union No. 19253, Great Falls, Mont.....	1	1	B. A. Gorman, 2017 2d Avenue, South, Great Falls, Montana.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union No. 17960, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Wm. Van Ohrmann, 118 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California.
Cleaners and Dyers' Union, Retail, No. 18182, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Maurice Fisher, 3868 24th Street, San Francisco, California.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Karl Maisus, Rooms 519-520, 799 Broadway, New York, New York.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18248, Oakland, Calif.....	1	1	Chris Wagner, Oakland, California.
Cotton Seed Oil Mill Workers' Union No. 19408, Slaton, Tex.....	1	1	Reynard H. Money, 265 East Panhandle Street, Slaton, Texas.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Dried Fruit Packers' Union No. 18693, San Francisco, Calif.-----	1	1	Franklin L. Murch, 1054 Nevada Street, San Jose, California.
Federal Labor Union No. 18256, Globe, Ariz.-----	1	1	Lester B. Doane, Box 5, Globe, Arizona.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.-----	1	11	Emil Costello, 4028 14th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Ft. Wayne, Ind.-----	1	5	E. G. Bunting, 938 Lake Avenue, Ft. Wayne, Indiana.
Federal Labor Union No. 19135, Yakima, Wash.-----	1	1	Robert Whitson, Yakima, Washington.
Federal Labor Union No. 19146, Pasco-Kennewick, Wash.-----	1	2	A. C. Roll, R. F. D., Kennewick, Washington.
Federal Labor Union No. 19399, Grandview, Wash.-----	1	1	James P. Dallas, 616 Lowman Building, Seattle, Washington.
Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.-----	1	1	Coleman Taylor, 1776 West 50th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.-----	1	1	
Fish Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656, San Pedro, Calif.-----	1	2	R. Di Capiro, 326 West 11th Street, San Pedro, California.
Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667, San Pedro, Calif.-----	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 North 4th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.-----	1	1	J. H. Ault, 528 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California.
Furniture Handlers' Union No. 12993, San Francisco, Calif.-----	1	1	Harry Stephens, 2103 88th Avenue, Oakland, California.
Gardeners Union No. 17847, Oakland, Calif.-----	1	1	L. F. De Long, 186 Gough Street, San Francisco, California.
Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 18631, San Francisco, Calif.-----	1	1	Tom Phillips, 1832 Ashby Avenue, Berkeley, California.
Ice and Cold Storage Workers' Union No. 15019, Oakland, Calif.-----	1	1	Modesto Velazquez Flores, Las Piedras, Porto Rico.
Laborers' Protective Union No. 19556, Las Piedras, P. R.-----	1	1	Fred Lumm, Vernonia, Oregon.
Loggers' Union No. 18742, Vernonia, Ore.-----	1	1	J. A. Wolfe, 1103 East Madison Street, Seattle, Washington.
Master Licensed Embalmers' Union No. 18189, Seattle, Wash.-----	1	1	F. B. Gerhart, Box 101, Barberton, Ohio.
Match Workers, United, No. 18928, Barberton, Ohio.-----	1	1	Joseph Tuohy, 6472 Santa Monica Blvd., Hollywood, California.
Motion Picture Costumers, Associated, No. 18067, Los Angeles, Calif.-----	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.-----	1	1	Fred Manash, 1348 North Portland Blvd., Portland, Oregon.
Optical Workers' Union No. 19197, Portland, Ore.-----	1	1	C. E. Dowd, 479 North Fresno Street, Fresno, California.
Packing House Employees' Union No. 19653, Fresno, Calif.-----	1	1	John F. Bertucci, 2572 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.
Pastemakers' Union No. 10567, San Francisco, Calif.-----	1	1	A. Philip Randolph, 207 West 140th Street, New York, New York.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.-----	1	1	M. P. Webster, 4231 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.-----	1	1	Spencer Watson, 2412 Campbell Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18077, Kansas City, Mo.-----	1	1	

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Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18079, Oakland, Calif.....	1	1	C. L. Dellums, 1718 7th Street, Oakland, California.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18085, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	W. B. Holland, 1436 West 36th Street, Los Angeles, California.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18089, Ft. Worth, Tex.....	1	1	Lon A. Hampton, 1115 East Humboldt Street, Ft. Worth, Texas.
Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17831, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	William Nickols, 1909 Eddy Street, San Francisco, California.
Radio Factory Workers Union No. 18609, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Paul Porter, 22 East 22d Street, New York, New York.
Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Robert McElligott, 5513 Cortes Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18282, Akron, O.....	1	23	Ralph F. Turner, 1599 Preston Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18319, Akron, O.....	1	36	H. C. Anthony, 1857 17th Street, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18321, Akron, O.....	1	20	O. H. Bosley, 385 Stevenson Avenue, Ellet, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18759, Jeannette, Pa.....	1	2	John H. Dent, 429 Chestnut Street, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19745, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Floyd Gartrell, 5070 Verona Street, Los Angeles, California.
Russian Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers' Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.....	1	1	I. Matlin, 108 Montgomery Street, Newark, New Jersey.
Sail Makers' Union No. 11775, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Horace Kelly, 2558 29th Avenue, San Francisco, California.
Saw Mill and Loggers' Union No. 19576, Eureka, Calif.....	1	1	Fred Garibaldi, 714 Pine Street, Eureka, California.
Soap and Edible Oil Workers' Union, No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.....	1	1	Wayne J. Hull, 1310 Parade Street, Long Beach, California.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188.....	1	1	Theodore Johnson, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Mrs. Emelen Kidwell, 402 Carmen's Building, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15251, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Lester Boyd, 2058 Wollam Street, Los Angeles, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Superintendents' Union, Ward, Local No. 16171, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	James Ryan, 100 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Examiners' and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, New York.
Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Richard A. Mitchell, 1963 South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 17982, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Helen Beardall, 3506 McClintock Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Umbrella Workers' Union, United No. 19164, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Marks Yetta, 22 East 22d Street, New York, New York.

ORGANIZATIONS	No of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Vegetable Packers' Association No. 18211, Salinas, Calif.....	1	1	Carl B. Lawrence, P. O. Box 1103, Salinas, California.
Vulcanizers and Tire Changers' Union No. 19074, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	John F. Higgins, 197 Corbett Avenue, San Francisco, California.
Watchmen's Union No. 18308, San Fran- cisco, Calif.....	1	1	Fred E. Moore, 273 Allison Street, San Francisco, California.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Alexander Geo. Walkden, 25 Euston Road, London, N. W., England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	John Stokes, 20 Amburst Road, Hackney, London, East, England. William Dunn, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
88	National and International.....	258	24,906
2	Departments.....	2	2
22	State Bodies.....	22	22
83	Central Labor Unions.....	83	83
90	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	71	289
2	Fraternal Organizations.....	3	3
287		439	25,305

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers. 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.
*1915 *1917

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 Samuel Gompers.	1908 Andrew Furuseth.	1921 Wm. J. Spencer.
P. J. McGuire.	James J. Creamer.	James J. Forrester.
1896 J. W. Sullivan.	1909 John P. Frey.	Benjamin Schlesinger.
Adolph Strasser.	B. A. Larger.	E. J. McGivern.
Martin Fox.	W. B. Wilson.	Peter Shaughnessy.
1897 Geo. E. McNeill.	1910 T. V. O'Connor.	1923 Anthony J. Chlopek.
James Duncan.	Wm. B. Macfarlane.	Peter J. Brady.
1898 Harry Lloyd.	1911 Daniel J. Tobin.	Edward J. Gainor.
James O'Connell.	1912 George L. Berry.	A. Adamski.
Thomas F. Tracy.	John H. Walker.	Edw. J. Evans.
1900 J. M. Hunter.	1913 Chas. L. Baine.	†Frank Farrington.
Sidney J. Kent.	Louis Kemper.	Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1901 Daniel J. Keefe.	*1914 W. D. Mahon.	John Coffield.
Eugene C. O'Rourke.	Matthew Woll.	Michael Casey.
1902 Patrick Dolan.	W. D. Mahon.	1927 Michael F. Greene.
Henry Blackmore.	***1915 Matthew Woll.	William B. Fitzgerald.
Max S. Hayes.	W. D. Mahon.	1928 William J. Rooney.
1903 Martin Lawlor.	1916 Matthew Woll.	William P. Clarke.
W. D. Ryan.	John Golden.	1929 John J. Manning.
1904 D. D. Driscoll.	James Lord.	Thomas E. Maloy.
John A. Moffitt.	1918 J. A. Franklin.	Joseph P. Ryan.
James Wood.	Wm. J. Bowen.	Joseph V. Moreschi.
1905 Frank K. Foster.	†Wm. L. Hutcheson.	Joseph A. Franklin.
James Wilson.	1919 John J. Hynes.	1932 E. E. Millman.
1907 John T. Dempsey.	1920 Timothy Healy.	Thomas E. Burke.
W. E. Klapetzky.	Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1933 Christian M. Madsen.
		1934 Michael J. Colleran.
		Edward Flore.

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 John Burns.	1908 John Wadsworth.	1922 E. L. Poulton.
David Holmes.	H. Skinner.	H. Smith.
Edward Cowey.	A. H. Gill.	R. B. Walker.
1895 James Mawdsley.	1909 J. R. Clynes.	1923 W. C. Robinson.
Sam Woods.	W. Brace.	C. T. Cramp.
1896 John Mallinson.	Ben. Turner.	1924 A. B. Swales.
Edward Harford.	G. H. Roberts.	Ben Smith.
1897 J. Havelock Wilson.	1911 J. Crinion.	A. A. Purcell.
William Inskip.	1912 J. A. Seddon.	J. Bromley.
William Thorne.	R. Smillie.	G. Hicks.
1898 James Haslam.	1913 I. H. Gwynne.	Arthur Pugh.
Alexander Wilkie.	T. Greenall.	1927 W. Sherwood.
1900 John Weir.	**1914	John Marchbank.
Pete Curran.		E. Edwards.
1901 Frank Chandler.	1915 C. G. Ammon.	J. T. Brownlie.
Ben Tillet.	E. Bevin.	J. Bell.
1902 M. Arrandale.	1916 H. Gosling.	A. A. H. Findlay.
E. Edwards.	W. Whitefield.	A. Shaw.
1903 William Mullin.	1917 John Hill.	F. Wolstencroft.
James O'Grady.	Arthur Hayday.	J. Beard.
1904 William Abraham.	F. Hall.	W. Holmes.
James Wignall.	***1918 Miss Margaret Bondfield	1932 Charles Dukes.
William Mosses.	S. Finney.	James Rowan.
1905 David Gilmour.	1919 Miss Margaret Bondfield	J. A. Hall.
Allen Gee.	J. W. Ogden.	Alexander George Walkden.
1906 J. N. Bell.	1920 J. Jones.	1934 John Stokes.
David J. Shackleton.	J. H. Thomas.	
1907 John Hodge.	1921 James Walker.	

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1910 John J. Manning.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1912 John T. Smith.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1925 James Duncan.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1926 James B. Connors.
1903 John Coleman.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1904 John H. Richards.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1932 Frank B. Power.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1921 John O'Hara.	1933 James C. Quinn.
		1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1899 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1900 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1924 John Colbert.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1913 Gus Franco.	1925 Donald Dear.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1903 James Simpson.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1904 John A. Flett.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1905 William V. Todd.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1908 F. M. Draper.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1933 Fred J. White.
		1934 William Dunn.

From German Federation of Labor 1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Guiterrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
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*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Canada.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1934

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encour-

age the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he repre-

sents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall

be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical

data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee and this Finance Committee, with the Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by the Finance Committee and must be covered by insurance, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President or his authorized agent, and Secretary of the Federation or his authorized agent. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposits at the expiration of each interest payment period and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit, or invested in interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President or his authorized agent, and countersigned by the Secretary or his authorized agent, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International

Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted

if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body. National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or Interna-

tional organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall

be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION. 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys ex-

pended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to

whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter.

Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations

of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations to conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive offi-

cer or officers thereof. This is not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the Conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Fed-

eration of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.--AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Fifty-fourth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

1934

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

San Francisco, Calif.,
October 1, 1934.

Pursuant to law, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order in Polk Hall of the Civic Auditorium at 10 o'clock by Temporary Chairman Paul O. Gaffney.

Just preceding the opening of the convention, an orchestra, made up of members of the San Francisco Musicians' Local Union, directed by Mr. Philip Sapiro, entertained the delegates and visitors.

Miss Helene Hughes of radio station KFRG sang the Star Spangled Banner.

Chairman Gaffney: Introducing John O'Connell, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council and also Chairman of the Entertainment Committee.

MR. JOHN O'CONNELL

(Secretary, San Francisco Central Labor Council)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, delegates and visitors to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: It has fallen to my lot, in some small way at least during your visit to the city of Saint Francis, to make

your stay comfortable and entertaining and look after your welfare, meaning all kinds of welfare. If there are any mistakes made in our entertainment, they will be mistakes of the head and not of the heart.

We have outlined a program that I know you are going to enjoy. Tomorrow noon, from Hotel Whitcomb, there will be a sightseeing trip, taking in all the points of beauty in our great city. Be at the Whitcomb Hotel ready to leave at one o'clock.

On Thursday, October 4, leaving the Whitcomb Hotel at 11 o'clock, we will start in buses for the Clay Street wharf, where we will board the steamer, the City of Sacramento, for a trip on the bay, inspection of the two bridges and then a trip up the river. There will be music, dancing and refreshments all afternoon, returning to San Francisco at 5 o'clock p. m.

On Saturday we take you to Tamalpais and Muir Woods, and you fellows from the Middle West who have never seen any hills, I know you will get dizzy on this one. We will have a splendid luncheon in the woods under the giant redwoods. We leave at eight o'clock in the morning from the Hotel Whitcomb, returning at 5 o'clock p. m. On Saturday evening we will have a grand ball for the delegates and their ladies in the Veterans' Building in the War Memorial in Civic Center. That is the entertainment program.

Thank you.

It gives me great pleasure at this time to present to you the contribution to the labor movement in San Francisco of our good friend, Bill Mahon, of the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees of America—the president of our Central Labor Council, Edward D. Vandeleur, who will preside at this meeting today.

CHAIRMAN VANDELEUR

I now call this Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor to order. Delegates and friends, it is indeed a pleasure for me to open this convention, something I have looked forward to for many, many years. In welcoming you to San Francisco, let me say that it is a city that knows how, it is the capital of the world, and I assure you that every word that Brother O'Connell has said as to your entertainment and your amusement while in San Francisco will be carried out.

San Francisco, as you know, recently has had some trouble, but I am very proud to state to you now that we returned our organizations to their employment without any trouble, and that all contractual relations with their employers were saved. There was never another case of that in the history of the world, and it shows the solidarity and the united strength of labor in San Francisco, of which no other city in the United States can boast.

I am sorry I am not able to go further on this, as we are going to have today the speech of our great President, William Green, which will be broadcast throughout the world. For that reason it is necessary to continue now with the program.

At this time it is a pleasure to present His Grace, the Rt. Reverend Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, who will give the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rt. Reverend Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco)

O, Father of Mercy and source of all light, look down with loving kindness upon thy children gathered here in Thy name. From east and from west of this blessed land, from north and south have we come to take counsel upon those things which give added dignity to lowly labor and which will insure a place in the sun for the loved ones who depend on us for all that makes for a glorious and a successful future, who depend upon us for those things which give health, who depend upon us for those things which give strength and which give knowledge and that measure of self control and of power which ever mark the ascent of man to the higher and nobler things of life, and which give to this land we love that sta-

bility without which its continuance would be endangered.

Grant that while we strive for all those things that give dignity to labor and insure unto ourselves and unto our dependents the good things of life, we be not unmindful of the inborn rights of those for whom we labor and upon whose success in the varying operations of our busy existence our success must ultimately depend.

We ask all of these things, our loving Father, through Christ, Thy Son, Who in the days of His earthly pilgrimage earned His bread by the sweat of His brow, and Who, by His example, gave unto lowly toil a new dignity, a new consideration in the minds of men.

Finally, deign to bless with a full measure of wisdom those who guide our councils, to the end that seeing what is just, what is right, what is available unto salvation, they may glorify Thee in whose hands is the destiny of nations and who liveth and reigneth in glory forever and ever, Amen.

Chairman Vandeleur: I will now introduce Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, who has held that office for the past twenty-five years.

MR. PAUL SCHARRENBERG (Secretary, California State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, Your Grace and friends in the convention: It is indeed a great pleasure to welcome the American Federation of Labor to the State of California, and I do so wholeheartedly in behalf of the California labor movement. I welcome you to our city and to our state, and I want to give you a very brief summary of labor history that has transpired in our great state.

I wonder how many of you are aware that San Francisco gave birth to the union label. It was here in 1874 that the Cigarmakers' Union first used the label as an emblem of fairness.

I wonder how many of you know that here in San Francisco we originated the secret ballot in politics. Prior to that time you were required to use a yellow, a green or a blue slip when you went into the booth, but with the beginning of the secret ballot no one knew how you actually voted. That also comes from San Francisco.

Most of you know, of course, of the long and bitter struggle we have had out here to keep California and America a white man's country. Away back in the middle 50's the labor movement of Cali-

ifornia began the struggle to keep out the Orientals and that fight was fought through many, many bitter years. I would love to entertain you this morning with about an hour's talk and give you a summary of the long and bitter struggle carried on by the labor movements of San Francisco and California, always with the loyal and wholehearted assistance of the American Federation of Labor.

In the year 1869 there were more Chinese who arrived in San Francisco than white men coming overland on the train, and it looked for a while as if California was after all going to be a province of China. In 1879 the Congress of the United States passed the first exclusion legislation and it was a foolish sort of legislation. It provided that no passenger ship could bring more than fifteen Chinese to our ports and of course it was vetoed. Not until 1882 did the Congress of the United States enact the first Chinese exclusion law. I would like to tell you of the joy and the celebration that took place out here when it became known that the Chinese were finally excluded. That exclusion law has been continued and kept on our statute books to date. In fact, it was enlarged very much as the years rolled on.

In 1917 we took a map of Asia and we drew a large circle around it which is known as the barred zone law, and by that law we kept out all Orientals except the Japanese and the Filipinos.

In 1906, due to the agitation of our labor movement and your valiant support, there was written somewhere a gentlemen's agreement with Japan whereby Japan agreed not to send any more laborers to our state and our country. Of course that gentlemen's agreement was entirely unsatisfactory and we kept on struggling and battling and finally, in 1924, there was written into the statute books of the United States a Japanese exclusion law, and we were happy again.

Then there was still an element left to exclude, and that seemed to be most difficult of all. They were our wards, the Filipinos. We came to these conventions year after year asking you to pass resolutions to bar the Filipinos. We kept that up for a dozen years and finally in this year by the passage of the Philippine Independence Act, we have excluded the Filipinos. And so you see for the first time in the history of the American labor movement we can say that we have made a clean sweep. No more Orientals can come to our state and nation, and that is due entirely to the loyal and unswerving support of the American Federation of Labor.

This little world of ours once upon a time was centered all around the Mediterranean. No one knew anything about any other country than those that bordered on that little lake. Then in the course of years it shifted on to the Atlantic, and

no one knew anything about the Pacific. That was just too far away. But just as sure as the center of civilization moved from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic, so it has now moved to the shores of the Pacific.

On this great ocean, my friends, nearly one-half of all human beings reside, and on this great ocean there is an extraordinary division among the peoples residing thereon. We have the three great English speaking nations, our own country, the United States and Canada and Australia, populated in the main by an Anglo-Saxon stock, with ideals practically alike, or very much similar, and with a high standard of living. All of those three countries are underpopulated.

On the other hand, we have the nations with teeming millions like China, Japan, India and the islands to the south, densely populated and with a low standard of living. That has created a friction that has not been eliminated, because we have finally written exclusion laws into the statute books of the United States.

That never-ending conflict between overpopulated countries with teeming millions and countries like our own that want to preserve and maintain and hold what we have, that conflict is still with us, my friends, and we of California are going to take a hand in whatever takes place. We are not going to leave it to the old time diplomats, we are going to see that the labor movements of America, Canada, Australia, China and Japan will have their due share in the adjustment of the conditions confronting the peoples of those countries.

Today we are meeting for the fourth time in California. This is the fourth convention that has been held in our state. It has been my great privilege to be present at all four conventions. One of the conventions was held in Los Angeles and the other three were held in our own city, the first one in 1904, thirty years ago, and the second one at the time of our great fair in 1915. I am happy and we are all happy that you decided to come here again, because California has a proud and militant and united labor movement. During the past year for the first time since the depression hit us, our state labor movement gained more than ten thousand members under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. We are on the upward swing, no matter what happens elsewhere. Men who have never been organized, agricultural workers, vegetable packers and timber workers are joining our ranks, and we are happy and proud to be able to tell you about that.

We do a lot of pioneering out here. I have referred to some of the pioneering of the past. We are still at it. Recently we had some difficulty here. My friend, President Vandeleur, referred to it very briefly and I shall not enlarge upon it,

but during that recent trouble in San Francisco, the employers initiated something new. We have an association here whose business it is to take care of labor unions, financially and otherwise, to see that they do not step out too far. It is known as the Industrial Association, and after our strike had been on for a little while they were running short of funds. It costs a lot of money to take care of a good strike such as we had, and so a letter was sent out to the business men of San Francisco. We have all heard of the installment plan in buying automobiles, washing machines and radios, but this time the business men of San Francisco were asked to contribute some money, not to pay anything down, but to pay it on the installment plan, to help break the strike. That was the first time in the history of the country, I believe, that we had strike-breaking on the installment plan.

I am again happy to report that they did not break the strike. The men who walked out walked back with their heads erect, proud and dignified, with solid ranks and there is not a union in San Francisco that has not added to its membership since that little adventure a few months ago.

My friends, we of California have faith in the American Federation of Labor. We know that the American Federation of Labor is not an unyielding, rigid body. We know that under its laws and constitution we can adopt any reasonable measure leading towards the advancement and progress that we desire. We know that we can have industrial unionism or trade unionism or vertical or horizontal unionism if we want it. The only kind of unionism we do not want in California and that you do not want is company unionism and Communist unionism. Any other kind is acceptable.

My friends, I hope while you are in our city you will take the opportunity when you have some time to visit the spots that have made history. I will be glad and the members of the committees, I am sure, will be delighted to point to some of the scenes where labor history was made. California and San Francisco recognized union labor as an all important asset to the state and to its people. We have a great Empire.

We hear a great deal about Mussolini and his army and his navy, and yet do you know that all of Italy is only two-thirds the size of our own California, and somehow they manage to take care of 45,000,000 people over there, and we have a big job trying to take care of 6,000,000 people. Yet our resources are far greater.

Then we read about Japan and what Japan is going to do to somebody. Japan is just a little smaller than our own California, and there they take care of 65,000,000 people. They do not get quite as much to eat as we do, but they are very

happy and the percentage of unemployment is not nearly so great in Japan as it is in our own California.

So, my friends, as you travel about our city and state, think of the wonderful opportunities, think what a future we have here before us. We men and women of labor can never understand why anyone should be unemployed in California. There is no need, there is no reason, there is no sane, sensible, single reason why any man or woman in our state should be without a job, without all the things that are required to bring about happiness. If there is anything wrong in our state, then we ourselves must carry the blame. We acknowledge our responsibilities and we are going to see to it that within our state we will build a new system, a new civilization or a new society. We are not going to resort to violent tactics, we are not going to embrace Communism, but within our labor movement we are going to try to bring about such revolution that there will be enough for all and everyone. That is the aim and the ambition and the desire of the California labor movement.

We have concentrated and spent all our time in production, we have produced to fill our warehouses and from now on we are going to spend a great deal of our time in solving the science of distribution, we are going to develop a better system of distribution so that we won't have it piled on our shelves and then go hungry and without work for several years.

That, in brief, is the message adopted by our recent state convention, which I transmit to you now. I welcome you to San Francisco and to California. I am happy and glad that you are here. The labor movement is glad that you are here and we are proud of the fact that you are with us.

Chairman Vandeleur: I thank you, Mr. Scharrenberg. It now gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of our city, Honorable Angelo J. Rossi.

HONORABLE ANGELO J. ROSSI

(Mayor of San Francisco)

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, Archbishop Hanna, President Green, Officers and members of the American Federation of Labor:

I am conscious of the high privilege accorded me this morning as Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, in bringing to you the greeting of my fellow-citizens of the City by the Golden Gate, and a sense of the sincere spirit of welcome which pervades all our hearts as you gather for your Fifty-fourth Annual Convention.

We of San Francisco are aware that no more important convention has ever come here to deliberate. This is not only because of the great body of our fellow-Americans that you represent, but because of international distractions which threaten the well-being of the world at large.

I can, therefore, truly say that the eyes, not only of the nation but of the civilized world are upon you today. And I feel most hopeful that out of your considerations will come decisions that will go far to remedy existing world-wide misunderstandings and economic problems and that will make for better harmony between the employer and the employed in America.

The city you now visit has for many years enjoyed the distinction of the largest employment of skilled union workmen of any in the world comparable with our size.

This is a city which, from a hamlet, became a metropolis almost overnight. The greatest gold discovery of the ages and the possession of a port unparalleled for commerce, heralded San Francisco as a name to be conjured with, world-wide, long before railway and telegraph communications were established.

Here, in the fifties, the brawny gold seekers from the eastern states and foreign shores rubbed shoulders in a spirit of friendly competition and democratic accord, unequalled in the history of other cities of the world.

In San Francisco, employers early displayed the desire to deal fairly with the workers, who made their progress toward leadership and independence possible.

Thus, the regulation of hours and wages and legislation for workers engaged in the hazardous occupations of early days found the ready sympathy of those called to the Legislature of our state, which received its highest and most influential leadership from San Francisco and the Bay Region.

With such a fine spirit established, it is not strange that the city which now enfolds you in her hospitable arms holds thousands of home-owning workers and has developed and contributed some of the most noted labor leaders of the past fifty years.

Our contributions to your ranks, as a city, and the intense loyalty and patriotism of your membership here, not only to the American Federation of Labor, but to all issues and measures affecting the common welfare of San Francisco, California and the United States, is a matter deserving comment and entitling all classes of our citizenship to a just pride.

And the members of the various crafts embodied in your federation here share an

equal pride in the progress of our city in her spiritual, social, mercantile and industrial advancement.

During my many years of contact with our Municipal affairs, and especially during my term as mayor, I have been constantly under obligation to the fairness, the high intelligence and devotion of many of your leaders and the rank and file of our workers, and for their ready response to, and co-operation with all proposals for the upbuilding of the community.

During periods of disagreement, the patient, unselfish counsel of these men have proved to me their fair-mindedness, their ability to submit their viewpoints to arbitration—to settle their differences in God's way—by the golden rule.

The public official of today can only draw from the fountains of local experience, but, judging your future conduct by your many years of past performance, I know that the high caliber of loyalty and intelligence of your leaders here, is equalled in the other great cities of America.

This, to me, is a guarantee that the splendid, patriotic programs of the American Federation of Labor will continue to be advocated and achieved by you, for the benefit and protection of American citizens and American institutions.

Therefore, you are entitled to the highest commendation.

Our city is employing all means at its command to increase payrolls and to get our unemployed population back on the job, for we know that decreased payrolls and wages result in increased relief rolls and decreased buying power, striking with deadly aim at the security of every home. The American standard of living must and will be maintained. To this end the list of major improvements in San Francisco includes a \$3,000,000 public school building program, a \$2,600,000 addition to the sewer system, a \$2,000,000 extension to our fire-fighting facilities and a \$16,000,000 allocation for extension, rehabilitation and additions to the municipal water system.

Added to this list, we shall expend more than a million dollars in widening and improving our boulevards, in anticipation of the completion of the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay bridges and approaches, which are to cost over \$115,000,000. This without considering funds expended for relief under NRA and other projects not herein mentioned, will bring the total to nearly \$150,000,000.

The projects enumerated will provide employment to the highest types of skilled labor in San Francisco.

We believe this program, while not commensurate with the tremendous needs

of our unemployed, should give assurance to our respected President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that San Francisco is doing her part ably.

May your stay here prove of the greatest influence in furthering your aims and in nourishing your love for American principles of fairness and equality.

I bid you a hearty welcome to San Francisco.

You will find our hands eager to serve and our hearts abounding with good wishes for a happy time, a safe return and many pleasant memories of your stay with us.

I thank you.

Chairman Vandeleur: Before we call on our President Mr. William Green, I see one of our older members of the labor movement, one who has guided the younger members in their struggles in the past. It gives me pleasure at this time to call on Brother Michael Casey, because it would not be fair if we did not hear a few words from him.

MR. MICHAEL CASEY

Mr. Chairman, visitors, friends and delegates: This is the first time that I have ever been put up against killing time. The chairman asked me to step up here for a few moments and say anything that I felt like, just so long as I killed time. Now I am the poorest time killer in the world, and yet this is the greatest opportunity of my life to have the pleasure of saying a few words to the delegates representing every state in the Union who come here to make laws for the uplift of the poor unfortunate devil at the bottom. That is what should be uppermost in our minds at all times—what can we do, what will we do to help to protect the man at the bottom?

Our mission in life has been to uplift and not to drag down, and I hope that all of your work here will be of an uplifting nature. I hope that harmony will reign, I hope that peace and happiness will prevail throughout your sessions, and if that is the case there is no doubt in the world but that success will crown your every effort. Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you sincerely for this opportunity.

Chairman Vandeleur: It now gives me the greatest pleasure to request the President of the American Federation of Labor to step forward so that I may present to him the gavel that was made by the District Council of Carpenters in San Fran-

cisco, one which I hope he will continue to use in guiding us through this so-called depression. It is with pleasure that I present this gavel to our great President, William Green.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Chairman Vandeleur, Your Honor, Mayor Rossi; Your Grace, Archbishop Hanna; Secretary Scharrenberg, representatives of labor, the Church, and the city: I thank you sincerely for the cordial welcome extended the officers and delegates to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are deeply touched by the sincerity and the cordiality of the welcome extended to us, and we anticipate the very great pleasure of enjoying your hospitality during our visit here. We want you to accept us, not as strangers within your gates but as neighbors and friends who are paying you a brief visit. We come, interested in the civic, economic and social problems of this great progressive city. We want to make such contribution as we can toward the promotion and advancement of the common welfare of your people.

When we come here we think of the great commonwealth of California, a land of romance and adventure, an empire within itself, one that has made distinguished progress, outrunning many of the older States because it is peopled by those who are social-minded and who have a humane outlook on life. So we are happy to be here. We shall enjoy our visit here, and in this pleasant environment we shall grapple with our problems, and in accordance with our traditional policy solve them in the interests of all the people.

I wish this morning that the great radio audience listening to my remarks might be permitted through television or otherwise to look into this hall. It is a spectacle wonderful to behold. Here we have the delegates and officers in attendance at this convention, coming from every city and hamlet throughout the nation, from Maine on the Atlantic Coast to Panama on the South, all with an earnest, sincere expression on their faces, conscious of the fact that they are called

here to deal with the real economic problems that affect the life and well-being of all our people. You could not help but interpret the expression upon their faces and their presence here as convincing evidence of their deep interest in the preservation of democratic institutions and in the welfare of the masses of the people.

We are conscious of our great responsibilities. We know that our action here will have a profound effect upon the economic and perhaps the legislative policy of the nation. Because we have a deep appreciation of the responsibility placed upon us we shall proceed cautiously, deliberately, exercising our best judgment in the settlement of our problems and in the adoption of policies and principles that will guide the future course of the American Federation of Labor.

I think it well this morning, in responding to these cordial addresses of welcome, to restate the policies of the American Federation of Labor, those of an affirmative character as well as those that we strenuously oppose.

It is generally known throughout the land that the American Federation of Labor stands uncompromisingly for the promotion of the common welfare of the masses of the people. Our principles, our policies and our declarations are generally known by every man, woman and child throughout the nation. But at these annual conventions, when the Congress of Labor meets for the purpose of appraising the past and planning for the future, it is well that we restate anew those things for which we stand and those things to which we are uncompromisingly opposed.

Our great movement stands for the advancement of the common man. We occupy a most peculiar position, because it is through the American Federation of Labor that the worker gives expression to his hopes and to his aspirations. It is interpreted as the voice of labor of the great United States of America. For what other movement has been organized, or what other movement is now functioning, clothed with authority to interpret the hopes and aspirations of the workers

and to give expression to those hopes and aspirations?

We are now dealing with the serious problem of unemployment. Notwithstanding the fact that definite progress has been made in dealing with this great social and economic problem, we realize that we still have it with us. It is not enough to reduce the army of unemployed four million. We must do more than that. We cannot pause when we have made some progress. Our task is to overcome unemployment and create work opportunities in America for every worker willing and able to work. There are still approximately ten million workers idle. What shall we do? What does the nation propose to do? We can only make one or two choices in this matter, and what shall we choose? Shall we resign ourselves to the maintenance of an army of unemployed who, with their dependent, number approximately fifty million people? Is that to be the fate of America? Are we to resign ourselves to the fact that this army of unemployed shall exist as a menace to our social order and to the maintenance and perpetuation of our free institutions?

Labor does not believe in that. We want men and women to maintain their self-respect. We do not want to develop here a policy of paternalism, but we want to give every man and woman willing to work an opportunity to work, so that he can maintain his self-respect and take care of his family in decency and comfort.

It is for that reason we propose a remedy. Our remedy is to distribute the amount of work available among all those who are entitled to work. We believe that the work in America should be so distributed that every man should share with his fellow man in the opportunities created to earn a decent living. And so we propose what we believe to be the only practical remedy. We insist that the hours of labor in America shall be reduced to a point where the slack of unemployment shall be taken up, and for that reason we stand unflinchingly for the application of the six-hour day and the five-day week in this country.

Those who oppose that proposal, those who criticize it do not offer any remedy instead. And here this morning I repeat the challenge I have made on numerous occasions—offer us something better than we propose as a remedy for unemployment. The American Federation of Labor is committed to this great economic reform. The officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, in my judgment, will repeat this demand made in previous conventions, that the six-hour day and the five-day week shall be universally applied in private industry as well as in public undertakings, for we know that if our proposal was accepted and applied, unemployment would be reduced and men and women would be accorded the opportunity to work. Buying power would be increased and a balance would be created between the forces of consumption and our facilities of production.

That is the remedy of the American Federation of Labor for unemployment. We are happy to observe that the principles embodied in the National Recovery Act emphasize that proposal, for it is boldly asserted that the one remedy for unemployment that must be included in every industrial code of fair practice is a reduction in the hours of labor and an increase in wages, so that the buying power of the masses of the people may be increased.

Where can we sell our goods if millions are unemployed? Where are the consuming markets for the products of industry if men and women cannot buy? What shall we do? Mechanize industry until we stand by admiring science and invention, but looking to the right into the faces of the distressed army of the unemployed? It would be better that we had never had a scientist or an inventor than to have here created on our shores an army of unemployed.

But do not mistake the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. We are not opposed to progress. We are not opposed to the mechanization of industry, but we are opposed to the displacement of thousands of workers through the introduction of mechanical devices. We hold that when this displacement

takes place there must be adjustments made, adjustments of such a character and such a nature as will take up the slack of unemployment and provide work opportunities for those who are entitled to work in a free America and entitled to earn a decent living for themselves and their families.

We hold that the conditions of employment shall be of such a character as to enable men and women to live a full, free and happy life. I cannot conceive of a social state that means through its operation misery and distress for mankind. My idea of a perfect social order is that where men and women can live lives of happiness, where their wants are fully supplied because opportunities to earn have been created. And so the American Federation of Labor is committed to a humane, practical economic policy that will guarantee to the masses of the people the enjoyment of a full, free and happy life.

And then, my friends, we believe in the development of an industrial relationship in industry that, in operation, will make for the common good. We are surprised indeed at this moment, when we take into consideration the fact that there are still employers of labor in America who boldly and brazenly appropriate to themselves the enjoyment of certain rights, but deny to the masses of the people the enjoyment of the same rights.

We won in the Congress of the United States our demand for the right to organize as free men and to bargain collectively, to choose, free from intimidation and coercion, the kind of Union to which we wish to belong. When the Congress of the United States incorporated in the National Industrial Recovery Act Section 7-a, labor won its fight for collective bargaining. But notwithstanding that fact, notwithstanding the attitude of Congress, its whole-hearted support of a collective bargaining section, employers of labor in many instances carried on the fight. And the basis of many of these industrial disturbances, the strikes throughout the nation can be directly traced to the hostility and opposition of

employers who refuse to permit their workers to engage in collective bargaining.

We won again when Congress saw fit to create the Industrial Relations Board, clothed with power, a duly constituted government agency, a court pursuing judicial processes, when that Board decided in an important case that the workers had the right to organize under the law, that they had a right to bargain collectively, that they had a right to be represented by a Union of their own choosing, and that the agreement negotiated by that Union, selected by a majority of the workers, was the collective agreement applicable to all the workers. It upheld the democratic principle, the rule of the majority, the right of labor to organize, and it made the heart of labor glad when it read that decision.

But behold the attitude of the National Manufacturers' Association two days after that decision was announced. That Association officially and collectively advised its members to disregard the decision of this duly constituted authority, to refuse to comply with it, to refuse to recognize it. In effect, the National Association of Manufacturers refused to obey a decision rendered by a judicial, governmental authority, and I hold that any men who fail to respect our courts and the decisions of these constituted authorities are not good citizens.

Labor won again when the Petroleum Labor Board enunciated the same principle. It won again when the Steel Board did the same thing. It won again when the investigating board that examined the situation in the textile industry following the declaration of the strike of 450,000 employes in that industry did the same. What more must we do to win our right for collective bargaining? The only alternative, if these men will not respect the decisions of Congress and judicial tribunals, is for labor to unite its economic strength and go out on the strike field and enforce these decisions.

That we do not want to do. We want to settle our differences in the conference room. We want to bargain collectively. We want to meet around the table and

talk it over and plan and bargain until we reach a settlement. But, my friends, no group of red-blooded men will submit to tyranny. Labor has never yet submitted to it and it never will.

I want to quote just a sentence or two from the magnificent address delivered by your great President of the United States last night. It seems so appropriate and so fitting. It seems that labor speaks the same language in this respect as our distinguished President, that we are thinking the same thoughts, when he stated so convincingly in the address he delivered and to which many of you listened:

"When the business men of the country were demanding the right to organize themselves adequately to promote their legitimate interests; when the farmers were demanding legislation which would give them opportunities and incentives to organize themselves for a common advance, it was natural the workers should seek and obtain a statutory declaration of their constitutional right to organize themselves for collective bargaining as embodied in Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act."

Again, I interpret this sentence as an indictment of those who assume a position of rebellion against duly constituted authority. Here it is:

"The employer who turns away from impartial agencies of peace, who denies freedom of organization to his employes, or fails to make every reasonable effort at a peaceful solution of their differences, is not fully supporting the recovery effort of his Government."

I leave that with you.

Now we have a social justice program providing for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, the abolition of child labor and the development of a comprehensive social justice program. In connection with that we think of America, our homeland. We want to make it possible here for the industrial soldier who, during the period of his superannuation, may approach the setting sun of his life, to step out into the shadows of the twi-

light zone between here and the great hereafter with a prayer of thanks on his lips because a perfect social order permitted him to enjoy his declining years in peace. We want to make America a nation where men work and children play. We want to make it a land where social justice governs and influences the action of every man, one toward the other.

And so we are committed to this task. We are driving forward. We are going to propose and insist that Congress and the State legislatures enact unemployment insurance legislation, old age pension legislation, the abolition of child labor, and the development here of a social order that will make for the highest degree of citizenship.

That is our affirmative position. Now we are against some things. While the American Federation of Labor is an American institution it is a defender of the principles upon which our Government rests. We believe in our free institutions, in democracy and in liberty. We want to guard it as a priceless heritage, we want to hand it down to the masses of the people. For that reason we are opposed to all these subversive forces that are constantly attempting to undermine it, to destroy it. We wish to make it more perfect and not to destroy what we have.

For that reason we are opposed to Communism in any form whatever. We are equally opposed to Fascism in any form. We are for the rule of the people, for democracy. The great heart of the people is sound, and as long as it remains sound, Communism will never gain a foothold in America.

We stand, my friends, for the best there is in American life. We do not claim that things are perfect, but within our rights as American citizens we will fight to correct our wrongs and to develop a more perfect social order and a better state. Now and here we will plan for the future. The great American Federation of Labor, meeting here in the City of San Francisco, will grapple with the problems that affect all these questions to which I have referred, and when we go out from here again it will be with a definite policy adopted in accordance with a

majority rule of this convention, and behind it we will put a militant, aggressive organization determined to carry it into effect.

I thank you.

Now, officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, it affords me supreme pleasure to supplement what Temporary Chairman Vandeleur said: I declare this great convention of the American Federation of Labor duly and legally convened and open for the transaction of business.

It is understood that the rules and order of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor will apply to our deliberations until the Committee on Rules and Order of Business makes its report. The Chair calls for Secretary Morrison to announce the appointment of an assistant secretary, a sergeant-at-arms and a messenger.

Secretary Morrison announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary for the Convention, Mr. William N. Mappin, member of Typographical Union 21, San Francisco, Calif.

Sergeant-at-Arms, Mr. Lauss Malinani, member of Teamsters Union 85, San Francisco, Calif.

Messenger, Mr. Edward Grant, member of Street Carmen's Division 518, San Francisco, Calif.

President Green: If there is no opposition, the appointments just announced will be confirmed. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, Secretary Madsen, who will submit the report of that committee.

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee, read the following:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

San Francisco, Calif.,
October 1, 1934.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were ap-

pointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 433 delegates, representing 89 International and National Unions, 2 Departments, 23 State branches, 76 Central Bodies, 97 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 27 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association—Ragner T. Freng, 7 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 25 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, Peter Beisel, Henry Koch, 181 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Wm. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Charles T. Crane, Anthony Merlino, 393 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—C. C. Garnett, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, J. N. Davis, 143 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, 119 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 192 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Emil Musl, 255 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Harry C. Bates, John J. Stretch, Wm. J. Moran, Walter V. Price, 458 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, 14 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association—P. J. Morrin, W. J. McCain, J. H. Lyons, Edward Ryan, 160 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry J. Moran, Oscar F. Nelson, Gus Van Heck, Louis Alteire, 191 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, J. O. Holmgren, L. A. Beaudry, F. H. Knight, 550 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, G. E. Warren, Dave Ryan, C. E. Risley, Bert P. Ward, 2,000 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, 70 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Carl T. Griswold, Sol Cohen, John McCarthy, 333 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, E. A. McMillan, J. I. Gilbert, 660 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—C. C. Coulter, W. G. De-septe, 58 votes.

Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated—Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, Frank Rosenblum, Jacob S. Potofsky, Gustave Strebel, August Bellanca, 833 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—M. S. Warfield, 20 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 25 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 10 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel W. Tracy, G. M. Bugnietz, E. D. Bleretz, Chas. M. Paulsen, 1,135 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, Henry Milton, Thomas O'Brien, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Poschl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, O. W. Carter, William E. Maloney, 350 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 86 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, A. J. Dooney, 197 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, John Conway, 101 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—Henry D. Dannenberg, 20 votes.

Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada, International—Pietro Lucchi, 20 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, I. W. Hashkins, A. Gordon, A. Adamski, D. A. Houck, 370 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg, Giacomo Dinola, 1,500 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—William W. Campbell, Walter Dunlap, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—M. J. Gillooly, 61 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—E. C. Babcock, John E. Hoffmaster, 83 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Michael F. Greene, Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Nathaniel Spector, 198 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Jos. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, 442 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris. Lane, Maurice C. Cohn, 378 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 55 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, George T. Moore, Chas. J. Case, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Robert Roy Burt, Anna J. Brown, 53 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Luther E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy, 517 votes.

Lithographers; International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 58 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, William Lewis, W. T. Morris, A. H. Peterson, 343 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Arthur O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Dan P. Haggerty, 820 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljozdal, T. J. Finneran, J. J. Farnan, Elmer E. Millman, 312 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, Joseph A. McInerney, 55 votes.

Master, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—George M. Fournatt, 20 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, M. S. Maxwell, 195 votes.

Metal Workers' Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, James J. Ryan, William H. Wickman, James Close, 160 votes.

Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—A. E. Wilkerson, Victor F. Smith, 113 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, John Boylan, Michael Hartneady, Mart F. Brennan, P. T. Fagan, 8,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Lawrence O'Keefe, Stephen A. Miller, J. M. Myles, 88 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, Chas. Leland Bagley, Vincent Castronova, Otto J. Kapl, 1,000 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Harvey C. Fremming, John L. Coulter, Ethil B. Daniel, 125 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, James L. Meehan, Harry Kaufman, 578 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Frank P. Barry, 115 votes.

Pavers, Rammers, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Michael J. Collieran, John E. Rooney, Walter Redmond, John H. Donlin, 180 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coesfield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles M. Rau, Charles Anderson, William Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 35 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, James M. McGowan, 79 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Maurice McAuliffe, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Wm. H. McHugh, Edward F. McGrady, Daniel Murphy, George Spooner, 320 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, 69 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, John A. McConnell,

Arthur Appleton, John F. O'Brien, John C. Carey, 700 votes.

Railway Mail Association—William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, 192 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 50 votes.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America—A. A. Evans, 8 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—George E. Browne, Fred J. Dempsey, Thomas V. Green, Thomas E. Maloy, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leon De Veze, Chas. A. Sumner, 80 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 56 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, 15 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, Paul M. Carter, 73 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Wm. Reznicek, 26 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Raymond F. Lowry, Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, John Harold Swan, 85 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, L. G. Goudie, John McLaughlin, J. J. McKenna, 953 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, G. E. Leighty, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Percy Thomas, 20 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alexander McKeown, 387 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, J. E. Lentie, 83 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Jack Gill, 731 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, George V. Fay, 65 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Alfred H. Billet, 6 votes.

Building Trades Department—Michael J. McDonough, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department — John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department — 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—A. W. Hoch, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—J. Sid Tiller, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—August Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Jesse L. Rogers, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis Mastriani, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—George Meany, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Ben T. Osborne, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—John A. Phillips, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Alfred Bailey, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—M. I. Thompson, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—John B. Easton, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Paul O'Brien, 1 vote.

Alameda County, Calif., Central Labor Council—James H. Doyle, 1 vote.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Redmond R. Burr, 1 vote.

Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charlie H. Gresty, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—A. Steve Nance, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—John G. Hirschfeldt, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council—Wallace W. Watson, 1 vote.

Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—Harvey McConaughy, 1 vote.

Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—T. J. O'Brien, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John C. MacDonald, 1 vote.

Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council—H. W. Schwartz, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Harry W. Joel, 1 vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—T. R. Cuthbert, 1 vote.

Chester, Pa., Central Labor Union—James Walsh, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Charles F. Willis, 1 vote.

Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress, Clinton and Lyons, Ia., and Fulton, Ill.—Geo. C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ray A. Gross, 1 vote.

El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Council—James E. Restline, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J., Central Labor Union—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.

Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Robert R. McInroy, 1 vote.

Eureka, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Michael J. Burns, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Walter C. Brooks, 1 vote.

Hamilton, O., Co-Operative Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—Humphrey Mitchell, M. P., 1 vote.

Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union—Henry De Witt, 1 vote.

Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles A. Meyers, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Labor Council—G. E. Woods, 1 vote.

Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union—Earl Eby, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.

Jerome, Ariz., Yavapai County, Central Labor Council, H. M. Watson, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Anthony Augustino, 1 vote.

Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor—Harry L. Ames, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Ray England, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—James G. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Kilgore, Texas, Central Labor Union—J. Carl Ellis, 1 vote.

Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union—A. L. Rice, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Fred J. Graham, 1 vote.

Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union—J. C. Coulter, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Jacob J. Friedrich, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union—Edward P. Ringius, 1 vote.

Modesto, Calif., Stanislaus County Central Labor Union—H. T. Pitner, 1 vote.

Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Chas. Farrell, 1 vote.

Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—Vernon S. Gornito, 1 vote.

Norristown, Pa., Central Labor Union of Montgomery County—Edwin F. Bale, 1 vote.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Trades and Labor Council—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union—George B. Jackson, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Pasadena, Calif., Central Labor Union—Louise R. Hooker, 1 vote.

Port Angeles, Wash., Central Labor Union—Rollin Bowles, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—James R. Davison, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—J. L. R. Marsh, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. L. Eggert, 1 vote.

San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—J. A. Wright, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.

San Jose, Calif., Central Labor Council—F. G. Volkers, 1 vote.

San Pedro, Calif., Central Labor Council—Cecil O. Johnson, 1 vote.

Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Council—James Matthews, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—George D. Early, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—T. W. Holmes, 1 vote.

South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—Edwin Turnock, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Reuben T. Wood, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif., Central Labor Council—R. E. Mercer, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—C. M. Dahlager, 1 vote.

Taft, Calif., Central Labor Union—Robert G. Franklin, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—W. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla., Trades and Labor Council—Harry Schwartz, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—Jack Geraghty, 1 vote.

Ventura, Calif., Central Labor Union—B. B. Jenkins, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—David Glass, 1 vote.

Windsor, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—George Lauder, 1 vote.

Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—Sam. M. Smith, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18310, South Bend, Ind.—John Bartee, 8 votes.

Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio—Edward Stubbee, 13 votes.

Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18512, Flint, Mich.—Frank Johnson, 16 votes.

Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18525; Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18785; Federal Labor Union, No. 19241, Racine, Wis.—Rudolph E. Anderson, 9 votes.

Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union, No. 19188, Racine, Wis.—Melverne P. Russell, 3 votes.

Battery Workers, Federal Labor Union, No. 18561; Battery Workers, Federal Labor Union, No. 18588; Federal Labor Union, No. 18473; Federal Labor Union, No. 18887; Radio and Television Workers' Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.—Wade Read, 64 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Walter M. Cook, 3 votes.

Brush Workers' Union No. 18919; Electrical Device Workers' Union No. 18946; Federal Labor Union No. 19393; Federal Labor Union No. 19420; Horse Nail Workers' Union No. 19590; Heating Exchange Workers' Union No. 19676; Plastic Workers' Union No. 18945; Sewing Machine Makers' Union No. 19541; Typewriter Workers' Union No. 18920, Hartford, Conn.—Francis X. Moore, 11 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 18893, Oakland, Calif.—J. B. Nathan, 1 vote.

Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 18387; Federal Labor Union No. 18373; Federal Labor Union No. 18388; Federal Labor Union No. 18718, Birmingham, Ala.—A. A. Townes, 4 votes.

Cemetery Employes' Union, No. 10634, San Francisco, Calif.—C. E. Lowe, 2 votes.

Cereal Workers' Union No. 19253, Great Falls, Mont.—B. A. Gorman, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17960, San Francisco, Calif., William Van Ornum, 1 vote.

Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 18182, San Francisco, Calif.—Maurice Fisher, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232, New York, N. Y.—Karl Maisus, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18248, Oakland, Calif.—Chris. Wagner, 1 vote.

Cotton Seed Oil Mill Workers' Union No. 19408, Slaton, Texas—Reynard H. Money, 1 vote.

Dried Fruit Packers' Union No. 18693, San Francisco, Calif.—Franklin L. Murch, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18256, Globe, Ariz.—Lester B. Doane, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Emil Costello, 11 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Ind.—E. G. Bunting, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19135, Yakima, Wash.—Robert Whitson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19146, Pasco-Kennewick, Wash.; Federal Labor Union No. 18399, Grandview, Wash.—A. C. Roil, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.—James P. Dallas, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio—Coleman Taylor, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kan.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Furniture Handlers' Union No. 12993, San Francisco, Calif.—J. H. Ault, 1 vote.

Gardeners' Union No. 17847, Oakland, Calif.—Harry Stephens, 1 vote.

Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 18631, San Francisco, Calif.—L. F. DeLong, 1 vote.

Ice and Cold Storage Workers' Union No. 15019, Oakland, Calif.—Tom Phillips, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 19556, Las Piedras, Porto Rico—Modesto Velazquez Flores, 1 vote.

Loggers' Union No. 18742, Vernonia, Ore.—Fred Lumm, 1 vote.

Master Licensed Embalmers' Union No. 18189, Seattle, Wash.—J. A. Wolfe, 1 vote.

Match Workers, United, No. 18928, Barberton, Ohio—F. B. Gerhart, 1 vote.

Motion Pictures Costumers', Associated, No. 18067, Los Angeles, Calif.—Joseph Tuohy, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Optical Workers' Union No. 19197, Portland, Ore.—Fred Manash, 1 vote.

Packing House Employees' Union No. 19653, Fresno, Calif.—C. E. Dowd, 1 vote.

Pastemakers' Union No. 10567, San Francisco, Calif.—John F. Bertucci, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.—A. Philip Randolph, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.—M. P. Webster, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18077, Kansas City, Mo.—Spencer Watson, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18079, Oakland, Calif.—C. L. Dellums, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18085, Los Angeles, Calif.—W. B. Holland, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18089, Fort Worth, Tex.—Lon A. Hampton, 1 vote.

Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17831, San Francisco, Calif.—William Nickols, 1 vote.

Radio Factory Workers' Union No. 18609, New York, N. Y.—Paul Porter, 1 vote.

Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.—Robert McGillgott, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18282, Akron, Ohio—Ralph F. Turner, 28 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18319, Akron, Ohio—H. C. Anthony, 36 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18321, Akron, Ohio—O. H. Bosley, 20 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18759, Jeannette, Pa.—John H. Dent, 2 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19745, Los Angeles, Calif.—Floyd Gartrell, 1 vote.

Russian Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers' Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.—I. Matlin, 1 vote.

Sail Makers' Union No. 11775, San Francisco, Calif.—Horace Kelly, 1 vote.

Saw Mill and Loggers' Union No. 19576, Eureka, Calif.—Fred Garibaldi, 1 vote.

Soap and Edible Oil Workers' Union No. 18409, Long Beach, Calif.—Wayne J. Hull, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13199, San Francisco, Calif.—Theodore Johnson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Mo.—Emeleen Kidwell, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15251, Los Angeles, Calif.—Lester Boyd, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Superintendents' Union, Ward, Local No. 16171, Chicago, Ill.—James Ryan, 1 vote.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufano, 3 votes.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union, No. 17982, Los Angeles, Calif.—Helen Beardall, 1 vote.

Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Richard A. Mitchell, 1 vote.

Umbrella Workers' Union, United, No. 19164, New York, N. Y.—Marks Yetta, 1 vote.

Vegetable Packers' Association No. 18211, Salinas, Calif.—Carl B. Lawrence, 1 vote.

Vulcanizers and Tire Changers' Union No. 19074, San Francisco, Calif.—John F. Higgins, 1 vote.

Watchmen's Union No. 18308, San Francisco, Calif.—Fred E. Moore, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—Alexander George Walkden, John Stokes, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—William Dunn, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

W. W. CAMPBELL, Chairman,

W. W. BRITTON,

CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,

Secretary.

President Green: That completes the partial report of the committee.

Secretary Madsen: I move that the report of the committee be adopted and the delegates whose names have been read to the convention be seated.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Chairman Campbell, of the committee, desires to make a statement.

Chairman Campbell: This is just a partial report. There will be reports each

day until all the credentials will have been acted upon. If there are contested credentials, or if there is any doubt about a credential, the committee will hear these cases at a meeting in Parlor A, the Whitcomb Hotel, this evening.

Secretary Madsen announced that the credential of Frank J. Bacigalupi, Reno, Nevada, had been protested, and asked that this delegate and everybody interested in the case appear before the committee at the meeting announced by Chairman Campbell.

President Green: I desire at this time to read a very human interest letter to you. One of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to this convention has met with a distressing bereavement.

President Green read the following letter:

En route for England,
Friday 28th, September, 1934.

Dear Mr. Green:

As Mr. Stokes has no doubt already informed you, I received a terrible blow yesterday evening. The train had just stopped for a few minutes at a little town in New Mexico (en route for the Grand Canyon) when the agent sought me out with a message that my wife was dangerously ill, following an operation, and I must return home immediately.

Of course I arranged to do so at once, being perfectly sure you would not desire me to continue the journey under those circumstances, especially as Mr. Stokes will be with you, as my co-delegate and Mr. Citrine is also on his way to attend the convention as a special representative of the British Trades Union Congress.

Since I left my good friend Stokes (one of the very best) another crushing blow has fallen in the news that my dear wife died on Wednesday night, as the operation had not been successful. I feel stunned and overwhelmed—words are no use. She was my truest friend and best pal, and the dearest and sweetest wife that any man ever had. Mr. Thomas E. Burke and his wife knew her quite well as they were with her a good deal at Brighton last year, where he attended our Trades Union Congress there as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. If he is at San Francisco this year I should be grateful if you would let him see this letter.

In conclusion, I ought to say how greatly disappointed I am that I cannot

be with you all next week, but of course my bitter bereavement, overshadows all my other feelings. Everybody on the train who knows about it is very kind indeed; indeed everyone with whom we have come in contact since we landed has been most friendly and good to us. I like your glorious country immensely. Its people are splendid and (in fellowship with our own, I hope) will undoubtedly overcome their present difficulties and lead the whole world forward in the path of peace and progress for all mankind.

Assured of your own large-hearted sympathy for myself and our three daughters in our hour of trial and sorrow, I am

Yours very sincerely,
A. G. WALKDEN.

President Green: I know I voice your sentiments when I say that we are deeply touched because of this sad bereavement which Brother Walkden has sustained. We share with him and his relatives their sorrow. I know I am justified in publicly expressing our sympathy with the bereaved family. But that will not be enough. I shall refer this letter to the Committee on Resolutions, with the recommendation that they prepare a resolution expressing the sympathy of this convention to Brother Walkden and his family. If there are no objections, that course will be pursued. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Now, with your permission, the Secretary will present the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Secretary Morrison read the following appointments:

Rules and Order of Business—A. J. Kugler, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, Edward Ryan, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, Charles T. Crane, Thomas O'Brien, John E. Rooney, M. F. Brennan, Max Zaritsky, M. S. Warfield, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Altas, George W. Jones, Gust Anderson, Steve Nance.

Delegate Woodmansee announced a meeting of the Labor Press representatives at 8 o'clock in Hotel Whitcomb.

Vice-President Wharton requested a meeting of delegates representing railroad organizations immediately upon adjournment, to take up a number of matters referred from Washington that affect these organizations.

At 12:45 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m.

FIRST DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Gillmore, Freng, Birthright, Reagan (P. H.), Merlino, Muri, Kasten, Lyons (J. H.), Horan, Nelson (O. F.), Van Heck, Alteire, Holmgren, Beaudry, Frisvold, Cohen (S.), McCarthy (John), Desepte, Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strebel, Bellanca, Bleretz, Paulsen, Feeney, O'Brien (Thos.), Volz, Dannenberg, Campbell (W. W.), Zaritsky, Flore, Ryan (Jos. P.), Lewis (Wm.), Fry, Fouratt, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Lewis (John L.), Murray, Boylan, Hartneady, Brennan, Fagan, Miller, Myles, Coulter (John L.), Helle, Berry, McHugh (William H.), Burke (John F.), Sparks, Gavlak, Olander, Cashen, Carter, McMahon, Gorman, McKeown, Evans, Hatch, Fay, Billet, Rogers, Mastriani, Meany, Phillips, Iglesias, Bailey, Taylor, Easton, O'Brien, Gresty, Watson, McConaughy, Gerhart, Schwartz, Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh, Campbell, Restine, McInroy, Burns, Brooks, Doll, Mitchell, DeWitt, Meyers, Woods, Eby, Fritz, Augustino, Ames, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Farrell, Shave, Quinn, Gornio, Bale, Jackson, Bowles, Bower, Davison, Marsh, Volkens, Johnson, Matthams, Early, Wood, Dahlager, Franklin, Covert, Geraghty, Jenkins, Lauder, Smith, Doane, Townes, Johnson (Frank), Whitson, Dallas, Ault, Stephens, Flores, Wolfe, Gerhart, Tuohy, Taylor, Cook, Moore, Nathan, Townes, Lowe, Gorman, Van Ohrmann, Wagner Money, Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Webster, Watson, Delums, Hampton, Holland, Nickols, Porter, McElligott, Turner, Bosley, Dent, Gartrell, Hull, Lufano, Mitchell, Yetta, Moore.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Madsen reported as follows: The Committee on Credentials reports that they have examined the following additional credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—John T. Kmetz, 1 vote.

Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656; Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667, San Pedro, Calif.—R. Di Caplo, 2 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates whose names were read were seated in the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Alfias, Secretary of the committee reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of San Francisco, October 1, 1934, beg leave to make the following report for your approval, correction or change, and adoption:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m. Reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion, until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.

10. Good of the Federation.

11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

A. J. KUGLER, Chairman,
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary,
JAMES HATCH,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
EDWARD RYAN,
J. J. McKENNA,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
CHARLES T. CRANE,
THOMAS O'BRIEN,
JOHN E. ROONEY,
M. F. BRENNAN,
M. S. WARFIELD,
H. W. SULLIVAN,
GEORGE W. JONES,
GUST ANDERSON,
STEVE NANCE,
NATHANIEL SPECTOR,

Committee on Rules and Order
of Business.

Secretary Alifas: In order to keep the record clear I desire to announce that since this committee was named this morning it was found that Delegate Max Zaritsky was not able to be present. The President appointed Nathaniel Spector to serve in his place.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: I desire to advise that resolutions will be received this afternoon at the hall and at night at the Secretary's office on the mezzanine floor of the Hotel Whitcomb; tomorrow they will be received here and at the office up until 12 o'clock tomorrow night. After that no resolutions will be considered by the convention except by unanimous vote.

APPOINTMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees:

Committee on Executive Council Report — A. O. Wharton, Harvey Fremming, John F. O'Brien, Thomas Kennedy, William L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, Maurice C. Cohn, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Stretch, Henry F. Schmal, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland, A. H. Peterson, Charles Rau.

Committee on Resolutions — Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posschl, P. J. Morrin, John P. Frey, Wm. H. McHugh, Charles P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Col-

leran, David Dubinsky, J. C. Lewis, John J. Mara, Frank Kasten.

Committee on Laws—Martin F. Ryan, Dennis Lane, John A. McConnell, Pietro Lucchi, Thomas F. McMahon, Charles Anderson, A. Gordon, E. E. Millman, Bert Ward, Edward Canavan, William E. Maloney, John Conway, Fred J. Dempsey, W. J. Gorman, Dan Haggerty, E. J. Volz, Fred Baer.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Sid Tiller, Frank Gillmore, Patrick H. Reagan, E. A. McMillan, Alfred H. Billet, Oscar F. Nelson, Vincent Castranova, Andrew J. Kennedy, A. C. D'Andrea, R. Roy Burt, Chris Lane, Ragnar T. Freng, Henry Koch, George M. Fouratt.

Committee on Labels—Joseph Obergfell, C. A. Weaver, William Reznicek, Jack Gill, C. E. Risley, Peter Belsel, Walter Dunlop, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, Michael J. Kelly, Nathaniel Spector, Louis E. Langer, I. W. Hashkins, W. G. Desepte, Joseph Schlossberg, Matthew Burns, Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, James A. Taylor.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, F. H. Fljozdal, M. F. Tighe, George E. Browne, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, D. W. Tracy, C. E. Leighty, Stephen A. Miller, W. F. Robinson.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Joseph N. Weber, J. C. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, Thos. C. Cashen, Carl E. Frisvold, Edw. Bieretz, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, Alexander McKeown, R. E. Woodmansee, O. W. Carter, Wm. C. Birthright, George Meany, John A. O'Connell, Jacob S. Potofsky, J. W. Buzzell, William J. Moran.

Committee on Education—George M. Harrison, Florence Curtis Hanson, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, M. T. Finnan, John B. Haggerty, Walter V. Price, Leo E. George, Robert Watt, Daniel Murphy, P. T. Fagan, Otto J. Kapl, R. G. Soderstrom, Arthur Appleton, L. E. Swartz, G. E. Warren, J. H. Lyons, A. W. Hoch.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugniazet, Wm. McCarthy, John Boylan, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Herbert Rivers, Wm. E. Walter, Geo. Spooner, Geo. W. Lawson, Frank X. Martel, J. Goldstone, T. N. Taylor, J. B. Prewitt, Z. L. Freedman, A. E. Wilkerson, Gustave Strebel.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Charles J. Case, Harry Milton, John McCarthy, M. J. Gillooly, L. G. Goudie, John C. Carey, R. A. Henning, James McGowan, James J. Doyle, James Close, Morris Bialis, Gus Van Heck, Anna J. Brown, J. I. Gilbert.

Committee on Building Trades—M. J. McDonough, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph A. Mullaney, Walter Redmond, W. J. McCain, James J. Ryan, Dave Ryan, Wm. Fallon, Harry C. Bates, M. W. Mitchell, Harry Kaufman, Charles M. Paulson, J. M. Gaviak, George T. Moore.

Committee on Shorter Workday—E. J. Gainer, L. E. Beaudry, John Simons, Michael Hartnedy, James P. Meehan, Lawrence O'Keefe, Percy Thomas, Robert B. Hesketh, J. J. Farnan, Joseph McInerney, John Pelkofer, Wm. Lewis, Louis Altaire, Israel Feinberg, Sol Cohen, John L. Coulter, M. S. Maxwell.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, C. L. Rosemund, William Collins, Sidney Hillman, Daniel J. Tobin, James M. Duffy, J. N. Davis, William H. Wickman, John Donlin, Edward P. McGrady, E. C. Babcock, Thomas E. Maloy, R. F. Lowry, John Clinton.

Committee on International Labor Relations—Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, Andrew Furuseth, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Millman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Michael J. Collieran, Edward Flore, William Green.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

REFERENCE OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

The following list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council, assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees, was read by Secretary Morrison:

Subjects of Executive Council's Report Assigned to Committee on Executive Council's Report

Trade Union Benefits.

Organization and Collective Bargaining.

Industrial Relations Boards:

Cotton Textile Board.
Bituminous Coal Board.
Automobile Labor Board.
Petroleum Labor Policy Board.
Construction Industry.

National Income.

Some Problems of Recovery.

Industrial Regimentation.

Official Changes.

Brewery Workers—Teamsters—Engineers—Firemen.

United Textile Workers—International Ladies Garment Workers.

Building Trades.

Trade Union Auxiliaries.

American Federation of Government Employees.

Memorial to Deceased Trade Unionists.

Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Legislation:

Workmen's Compensation.

Conclusion.

Subjects of Executive Council's Report Assigned to Committee on Resolutions

Introduction.

Labor and the National Recovery Administration.

Wages.

Hours.

Child Labor and Home Work.

Enforcement Machinery.

Extent to Which Codes Cover Industries.

Reorganization of the NRA.

Compliance.

Organizing Work and Problems:

Report of Committee.

Adapting to Mass Production Industries.

Unemployment.

Relief.

They Must Live.

Dependent Children.

Old Age.

Sickness.

Workers Without Jobs.

Administration's Program for Economic Security.

Relief Principles.

Coal.

Railroad Workers:

Wages.

Wages in Canada.

Employment.

Legislation:

Six-hour Day.

Railroad Retirement Act.

Amendments to Railway Labor Act.

Progress of Organization.

German Boycott.

Legislation:

Economy Act.

Labor Disputes Act.

Railroad Pension Act.

Railway Labor Act.

Unemployment Insurance.

Crime Legislation.

Closed Bank Legislation.

Seamen's Bill.

Unemployment Relief.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed.

Immigration.

Philippine Independence.

House Petition Rule.

Old Age Security.

Immigration Quota for Japan.

Non-Partisan Political Policy.

Subjects of Executive Council's Report Assigned to Committee on Organizing

Fear.

Company Unions.

Organization Carried into New Fields.

Rubber Tire and Rubber Manufacturing.

Automobile Manufacturing.

Aluminum Workers:

1. Progress and Extent of Organization.

2. Organization and NRA.

3. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Lumber and Sawmill Workers:

1. Progress and Extent of Organization.

2. Organization and the NRA.

3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.

4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Coke and Gas Industry.

Cement Industry.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers.

Electrical Manufacturing Industry.

Cleaning and Dyeing Trade:

1. Extent and Progress of Organization.

2. Organization and the NRA.

3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.

4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Office Workers' Unions.

Soap and Glycerine Industry.

Canning Industry.

Agricultural Workers.

Gasoline Filling Station Workers:

1. Extent and Progress of Organization.

2. Organization and the NRA.

3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.

4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Wholesaling Industries.

Theatrical Ushers, Ticket Sellers and Similar Employees.
 Funeral Supply Industry.
 Athletic Goods.
 Button Industry.
 Other Industries.
 Organizing Plans for the Coming Year.
 Management of Organizing Campaigns.
 Local Educational Possibilities.
 Federation Membership.

**Subject of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee on Labels**

Union Labels.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee on
 Education**

Public Education:

Vocational Education.
 Industrial Arts.
 The School Health Service.
 Junior High School.
 Art Instruction.
 Exceptional Children.
 The State University.
 The Kindergarten.
 School Revenues.
 Economy but not Retrenchment.
 A Permanent Policy and an Emergency Policy.
 Loans to Educational Institutions.
 The Teacher as a Worker in the Community.
 Teacher Tenure.
 Educational Research.
 CCC.

Adult Education:

Workers' Education Bureau of America:
 The Pacific Coast.
 The Western Area.
 The Eastern Area.
 Washington, D. C.
 Labor Institutes.
 Follow-up.

Child Labor Amendment.

Legislation:

Vocational Education.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committees on State
 Organizations**

Puerto Rico:

Organization Progress.
 Sugar Workers.
 Longshoremen.
 Telephone Employees.
 Labor and Social Legislation.
 Workmen's Compensation Law.
 Destitute Widowed Mothers' Pension Fund.
 National Industrial Recovery Act.

Federal Emergency Laws.
 Puerto Rico Business Transferred to the Department of the Interior.
 Visit of President and Mrs. Roosevelt.
 Publicity.

Minimum Wage Laws.

**Subject of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee on Building Trades**

Housing.

Legislation:

Anti Kick-Back Law.
 National Housing Act.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee on Shorter
 Work Day**

Thirty-Hour Week.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee
 on Legislation**

National Legislation:

Rural Letter Carriers.
 Air-Mail Legislation.
 Government Employees.
 Naval Vessels and Air-Crafts.
 Farmer Legislation.
 Highway Appropriation.

Convict Labor.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
 Assigned to Committee on Inter-
 national Labor Relations**

The International Labour Organization.

Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Legislation:

International Labor Office.

President Green: I wish to present to the convention First Vice-President Duffy, who will submit a condensed report of the Executive Council. The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

**SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S
 REPORT**

In our introduction we point out the seriousness of the problems which confront us in the immediate future and our obligations to plan wisely and constructively in this convention.

We first include the Secretary's report on membership gains and financial stand-

ing. The report shows substantial progress and a sound financial condition. The receipts for the current year were over a million dollars in addition to a balance on hand of \$400,000. Our expenditures were over half a million dollars.

The Treasurer's report summarizes income and expenditures and shows a balance of over \$500,000.

The trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building report a balance of over \$50,000.

Organizing Work and Problems

The past year marks notable gains in organization in the mass production industries and industries that are making best use of technical progress. We report on our efforts to provide organization for meeting the situation growing out of changes in industry. Our report includes progress of federal unions in specific industries such as rubber, automobiles, chemical industries, aluminum, lumber and sawmills, filling stations, et cetera.

We make suggestions for organizing campaigns during the winter and for their management.

We recommend that every Central Labor Union provide a committee on organization and educational opportunities for members. Every union feels the need of community support in organizing work. We include suggestions for local educational possibilities.

We end this section with an estimate of union strength which is far in excess of paid-up, dues-paying members. We put the total union membership at 5,650,000, and union strength based on elections under government boards at 12,000,000.

Trade Union Benefits

Our report shows a total of over \$40,000,000 paid by National and International Unions during the year 1933. While this was a decline over the preceding year, the maintenance of these benefits is a tribute to the stability of our organizations. The report shows 100 per cent in-

crease in the number working a five-day week.

National Legislation

Our report on national legislation covers all those measures in which Labor has been interested. Two bills most fundamentally affecting Labor were the Industrial Disputes bill and the Railway Labor Act.

The following legislation was passed by the Congress:

1. Repealed 10 per cent of the 15 per cent wage-cut for government employes.
2. Improved conditions of rural letter carriers.
3. Created Adjustment Board to adjust disputes between railroads and employes.
4. Retirement system for railroad employes.
5. New Philippine Independence Act which eliminates immigration from the Islands.
6. Bank deposit guarantee extended for a year and raised to \$5,000.
7. Appropriated \$950,000,000 for unemployment relief.
8. Authorized President to appoint boards to adjust disputes in private employment.
9. Appropriated \$3,000,000 for vocational education.
10. Authorized construction of 102 naval vessels and 1,100 air crafts.
11. Restored automatic promotions for government employes.

On state labor legislation we report under the following heads: minimum wage laws, old age security and convict labor.

We give the status of the Child Labor Amendment.

We report on our non-partisan political campaign now in progress and urge that every candidate be questioned as to his attitude on important labor issues.

Labor in the National Recovery Administration

Under this section we report effects of the National Recovery Act as judged by

trends in weekly earnings, hours of work, child labor and home work, enforcement machinery, and coverage of codes. We enumerate labor policies that should be incorporated in the reorganization of the National Recovery Administration. Our report on Compliance points out that the change from state compliance directors to boards, will probably bring more effective work, and that compliance with Section 7-a comes under separate machinery.

Under the subject Organization and Collective Bargaining, we report on the boards with jurisdiction over Section 7-a or collective bargaining under the NRA. These boards include National Labor Board and National Labor Relations Board. Other industrial relations boards on which we report are the Cotton, Textile, Bituminous Coal, Automobile, Petroleum Labor Policy and National Planning and Adjustment boards.

Unemployment

Our report shows the number unemployed since 1930 and compares unemployment in the consumer and the capital goods industries. We discuss the number given work by relief projects and the number with no source of income.

Relief

It is a principle of civilization that society must make provisions for those in need. We report the amounts expended in the various types of relief and consider the various groups of those needing relief as a basis for proposing remedies.

We point out that adequate permanent provisions for the old and the young and the sick, would go a long way toward taking care of our emergency relief problems. We urge that compensation for the unemployed should not be accepted in lieu of stabilizing employment and accepting workers' equities in their jobs.

We report on the committees which are drafting the President's Program for Economic Security and submit a formulation of relief principles.

National Income

Under this section we summarize the trends in national income and the national debt.

This section is followed by a discussion of economic trends and fundamental economic principles that should be the basis for our recovery program.

Public Education

With the shrinkage in national income there is so much danger of serious injury to our public school, that our report discusses in detail principles of financing for public schools and what should be included in the public school curriculum.

We urge that teachers be given professional status with assured tenure of office.

Adult Education

We report the Government's program for adult education and the work done by the Workers Education Bureau. The Bureau has had 4 regional directors during the year.

Jurisdictional Problems

Under this head we report our efforts to secure compliance with the convention decision in the controversy between the Brewers, the Teamsters, Engineers and the Firemen.

We report a settlement of the controversy between the Textile Workers and the Ladies Garment Workers.

Progress in Special Industries

We make special reports on progress among federal employees, railway employees, in the coal industry, union labels, and in the Island of Porto Rico.

International

We report on the status of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the opportunities and responsibilities inherent in our membership in the International Labor Office. Progress in promoting a boycott of German goods ends our report.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

Supplementary Report of the Executive Council to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, California, October 1, 1934

The Executive Council submits a supplementary report upon that section of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Building Trades."

When the report was written, it was assumed that the existing facts relating to the reaffiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, warranted the preparation and submission of the report prepared by the Executive Council under the caption "Building Trades." We sincerely regret, however, that subsequent developments

changed the situation so that we are now compelled to report that difficulties of a serious nature arose which prevented the reaffiliation of the three organizations named with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and which also resulted in an appeal having been filed by these three International Unions with the Executive Council.

The Executive Council, through meetings with the representatives of the Building Trades Department and the representatives of all organizations involved, has been endeavoring to find a solution of existing difficulties and a settlement of the differences which have arisen. We are compelled to report that thus far we have been unable to compose the differences and negotiate a settlement.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, *October 1, 1934.*

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention
of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

INTRODUCTION

Our fifty-fourth convention finds the year's progress toward recovery falling far short of what we had hoped. Despite the efforts of the federal government to "prime the pump" of private business, the heavy industries have made practically no come-back while the consumer goods industries have reemployed approximately fifty per cent of those attached to the industries. Ten millions are without jobs.

Progress of organization has continued steadily and gains have been far greater than nominal gains based on duespaying membership would indicate. Low wages, irregular work, and deficits created by years of repression, prevent many from complete identification with our movement. However, the tide of those who feel a kinship with the cause of Labor—the cause of the underprivileged—steadily rises higher.

The failure of government effort to "prime the pump," leaves us again face to face with a most implacable force—ten millions of unemployed. Something must be done to organize our nation's work so that these persons may have a place and an opportunity to earn a living. In our report we emphasize the progress we have made in organization and the spirit of organization that is abroad among those who work. We report fully on the developments under the National Recovery Act and progress in establishing agencies for assuring Labor its new status under this act. History will interpret this act primarily as labor legislation and its effectiveness will depend upon the success with which it helps Labor to become an effective balance force in the industrial world.

There is growing among employers an appreciation of what a constructive labor movement could do to prevent unbalance in distribution of wealth and income and in preventing generally the higher standards of living upon which capacity production must depend. Relentless opposition to unions has proved unexpectedly costly.

The transitional period in which we are living makes heavy demands upon experience and wisdom that we may choose wisely and avoid all possible mistakes. It is for this reason we are especially anxious that Labor should be organized and ready to make its contribution to policy-making and administration in these crucial months immediately ahead. At this critical time we can ill-afford the consequences of avoidable blunders.

We make this report with a deep sense of the seriousness of the problems confronting us and in apprehension of dangers that may engulf us. Our immediate responsibility is to plan wisely for Labor that it may be in a position to act effectively and constructively. Constructive opportunity is the best antidote for a spirit of revolt.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1933, and ending August 31, 1934.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$565,706.36. Of this total \$466,042.67 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$99,663.69, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$1,070,432.80, the total expenses, \$906,859.24, amount of receipts over expenses, \$163,573.56.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1934:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1933.....	\$ 402,132.80
Per Capita Tax.....	\$385,816.93
American Federationist	239,747.96
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	133,615.31
Initiation fees	248,757.79
Reinstatement fees	2,322.90
Supplies	31,006.31
Interest	13,918.26
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	11,651.14
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	3,446.20
Dividend on Union Labor Life Ins. Stock.....	150.00
Total receipts.....	1,070,432.80
Grand total.....	\$1,472,565.60

EXPENSES

General	\$760,332.63
American Federationist.....	135,459.18
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	1,084.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	9,983.43
Total expenses.....	906,859.24
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1934.....	\$ 565,706.36

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$ 99,663.69
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	466,042.67
Balance on hand, August 31, 1934.....	\$ 565,706.36

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1934.

Rent	\$15,258.00
Refund, Charter and Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies.....	2,449.37
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	9,983.43
Secretary's bond	15.00
Treasurer's bond	187.50
Insurance	663.32
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,722.24
Legislative expenses, including salaries and travelling expenses of legislative committeemen	9,096.64
Postage stamps.....	18,377.24
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library).....	2,947.70
Printing Bound Proceedings of Washington, D. C., convention.....	2,381.02
Supplies and Printing.....	56,198.59
Supplies for Resale.....	23,849.10
Miscellaneous expenses	9,405.59
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	6,196.25
Mailing Equipment.....	5,447.28
Office furniture and fixtures.....	4,353.54
Official stenographers, Washington, D. C., convention.....	1,402.76
Telegrams and telephones.....	13,105.89
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	452.05
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,221.68
Washington, D. C., Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms, assistant secretary and roll-call clerk.....	560.00
Printing roll call.....	261.00
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	3,510.93
Stenographers	1,702.59
Rental of office furniture.....	87.00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings.....	442.78
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	330.00
Salaries:	
President	12,000.00
Secretary	10,000.00
Treasurer	500.00
Office employees.....	184,092.91
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	17,593.59
Telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, E. C. meeting.....	211.52
Stenographers attending E. C. meeting.....	525.50
President and Secretary traveling.....	9,017.62
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	1,084.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	254.72
Union Label Trades Department.....	32.22
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	54.58
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses.....	323,874.67
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	135,459.18
Printing, and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	5,955.94

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Washington, D. C., convention	569.95
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	10,300.35
Legal expenses.....	2,634.00
Total	<u>\$906,859.24</u>

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1934, we had 1,788 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 89,083, and a defense fund of \$466,042.67, to protect the members of the 1,788 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,595 general and district organizers, as well as 55 paid organizers and the officers of the 686 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$133,615.31, initiation fees, \$248,757.79, and reinstatement fees, \$2,322.90.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1933, and ending August 31, 1934:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund....\$133,615.31

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Shingle Weavers No. 17813, Vancouver, B. C., Can.....	2	6	\$84.00
Automobile Workers No. 18384, Toledo, O., Legal Assistance.....			1,000.00
Total expenses.....			<u>\$1,084.00</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1933..\$333,511.36

Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1934.....133,615.31

Total\$467,126.67

Strike benefits paid.....\$84.00

Legal Assistance.....1,000.00

Total\$1,084.00

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1934..\$466,042.67

**Charters Revoked, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated,
Joined International Unions and Reinstated**

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 2; reinstated, 42.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 25; suspended, 43; joined national and international organizations, 11; reinstated, 12.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 6; suspended, 15; joined national and international organizations, 16; reinstated, 3.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1934, there have been issued 1,262 charters to National, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number 2 were granted to the following National and International Unions:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America

Central Bodies as follows:

Alabama	Missouri	Pennsylvania—Continued
Gadsden	Carthage	Kiski Valley
Huntsville	Nevada	Latrobe
Jasper	Boulder City	Stroudsburg
Siluria	New Jersey	Mt. Carmel
Arizona	Atlantic City	Bucks County
Bisbee	New York	Armstrong County
Yavapai County	Port Jervis	South Carolina
California	Gloversville	Anderson
Santa Cruz	North Carolina	Texas
El Centro	Gastonia	Longview
Roseville	Ohio	Kilgore
Idaho	Ironton & Russell, Ky.	Corpus Christi
Nampa	Fairfield County	Big Springs
Illinois	Barberton	Utah
Wood River	Lake County	Logan
Lake County	Medina & Wayne County	Virginia
Indiana	Reading	Petersburg & Hopewell
Washington	Conneaut	Washington
Kansas	Oklahoma	Vancouver
Eldorado	Henryetta	Pasco-Kennewick
Kentucky	Seminole	Raymond
Ashland	Creek County	West Virginia
Louisiana	Cushing	Williamson & Vicinity
Bogalusa	Pennsylvania	Logan
Maine	Panther Creek Valley	Welch
Bangor	Jeannette	Martinsburg
Michigan	Tarentum & Vicinity	Wisconsin
Monroe	Lewistown	Waukesha
Minnesota	Montgomery County	Wyoming
Cloquet	Johnstown	Green River

The following is statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

	1933-1934
National Unions.....	2
Central Labor Unions.....	64
Local Trade Unions.....	826
Federal Labor Unions.....	370
Total	1,262

SLEEPING CAR PORTERS INJUNCTION FUND

Receipts from January 13, 1933 to and including March 31, 1933.....	\$660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President.....	660.00

Fund deposited in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank

* The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Savings Bank and released 40% of deposits. We, therefore, transferred \$264.00, which amount represents 40%, to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. The remaining 60% or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26th, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1934.....\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments..... 15,510.89

Total receipts.....\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1934..... 117,407.93

Balance on hand August 31, 1934.....\$16,176.19

Funds deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust Account..... \$1,266.66
Riggs National Bank checking account..... 14,065.09
The City Bank, checking account..... 844.44

Balance on hand August 31, 1934.....\$16,176.19

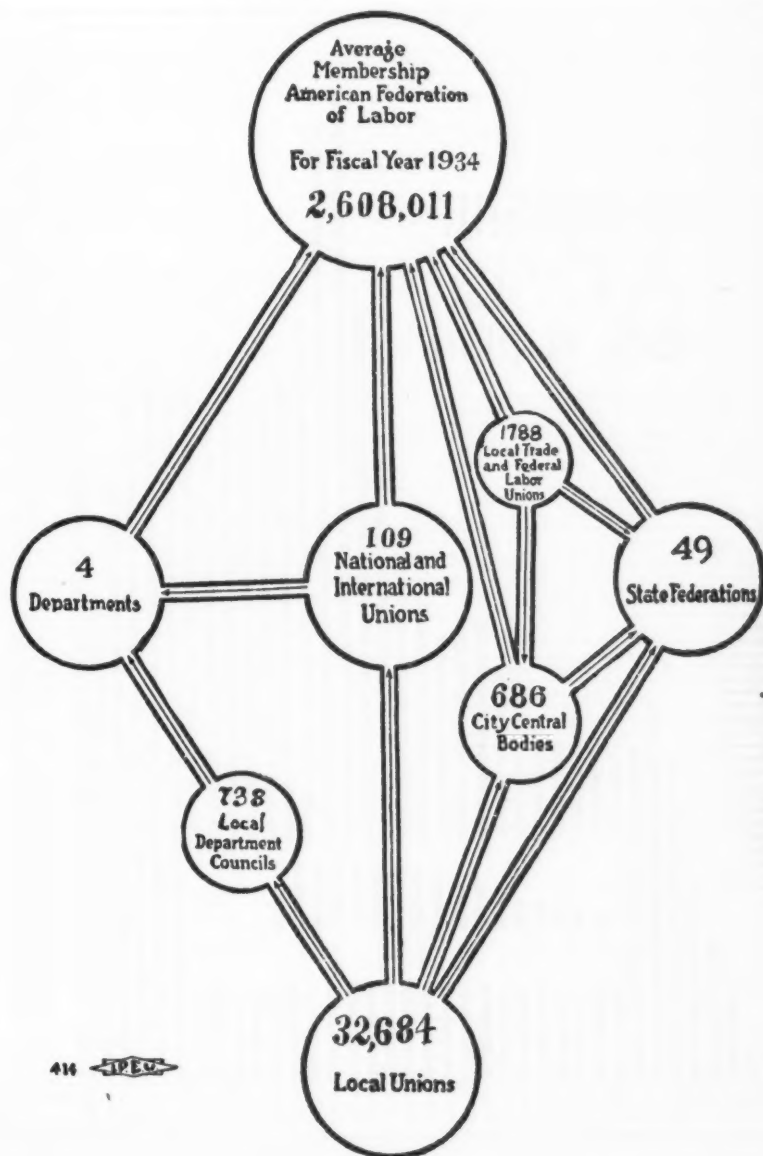
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

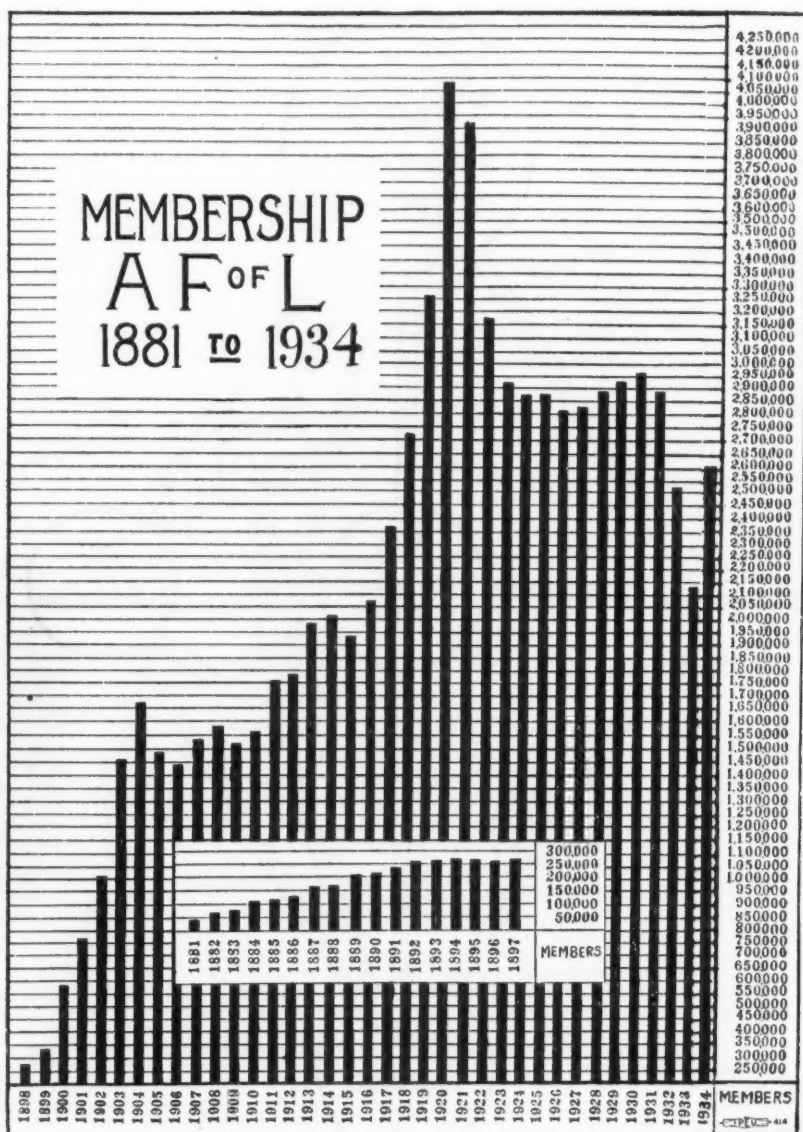
The membership of affiliated unions for the year ending August 31, 1934, is 2,608,011, an increase of 481,215 members over the average membership for the twelve months last year. The total membership for the month of August, 1934, is 2,824,689, which shows an increase of paid membership in August, 1934, over the average paid membership of the affiliated unions last year of 697,893. August, 1934, membership is also an increase of 216,678 over the average membership for the twelve months of this year. National and International organizations are required to pay the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include all the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. shows that the reason for the comparatively small increase in membership is due almost entirely to the unemployment of members of National & International Unions and Directly Affiliated Local Unions. The following is the membership for the past thirty-eight years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1907	1,538,970	1917	2,371,434	1927	2,812,526
1898	278,016	1908	1,586,885	1918	2,726,478	1928	2,896,063
1899	349,422	1909	1,482,872	1919	3,260,068	1929	2,933,545
1900	548,321	1910	1,562,112	1920	4,078,740	1930	2,961,096
1901	787,537	1911	1,761,835	1921	3,906,528	1931	2,889,550
1902	1,024,399	1912	1,770,145	1922	3,195,635	1932	2,532,261
1903	1,465,800	1913	1,996,004	1923	2,926,468	1933	2,126,796
1904	1,676,200	1914	2,020,671	1924	2,865,799	1934	2,608,011
1905	1,494,300	1915	1,946,347	1925	2,877,297		
1906	1,454,200	1916	2,072,702	1926	2,803,966		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1934—fifty-four years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 32,684 local unions in the 109 national and international unions with an average paid membership of 2,518,928 and 1,788 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with an average paid membership of 89,083 for the twelve months ending August 31, 1934. Grand total of local unions, 34,472.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1926 up to and including 1934. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	104	103	103	115	112	83	45	33	31
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	25	26	27	29	33	41	20	20	25
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	216	219	216	212	200	201	179	159	181
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	512	545	541	522	512	461	399	320	393
Bill Posters.	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	145	148	171	172	193	170	150	142	143
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	369	350	326	324	322	275	170	134	192
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	129	138	138	136	139	147	119	107	119
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	255
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasters' I. U. of A.	50	50	50	50	42	33	20	1	14
Bridg & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.	700	837	900	900	900	900	567	458	458
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	191	213	207	204	209	175	120	100	160
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	6	5	5	5	5	4	3	2	1
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	62	62	69	92	162	180	180	180	192
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3,197	3,220	3,220	3,220	3,032	3,020	2,900	2,058	2,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	887	800	800	800	800	800	800	592	550
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	11	12	13	12	12	11	9	8	8
Cigar-makers' International Union.	200	183	175	170	155	155	155	98	70
"Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	7	320	369	369	970	753	608	600	600
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	100	100	100	100	100	100	87	50	58
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.									833
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	87	102	82	69	60	58	46	61	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	23	23	23	23	23	23	21	20	20
Coopers' International Union.	11	10	9	8	7	7	6	7	25
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	2
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	7	16	19	15	12	17	10	7	10
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,399	941	1,135
Elevator Constructors.	95	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	270	302	320	330	340	340	344	350	350
Engravers, Friendly Society of.								1	4
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.	1	1	1	1	4	5	5	5	3
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	77	79	83	86	80	90	89	87	86
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.	179	230	226	305	335	381	c	c	c
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	160	160	160	168	180	180	180	180	197
Fireman and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.	80	90	83	95	90	91	93	92	101
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	35	35	35	35	28	10	7	5	20
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	78	72	42	28	70	80	38	40	20
Garment Workers of America, United.	475	475	475	475	472	463	456	395	370
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.			3	9	9	10	9	6	10
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.									8
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A., Window.	3	4	3	3	b	b	b	b	b
Glass Workers, American Flint.	53	52	51	52	49	46	39	36	61
Glass Workers, National Window.	20	20	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Glove Workers.	5	6	7	8	8	5	3	5	34
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.								40	83
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The.	85	85	85	85	85	85	62	50	50
Hatters of North America, United.	115	115	115	115	115	93	85	85	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union, United.									198
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	665	709	753	917	1,027	1,150	900	521	442
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	15	12	9	9	7	4	2	1	1
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	386	398	385	378	365	337	283	227	378
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	100	99	90	89	79	58	50	46	55
Jewelry Workers' International.	7	6	9	8	8	8	8	8	49
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	801	800	303	323	508	475	400	250	1,500
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.	160	175	165	165	165	165	165	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	50	53
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	17	10	10	50	50	50	10	8	30
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.	400	400	404	450	508	550	550	550	517
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	3	6	8	8	8	8	11	12	12
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	54	57	61	58	56	57	56	52	58
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	301	347	371	377	347	299	270	234	343

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Machinists, International Association of.....	714	723	745	770	780	776	707	650	820
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.....	291	282	350	322	401	408	371	278	312
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.....	42	49	56	64	77	77	77	62	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	34	31	31	30	30	30	30	25	20
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Asso. of.....								1	1
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	122	117	118	118	125	113	114	111	195
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	175	160
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,083	3,000	3,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wks., I. U. of.....	81	40	45	40	40	40	21	13	116
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	284	265	232	237	218	152	95	60	88
Musicians, American Federation of.....	800	800	967	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	7	10	10	16	11	9	4	3	125
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	1,114	1,129	1,103	1,081	1,062	964	796	593	578
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	46	40	40	40	40	40	40	23	115
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammersmen, Intl. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	24	24	23	23	24	24	22	22	22
Piano & Organ Wks. Union of A., Intl.....	6	5	5	5	5	4	3	3	2
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).....						1	5	6	7
Plasters' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	322	390	392	392	382	377	353	228	180
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....	60	60	60	60	60	58	23	14	35
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....	279	300	300	320	352	360	360	360	333
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	78	72	69	66	58	54	52	45	79
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Printing Pressmen, International.....	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	353	320
Printers', Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....	12	12	12	12	11	12	11	10	12
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wks.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	69
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	30	30	30	30	30	26	21	20
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.....	1,010	1,012	1,013	997	972	914	817	712	700
Railway Mail Association.....	195	194	197	198	198	198	207	200	192
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wks. Assn. United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	30	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	150	150	150	150	150	150	97	60	50
Sheep Shearers' Union of N. A.....							1	6	8
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....	80	80	80	†	†	†	†	†	†
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	220	231	232	233	240	240	240	240	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	69	73	74	77	78	82	81	82	80
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	57	58	58	58	58	58	57	56	59
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	16	16	16	14	10	8	7	6	15
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	87	89	91	93	92	82	72	63	73
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	83	77	72	68	67	58	28	17	26
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	35	35	38	42	52	63	70	70	85
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	820	865	894	955	988	920	820	713	955
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	42	39	38	38	38	38	35	22	20
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	350	350	350	390	410	410	370	350	350
Textile Workers of America, United.....	300	300	300	300	300	300	275	150	387
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	14	14	32	42	24	24	25	26	83
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	37	40	40	a	a	a	a	a	a
Typographical Union, International.....	733	749	758	764	776	775	761	738	731
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	86	102	107	107	107	101	65	65	65
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6
Weavers, Elastic, Goring.....	1	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Wire Weavers' Protective American.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
Centrals.....	833	794	792	803	804	728	619	618	688
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions.....	455	467	485	468	397	376	339	711	512
Total vote of Unions.....	28,790	29,191	29,385	30,406	30,678	29,906	26,092	22,554	26,433

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. aSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention.

**Reinstated May 17, 1928. aAmalgamated with Hod Carriers. bAmalgamated with Window Glass Cutters
League of America. cWithdrawn affiliation. dAmalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and
Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Fur Workers	Molders
Bakers and Confectioners	Garment Workers, United	Painters
Bill Posters and Billers	Garment Workers, Ladies	Papermakers
Boilermakers	Glass Bottle Blowers	Photo-Engravers
Blacksmiths	Glove Workers	Piano and Organ Workers
Bookbinders	Hatters and Millinery Wkrs.	Plate Printers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Horseshoers	Powder Workers
Brewery Workmen	Iron and Steel Workers	Pressmen, Printing
Brick and Clay Workers	Jewelry Workers	Stereotypers and Electrotipers
Broommakers	Lathers	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Laundry Workers	Tailors
Brotherhood	Leather Workers	Textile Workers
Carvers, Wood	Lithographers	Tobacco Workers
Cigarmakers	Machinists	Typographical
Coopers	Marble Workers	Upholsterers
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Polishers	United Wall Paper Crafts
Electrical Workers	Metal Workers, Sheet	Weavers, Wire
	Metal Engravers	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail	Employes	Teamsters
Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; Rubber Workers; Sausage Seasoning and Spice Workers; Shingle Mill Employes; and Metal Stamping and Assemblers.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER RYAN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1933, to August 31, 1934. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants Paid:	
1933		1933	
September 30	\$62,845.31	September 30	\$61,768.70
October 31	85,752.73	October 31	77,052.07
November 30	80,884.43	November 30	76,378.55
December 31	83,757.57	December 31	59,471.91
1934		1934	
January 31	66,497.98	January 31	62,961.41
February 28	77,015.16	February 28	63,751.80
March 31	91,475.70	March 31	69,673.77
April 30	122,529.94	April 30	79,751.70
May 31	101,209.82	May 31	87,039.80
June 30	91,499.37	June 30	87,523.71
July 31	95,980.68	July 31	87,527.42
August 31	110,984.11	August 31	93,958.40
Total income for 12 months	\$1,070,432.80	Total expenses for 12 months	\$906,859.24
Balance in hands of Treasurer			
August 31, 1933.....	400,132.80		
Grand total	\$1,470,565.60		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income.....	\$1,470,565.60
Total expenses	906,859.24
August 31, 1934—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$563,706.36
August 31, 1934—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1934.....	\$565,706.36
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4¼-3¼) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32....	49,281.25
Total Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$276,351.57
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 86½.....	\$88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 92¾.....	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 85½.....	15,390.00
Total Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	177,820.00
First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Subject to check).....	94,534.79
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock).....	15,000.00
Treasurer's balance August 31, 1934.....	\$563,706.36

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,

KANSAS CITY, MO., September 4, 1934.

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1934.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1933.....		\$50,452.54
Rents	\$29,080.00	
Interest:		
U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$187.50	
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	2,000.00	
	2,187.50	
Sale of waste paper.....	117.00	
Total receipts		31,384.50
Receipts and balance.....		81,837.04

EXPENSES

<i>Maintenance:</i>		
Pay roll (building employees)	\$15,807.20	
Taxes	2,759.44	
Electricity	1,400.28	
Fuel (coal)	1,523.27	
Supplies	1,404.94	
Upkeep and repairs.....	2,822.72	
Plastering and painting.....	2,322.48	
Cleaning windows.....	427.15	
Insurance (liability).....	298.47	
Water rent.....	373.37	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	152.00	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	14.81	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	418.06	
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2.75	
Federal tax on checks.....	3.98	
Total expenses		29,730.92
Balance on hand August 31, 1934.....		\$52,106.12

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$81,837.04
Expenses	29,730.92
Balance on hand August 31, 1934.....	\$52,106.12
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.....	\$1,218.31
City Bank	561.80
Riggs National Bank.....	6,596.63
\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, (5%) par value	
\$100.00 @ 94¾.....	\$37,750.00
\$6,000.00 3¼ U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38
	43,729.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1934.....	\$52,106.12

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

ORGANIZING WORK AND PROBLEMS

Unusual progress has been made this year in the extension of union organization into new fields—previously unorganized mass production industries and industries developing out of industrial research and technical progress. These plants have no traditions of organized labor relations or collective bargaining, and many of the larger companies have been strongholds of opposition to collective bargaining. Although there has been a deliberate effort to create the impression that these industries were not organizable because the workers had not made any visible effort to belong to unions, at the first promise of the federal government to assure the right to union membership without discrimination, there was a virtual uprising of workers for union membership. Workers held mass meetings and sent word they wanted to be organized.

The demand for service coming just after business had reached the depths of depression, meant quick expansion of organizing forces by the American Federation of Labor and national and international unions. Every national and international union affiliated to the Federation has taxed its resources to the limit to meet the demands of the past year. Organization and banding together in the American Federation of Labor are for the purpose of clearly defining responsibility in order that union work may go forward most expeditiously.

The Federation is not a competitor of national and international unions but a coordinator with specific responsibility for initiating organizing work in those fields in which jurisdiction has not been allocated to national and international unions, for such general aid as will facilitate the work of all, for planning to bring up backward areas, and for observing and studying industrial changes that concern organizing work.

Organizing work in new industries developed problems which precipitated considerable discussion of union structure, both within the National Recovery Administration and within the labor movement.

The 1933 convention authorized the Executive Council to call a conference of the representatives of the national and international unions for the purpose of giving consideration to the question of organizing the unorganized, particularly those employed in mass production industries. The convention's decision was based upon the report of the Resolutions Committee upon Resolutions Nos. 21, 83, and 111. These resolutions all deal with the important question of organization and organization policies.

The conference was held in the city of Washington, January 24-25, 1934. Seventy-five of the national and international unions were represented by one or more delegates. Representatives from the Building Trades, Metal Trades, Railway Employees, and Union Label Trades Departments were present.

The conference was addressed by General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the National Recovery Act, by Congressman William P. Connery, member of Congress from Massachusetts, by Donald Richberg, attorney for the National Recovery Administration, by Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York, and by the greater proportion of the delegates in attendance in the conference.

A committee was appointed to prepare the conclusions of the conference. That committee reported and the conference adopted the following:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Your committee in considering the subject assigned to it is conscious of the limitations under which this conference was called and can function; that it is without power and authority to alter or change the fundamental principles of trades autonomy upon which the American Federation of Labor was founded, or to alter the constitutional requirements and provisions of the American Federation of Labor. It is the sense of this committee that this conference can only adopt such policies and procedure as are in accord with the constitutional requirements and provisions, and it is with that understanding we report as follows:

Organization among wage earners is imperative. Industries are being organized and cartelized throughout the land. Unless the wage earners are united through organization, free and independent of employer control or influence, Labor will have suffered a distinctive loss.

The paramount issue is not what particular form of organization shall be followed in this emergency and this unusual situation. The demand of the moment is to promote organization in whatever form or method is best designed to rally the wage earners to the cause of Organized Labor, bearing in mind that in the pursuit of organization the present structure, rights and interests of affiliated National and International Unions must be followed, observed and safeguarded.

The American Federation of Labor, contrary to a common belief, does not desire to dictate the form of organization that shall prevail among wage earners. Its policy has been that of encouraging whatever form of organization in any trade, calling or industry seems best to meet the situation and the requirements of the workers. The American Federation of Labor has provided methods and means of encouraging organization through federal and local trade unions among workers not embraced in the work of National and International Unions. In that way and by that process quite a number of existing National and International Unions have been formed.

Today we are confronted with an entirely new and novel situation, wherein provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act express sympathy to the organization of wage earners but leave the subject of the form and method of organization entirely to the discretion of the wage earners without guide or direction, giving recognition to whatever form may be adopted for the moment, and without thought of ultimate consequences or reckoning. Employers have taken full advantage of this situation in the organizing and maintaining of company unions. Employers are granted every encouragement and aid under the law in perfecting their organization while at the same time they are denying the exercise of the same rights on the part of the workers and in keeping with the intent and spirit of the National Recovery Act.

It is in this sort of situation that the American Federation of Labor must assume leadership and take command in the organizing of wage earners in whatever form the temporary situation may demand or require and with the objective in mind of not only protecting and promoting existing National and International Unions in their structure and functioning and in the setting up and maintaining of their standards of employment, but in encouraging the formation of new National and International Unions where no such organizations now prevail.

It must be apparent that in this endeavor of organization, conflicts of jurisdiction and claims of invasion of organization rights are likely to occur. If we are to meet the requirements of the moment we must accept such conflicts in the spirit of tolerance and through proper procedure correct such errors as have or hereafter may occur. After all, we must look to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to serve in this capacity as never heretofore. In that spirit and in that thought we recommend:

First: That the work of organizing by and through National and International Unions, supplemented by that of the American Federation of Labor through federal and local trade unions, proceed with increased vigor and determination; that the fullest possible latitude be exercised by the Executive Council in the granting of federal charters and that where or whenever a temporary infraction of the rights of National and International Unions may be involved, that the Executive Council adjust such difficulties in the spirit of taking full advantage of the immediate situation and with the ultimate recognition of the rights of all concerned.

Second: That the Executive Council through the officers of the American Federation of Labor arrange conferences between organizers and representatives of National and International Unions, of affiliated local units and of the American Federation of Labor general, special and volunteer organizers in the respective centers, for the purpose of creating complete understanding and harmony among those charged with organization work, to be followed in methods of promoting organization, so as to avoid or lessen unnecessary friction, conflict or limitations due to varying financial requirements of different National and International organizations, and forms and character of organizations being promoted.

Third: That the officers of the American Federation of Labor call into special conferences periodically the executive officers or representatives, or representative committees of the several departments and divisions of organized labor within the American Federation of Labor to review the progress of organization made and to plan for future methods to be followed and means to be employed in furthering organization in their respective fields of endeavor.

Fourth: That the officers of the American Federation of Labor arrange for mass meetings of wage earners throughout the land and that all local unions be called upon to cooperate in calling and arranging for these mass meetings; that the officers of the American Federation of Labor likewise undertake to train and arrange for speakers at these and other meetings; that both the press and radio be used to the fullest possible extent, and that every other means available be used to further the spirit of organization and promote the formation of trade unions among wage earners throughout the land.

The conditions with which the workers are at present confronted make organization more imperative than ever. The need of the workers everywhere is to get together, to organize, to exercise the principles of mutual aid, to form trade unions, the one method whereby they can effectually protect themselves in industry and meet the enormous problems of the day.

Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,
Chairman

VICTOR A. OLANDER,
Secretary

ARTHUR O. WHARTON
DANIEL J. TOBIN
CHARLES P. HOWARD
ANDREW MYRUP
GEORGE LAKEY
DAVID DUBINSKY
MICHAEL COLLERAN

The progress of the past year has not been solely the result of wage earners flocking to union standards. There have been many well-planned and well-directed organization undertakings. There have been difficulties and obstacles which had to be overcome. The major difficulties have been:

1. **Fear**—Workers attached to industries where organization of workers in unions was unknown were fearful of rousing the wrath of employers and thereby losing their jobs. Four years of depression had wiped out economic independence and bred the fear of insecurity. Workers feared to assert or use their legal rights when shelter or bread was in jeopardy. When wealthy corporations defied the NRA and challenged the National Labor Board, their employees realized they had no protection against discrimination for union activity. •

2. **Company Unions**—Employers who were hopelessly opposed to collective bargaining with organized employees hailed the company union as a way to escape a real union. The company union gave the appearance of labor representation without the power or the effectiveness of the standard labor union. The company union, in fact, extends the power of management by providing new methods of influencing conduct and keeping in touch with employees. Company union experience for more than a decade had been cleared through the Conference Committee, which consisted of the personnel men of the most powerful corporations in the United States, such as Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, United States Rubber, General Electric, International Harvester, DuPonts and others. Company union plans (or constitutions), "legal" under the National Recovery Act, were worked out and the company union campaign was launched. Industries pretending to conform to the NRA instituted company unions and began resistance to the spirit of the law. Personnel counselors were in demand to set up company unions. Threats were carried to union members that they would better join the company union. Discriminations began. In lay-offs, in rehiring, in many kinds of preferment the union member was at a disadvantage. There was practically no redress. Nevertheless, in thousands of cases, workers have held to their union membership.

3. **Adapting to mass production industries**—Mass production industries subdivide the production of an article into standardized processes which constitute classifications. The problem of establishing the organization to be responsible for organizing the industry has been worked out in various ways, depending upon the industry, the jobs, and the number employed for various jobs. There has been much discussion of the "vertical" (plant) union—some employers claiming they would be willing to deal with such organizations.

Similar to organizing problems in the mass production industry are those in companies which have a chain of plants manufacturing the same products so that work can be shifted easily from one plant to another. Here, also, establishing the joint agency is prerequisite to developing collective bargaining in the industry.

Organization Carried into New Fields

Rubber Tire and Rubber Manufacturing—This is an industry which, in 1929, employed close to 150,000 employees. In 1931, this number had decreased to 83,377. The industry is centralized in Akron, Ohio, and the surrounding territory, though there are smaller plants, manufacturing both tires and rubber goods, scattered all over the United States. This concentration of a major portion of the industry in a rather limited geographical area helps in a solution of many

of the organization problems of the industry. It is possible in this case to have much more centralized direction of the organization campaign than if the industry were much more widely scattered; it is easier to build up a spirit of cooperation and understanding between the workers of the various plants, and to have more exact information on what is happening in other plants. On the other hand, the opposition to organization is also concentrated; it is easy to ignore those plants which happen to be in other parts of the country.

When the organization campaign began a little over a year ago, there were not more than 2,500 organized employees in the entire Akron district. Today, there are from 60,000 to 70,000 union members in the same district, the vast majority of whom are rubber workers. In all, there are now approximately 75 unions in rubber tire and rubber manufacturing plants. These unions are solidly united in a National Council of Rubber Workers which was formed in Akron in June, 1934. This Council is especially noteworthy in that it includes not only production workers organized in the directly affiliated federal labor unions, but all those national and international unions which have members employed in rubber plants. This is a real step forward in a strong industry-wide organization. The Council has drawn up a proposed agreement to be used as a guide to the unions in collective bargaining. In every section of the country in which rubber plants are located, the Council has someone who is prepared to assist the unions in their conferences, and help to bring about uniform conditions of employment. We may reasonably expect very marked progress in the organization of this industry within the coming year. We are now enlisting the help of all central and state federations in completing the organization of the rubber tire and the rubber manufacturing industry. Two new organizers with practical experience in the industry have been secured to assist in the complete organization of the industry.

There are 4 major rubber tire and rubber manufacturing plants. They are Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and United States. In 3 of these a majority of the employees are members of federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. No union as yet exists in the principal plant of the United States Rubber Company in Detroit, but definite plans are now being put into effect to organize this plant, and there will be a union there within the near future.

A number of the rubber workers' unions have made real progress in collective bargaining. A union shop exists in the India Tire Company of Akron, Ohio; the General Tire and Rubber Company of the same city has recently entered into a very favorable agreement with the union, after a strike; the Barr Rubber Company of Sandusky, Ohio, has signed an agreement with the union; so has the Aetna Rubber Company of Ashtabula, Ohio, and the La Crosse Rubber Company of LaCrosse, Wisconsin, and the Pharis Tire Company of Newark, Ohio. Other unions have arrived at a settlement of grievances and adjustment of demands through collective bargaining.

The unions in this industry have to meet the problem of strong company unions. There is marked opposition on the part of the major plants to the growth of unions or to any recognition of the right of the unions to represent the employees for collective bargaining. The rubber tire manufacturing industry, while in a much stronger financial position than for the past few years, has

now shown the upturn that automobiles or steel or other industries have shown. The rubber sundries manufacturing portion of the industry, in contrast, has shown for the first six months of this year, as well as for 1933, a very decided betterment in its position. The industry is one of decided seasonal fluctuations and is now in a slack period, with large inventories on hand. With the support of all unions in the Council, however, it may reasonably be expected that real progress will be made by these unions in the coming year. They must have the support of all unions concerned; they need help in educating their members and in carrying on negotiations; they need help in outlawing the company unions.

Automobile Manufacturing—The automobile industry typifies modern production methods and organization. It was the first industry to introduce the mass production methods which now characterize such a large proportion of industry; it is responsible for the introduction of semi-automatic and automatic machinery and the speed-up system which in many plants taxes the physical and mental strength of working men and women beyond the point of human endurance.

Mass production industries present not only new fields for organization, but also many new problems and difficulties. Union methods must be adapted to these new problems. Organizers must be equipped with a knowledge of the industry; with a sympathetic understanding of the nature of the workers and of their problems; with a thorough conviction of the necessity of educating these workers to the meaning and the importance of organization.

When the National Industrial Recovery Act was adopted, workers in mass production industries all over the country at once manifested their desire to organize in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Among mass production industries the manufacture of automobiles ranks first. Even in the depression year of 1931 the industry employed an average of 285,515 workers—a larger number than employed in any other single manufacturing industry; in the same year the value of its products was greater than in any other manufacturing industry; its payroll was second in size. It has a dominating part in our entire economic and financial life. Its labor policies determine those of many smaller, related industries.

Within the past year we have made very considerable progress in the organization of the automobile industry. Last June, just a little over a year ago, there was not a single union of automobile workers affiliated with the Federation. There are now 106 federal labor unions in automobile plants. On June 23-24, 1934, delegates of automobile workers' federal labor unions from all parts of the United States met in Detroit and formed the National Council of Automobile Workers Unions.

That progress has been made in organizing the automobile industry is evidenced not only by the number of unions, but by the fact that a union was formed in every major plant in the country, as well as in many of the most important parts' plants.

This is the lay-off season in the automobile industry. During this period educational work is being carried on for the purpose of educating the automobile workers to the meaning of organization, collective bargaining and wage

agreements. An institute was held in Flint, Michigan, on August 4-5, 1934, under the supervision of the Workers Education Bureau. Union committees have been formed to carry on educational work; efforts are being made to tie up the educational program with state institutions and with city schools.

Special problems which have been encountered and which must be met in the organization of this industry are:

1. The nature of the workers themselves. They are highly nervous and suspicious, entirely undisciplined, completely inexperienced in the trade union movement. They have been driven so long in the terrific speed-up of the industry and forced to live so long under very unfavorable conditions, that they present special problems to organizers and to union officials.

2. The automobile companies have fought organization by the formation of company unions into which they have attempted to force their employees to become members. The company union still remains one of the major problems of the organization of the industry. Apparently, the companies have no real intention of complying with Section 7 (a), for they have set up their company unions to avoid such compliance.

3. This industry is one of very pronounced seasonability which makes organization exceedingly difficult. From three to five months of the year the automobile employees are unemployed, even in the best years. During this time they are largely dependent on relief agencies. A better planned production policy in order to shorten these seasonal lay-offs is a part of the organization and economic policy of the American Federation of Labor in the automobile industry.

Carefully planned action is necessary to carry on the work which has been started in this industry during the past year. Among the very definite needs of the coming year are:

1. Further organization work must be carefully planned and as carefully executed, in full cooperation with all national and international organizations interested and involved. Because of the nature of the workers and the industry, organizers must be selected with utmost care and every effort made to establish harmonious cooperative relations between all organizers and workers.

2. Union officers and union members must be educated to the meaning of organization and their rights and duties as union members.

3. The industry must be carefully studied so that the unions may proceed intelligently to the making of demands and the carrying on of negotiations with the management.

Despite the determined opposition of the employers and the newness of the unions, very real progress has been made in the automobile manufacturing plants in collective bargaining. Contracts have been negotiated and signed with a number of important automobile manufacturing companies. We seek to demonstrate through the successful application of these agreements the real value of collective bargaining in the promotion of efficiency and industrial cooperation. In other plants in which no signed agreements are as yet in effect, adjustments of many grievances have been made through collective bargaining.

Aluminum Workers—I. Progress and Extent of Organization—In July, 1933, there was only one aluminum workers' union (New Kensington, Pennsylvania)

in the entire aluminum industry. Since that time, every aluminum plant throughout the nation, with one exception, has been organized into federal unions of aluminum workers. The remaining plant of the Aluminum Company of America at Edgewater, New Jersey, is now being organized. As a result of this one-year drive, there are now 20 federal unions representing some 15,000 workers. The majority of these are production workers embracing all phases of aluminum manufacturing except bauxite mining.

The mining of bauxite, from which aluminum is made, is an integral part of the industry; but, in the light of the best available evidence, bauxite miners are not organizable. Most of bauxite mining is concentrated in the central part of Arkansas. Due to overproduction in this branch of the industry, mining operations are extremely slack without any immediate promise of substantial recovery. Workers engaged in mining operations are mostly semi-skilled men and are greatly under-paid for their work. Being employed on bauxite mining only a fraction of the year, they are forced to seek other means of support. The majority of workers in bauxite mining at the present time are farmers and agricultural workers who, when they are not employed in the mines, are scattered over a wide territory and maintain no contact with each other. This mobility of labor has made it impossible to develop any kind of permanent organization of bauxite workers.

All divisions of the industry, other than bauxite, are now almost completely organized. This success of the organizing campaign carried out over a period of a few months is a signal victory for organized labor.

Aluminum workers' unions are scattered over a wide territory, including the states of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, North Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, New York, Connecticut and West Virginia. The majority of the membership is in the plants of the Aluminum Company of America, which owns, controls and operates the basic divisions of the industry.

Due to the scattering of the unions over a wide territory, there has been a pressing demand among the membership for an agency which would serve as a national clearing house for the activities of individual locals. In response to this, a conference was called on July 9 at Brookfield, Illinois. The delegates of individual unions met with representatives of the American Federation of Labor to discuss their problems and possibilities of concerted action. An Aluminum Workers' Council has been provisionally set up to fulfil this need.

II. Organization and NRA—In August, 1933, two codes were submitted to the National Recovery Administration; one by the group dominated and controlled by the Aluminum Company of America, and the other by the independents. While the code submitted by the independents contained labor provisions more favorable than in the other code, the Administration refused to accept any code except the one sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America. At the hearing held on September 28, 1933, Labor's case was fully presented by representatives of local unions then in existence and by the Labor Advisory Board. No action was taken subsequent to the hearing for a number of months, but closed conferences were held in which the Labor Advisor was given opportunity to participate. In view of the fact that the industry had persisted in its refusal to submit adequate statistical data on wages, hours and labor conditions, the Labor

Advisor was directed to make a field survey. He visited the most important plants in the industry. On the basis of this factual report, a strong protest against the final set of labor provisions in the code was lodged by the Advisor and an unanimous vote was taken by the Labor Advisory Board against the approval of the code. In spite of drastic changes made in provisions not affecting Labor, and, in spite of all the protests made by labor representatives, the Administration approved the code substantially as it was submitted by the industry some eleven months before the effective date. The code is now in operation for a ninety-day trial period.

Approval of the code without any substantial gains for Labor caused considerable defection among the membership and almost precipitated a strike in the entire industry. Due to the efforts of the representatives of the Federation, the strike was averted on July 25, the date for which the walk-out had been called. Heavily lagging production at that time would have brought disastrous results to the membership, if the strike had been called.

III. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year—The aluminum industry is rapidly growing and is facing unique competitive advantages over other metal industries. Aluminum is gradually forcing out copper, steel, tin, lead and zinc from many industrial uses. It is a basic industry affected with public interest because of the wide use of aluminum in aircraft construction for national defense. Substantial gains have been made in the use of aluminum in railroad equipment, automotive parts, structural shapes and in products used for interior decoration and furniture. Meanwhile, aluminum is gaining rapidly in its uses in various metal alloys. Aluminum caps and closures, tin foil and luminous "bronze powder" used in paint, constitute some of the important secondary products which have gained wide industrial use. It may be reasonably expected that within the next five years a substantial increase will be made in the number of workers in the aluminum industry. This fact emphasizes the importance of building up a solid organization in this industry at the present time. Some 5,000 workers are still attached to the industry and are now unemployed. It should be possible to reabsorb them in the near future and to do away with the share-of-the-work which is still practiced in some plants.

All unions have expressed their desire to integrate their work closely to make possible joint action in collective bargaining with the Aluminum Company of America and with other firms. The need for free exchange of information has been indicated and for an agency which would centralize the organization. Officers of local unions have repeatedly stressed their need for speakers and educational material. Most of the unions are new, and their membership needs to be educated in the history, principles, and practical methods of trade unionism.

With the extent of organization now achieved, it is also necessary to gather information about wages, hours and working conditions throughout the industry so that these facts can be properly presented to the government agencies and improvement in code provisions be secured. All these needs could best be fulfilled through some degree of centralization among the unions in the industry.

The industry as a whole has not as yet made any substantial increase in wages. Prospects for such increases are particularly good in the plants of the

Aluminum Company of America, where a better rate of profits has been maintained throughout the depression, although not always publicly shown. Much of the financial gain of this company has been concealed in company profits which constitute an important reserve on which the company bases its financial strength. While the Aluminum Company of America has engaged in destructive wage cutting during the depression, the price of virgin aluminum has not been reduced since 1929. The share of wages in the total value of the product is, therefore, very low and could be increased through collective bargaining.

Lumber and Sawmill Workers—I. Progress and Extent of Organization—

On July 1, 1933, there were four lumber workers' unions in the United States and Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. At the end of the twelve months' organizing campaign, we have today over 130 unions in 21 states and in Canada. The greatest progress in organization has been made in the states of Washington and Oregon. In the state of Washington a substantial number of lumber workers have joined unions. The same is true of Oregon in the Pacific northwest and of Alabama in the South. In West Virginia, where an extensive organizing campaign was begun only recently, the majority of the lumber workers are organized. Considerable progress has been made in organizing work in Ohio, California, Arkansas, Texas, Wyoming, and Missouri. Some headway has been made in Louisiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Idaho, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Montana, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Indiana and Illinois. It is estimated that for the country as a whole, about 15 per cent of the workers have joined unions.

*II. Organization and the NRA—*A code for the lumber and timber production industry was approved by the NRA on August 19, 1933. Being one of the first codes approved, it did not include any of the standard labor provisions protecting the interests of the workers, subsequently written into other codes. The lumber code prescribed a minimum wage giving an increase in hourly rates for unskilled workers, which was substantial in some localities, especially in the south. No provision, however, was made covering the wages of workers who are normally paid above the minimum. These groups have suffered most from wage cutting after the adoption of the code. No substantial reductions were made in the weekly hours of work, with the result that there is only a slight decrease in unemployment of the workers attached to the lumber industry.

A public hearing was held on January 9, 1934, covering the proposed modification of the labor provisions of the code. Detailed factual presentation was made at this hearing by President Green and other labor representatives, but the Administration failed to take any action on the recommendations presented by the Labor Advisor either at the hearing or in subsequent conferences. One of the important factors of the code is its complexity in covering a number of divisions and sub-divisions where different labor provisions apply. Because of this complexity and because of the failure of the NRA to provide adequate enforcement machinery, the workers have suffered more from lack of enforcement of the code than from the inadequate code provisions. At the end of May

another set of proposals by the Labor Advisory Board was presented to the Administrator, incorporating all standard labor provisions now included in other codes. Representatives of the Lumber Code Authority, however, frustrated every effort to standardize the labor provisions of the code.

In spite of all these difficulties, some progress has been achieved in improving the wages of the lumber workers. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics average wages in sawmills have increased, from March, 1933, to April, 1934, by \$4.36 a week and in planing mills by \$3.41. This compares with the average increase in all manufacturing industries of \$4.21 per week. This increase compares unfavorably with large manufacturing industries where vigorous union campaigns have brought about improved conditions. In automobile, rubber, iron and steel, average increase in weekly pay for the same period amounted to about \$9.50.

Relation of wages to prices of lumber also shows that many substantial gains in wages remain to be made. Prices of many lumber products, such as Douglas fir and southern pine flooring, have doubled since the inauguration of the lumber code. In comparison with these price increases, wage gains were very slight and show conclusively that workers did not share in the price increases by proportionate wage gains. Much remains to be done to provide for adequate enforcement machinery under the NRA and for the improvement of labor provisions in the code itself during the year to come.

III. Progress of Collective Bargaining—Lumber unions have made marked gains in securing recognition from the management and in achieving improvements in working conditions in collective bargaining conferences. Only a beginning has been accomplished, however, in negotiating union agreements with lumber producers. A few such agreements have been signed in the Pacific northwest and in West Virginia. The chief difficulty now encountered by the union officers consists in the refusal of the management to sign agreements in spite of the management's willingness to confer with union representatives. A clear-cut interpretation of the term "collective bargaining" by the National Labor Relations Board would be a most direct means of surmounting this difficulty.

One of the greatest obstacles to union organization in the Pacific northwest consists of a form of strongly entrenched company union movement which has been persistently promoted there under the banner of the Loyal Legion of Lumbermen and Loggers, generally known as the "4-L's." This organization claims supremacy on the Pacific coast, but a series of elections supervised by the Seattle Regional Labor Board in Washington and Oregon resulted in a vast majority of the workers voting in favor of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The undisputed financial assistance given to the 4-L's by the lumber producers, the political backing of the 4-L's leadership, and other phases peculiar to the situation, make it difficult for the unions to counteract the company union propaganda. Aside from the financial strength, the 4-L's receive support and moral backing from the Lumber Code Authority. A way to put a stop to company unionism in this industry financed by the producers, is to set up a labor compliance agency completely divorced from the Code

Authority and directly responsible to Administrator Johnson. Such bi-partisan agency, if placed on an independent basis, would provide for impartial supervision of labor relations in the industry. The Labor Advisory Board is now contemplating a forceful demand for independence of such a code enforcement agency.

IV. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year—Lumber production has been considerably curtailed by the high prices of lumber under the code. Recent reductions in prices ranging from 8 to 10 per cent give the first indication that a rational price policy may bring about increased production. Following the years of depression there has developed an acute housing shortage with an enormous potential demand for home building. When this demand materializes, the lumber industry will undoubtedly benefit from increased production. The Housing Act of 1934 should also stimulate employment in the immediate future. With the continued progress of general business recovery, it may be expected that the lumber industry may recapture much of its losses suffered through the depression and that gains in employment may be anticipated.

Coordination of the activities of individual unions is a serious need. To provide for this, lumber unions of the northwest have organized themselves into two informal councils, one including shingle weavers and the other lumbermen. A similar development has taken place in West Virginia, where remarkable progress in organization has been made.

Conditions peculiar to the lumber industry, such as the scattered location of sawmills and the changing location of the woods' operations, make the need for coordination especially pressing.

The recent examples in the state of Washington and in West Virginia show that with competent leadership and planned effort, even scattered gangs of workers in woods and logging operations are organizable. A greater and more regular supply of organizing literature and a carefully selected contingent of organizers will undoubtedly bring us closer to the ultimate goal of placing the 400,000 lumber workers into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Coke and Gas Industry—Despite the open antagonism to organization which has been manifested by the public utilities throughout the country, more than thirty directly affiliated unions have been formed in the coke and gas industry.

One interesting development in this field, which is worthy of favorable consideration, is the formation of the New England Council of Utility Workers, which is made up of delegates from our directly affiliated unions in the coke and gas industry, and certain local unions affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Approximately twelve local unions have already combined in this way to make more effective their collective strength in negotiations with the companies involved. This group of unions has shown very real progress during the past year, and there is every reason to believe that their development will continue very satisfactorily throughout the coming year.

One problem which is receiving much attention at this time is the possibility of a by-product coke plant supplying all of the gas required throughout the adjacent territory, resulting in the shut-down of all small gas plants now in opera-

tion. In Massachusetts a proposal is being considered, whereby the by-product coke plant at Everett would supply gas to Cambridge and Worcester. This development shows very clearly the extreme need for organization of by-product coke plants. There are now directly affiliated unions, in the east in the Everett, Massachusetts, plant, the New Haven plant, and in Philadelphia. The refusal of the interests which control these plants, however, to give any recognition to the duly chosen representatives of the employees, has very effectively prevented any real improvement in conditions of work through collective bargaining. At the Everett plant, a rate increase was secured through arbitration, and indications now are that some form of working agreement will be possible.

The fact remains that we have not been successful in building organizations in by-product coke plants around New York City. The importance of developing organization in the plants from Philadelphia to Boston, which has adequate strength to control conditions of work, cannot be overemphasized, and this example applied throughout the country shows very clearly that one very definite phase of the organization of gas producing units is the organization of by-product coke plants which are being called upon more and more to supply large areas formerly taken care of by a number of individual units.

Cement Industry—Organization in the cement industry during the past year has made definite progress. The importance in modern construction of this industry, which involved approximately 20,000 wage earners, is fully recognized. We now have nearly 30 directly affiliated unions located throughout the country, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Alabama, California and other states.

In Pennsylvania alone, 9 local unions have been formed and many of these have been included in a conference group. This coordination of the different unions of the industry in one locality under the leadership of one organizer, offers a very excellent opportunity to build up the strength of organization throughout the area involved.

Our central bodies have an extremely important service to perform in helping with the organization of plants in their territories, and in assisting these organizations with their problems. In all cases, however, where groups of unions in given industries can be formed, there are certain additional advantages which are assured because of the fact that the employees in one industry, such as the cement industry, have certain common problems which can only be satisfactorily met by those who have a real working knowledge of these problems. A combination of such unions, therefore, soon develops a wide experience in handling problems peculiar to the industry which is invaluable to the organized workers involved.

A further, and equally important, consideration is the opportunity afforded to establish uniform conditions of work throughout an area, thereby eliminating, to a large degree, competitive advantages which arise through depressed wages.

Probably the three most important problems which have been encountered in organization are:

1. The high degree of de-centralization which exists throughout the industry so far as production facilities are concerned.

2. The high degree of seasonality which presents a very serious obstacle to the development and maintenance of a strong organization over a period.

3. The domination of the industry by certain large interests who are openly antagonistic to organization, and who, in many cases, flatly refuse to enter into negotiations with representatives of the employees' own choosing.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers—This industry presents at least one of the outstanding problems which has been encountered in the organization of the cereal industry, that is, mills are scattered throughout the country and in many instances are in isolated communities where competent guidance of a representative from the American Federation of Labor is not available. Furthermore, the industry for the most part, has never been forced to establish conditions of work through negotiations with union representatives.

With the nucleus of directly affiliated unions which formerly were included under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Brewery Workers, more than thirty directly affiliated unions have been developed.

Negotiations were very successfully delayed by employers in anticipation of the code which was not approved until this summer. At the present time, however, every effort is being made to supply these groups with information and assistance which will enable them to derive some of the benefits to which they are entitled under Section 7 (a).

The outstanding gains have been made in Buffalo, where many mills are now operating under union shop agreements with conditions of work far more favorable than those provided in the code; but even here there are mills in the outlying territory shipping into Buffalo, which have not organized and which, therefore, are tending to break down the market for the product of those plants in which the organization has been successful in effecting certain improvements.

Certain other milling centers, such as Minneapolis and Kansas City, have not yet been adequately organized to give real bargaining power to the workers. In addition, there are innumerable mills throughout the country which require much attention.

Certain problems in this industry are common throughout the industry. The weakness of organization in certain plants reacts directly against those plants now operating under agreements. Stability of production and conditions of work can never be established without some definite plan of coordination under close direction.

Electrical Manufacturing Industry—In this major industry, which in 1929 employed in excess of 300,000 wage earners, some organization has been developed through directly affiliated local unions. In certain divisions of this industry, such as radio manufacturing, very fine gains have been made in some localities. Philadelphia is the outstanding example.

The problem of organizing these plants, however, which are engaged primarily in the production of heavy electrical equipment, is still before us. The crux of this problem lies in the application of a general policy which would result in the organization of the many skilled mechanics in their respective craft organizations, and a coordination of these organizations by plants, through shop coun-

cils, which would represent the different trade unions involved, and which could bargain collectively with the management for all employees. The ability of the outstanding manufacturers to shift production between plants to avoid the pressure of organized labor, is an established fact which makes it difficult for unions separately to secure results.

The workers in this leading industry, which is becoming of greater importance, will be secured those benefits which are derived through organization when a plan of organization has been evolved which will enable one committee to meet with the management of any plant. When there is a coordination of plant representatives throughout any one of the few companies dominating the field, negotiations to establish some degree of uniformity in conditions of work for all employees in that company will be made possible.

Some such method of securing coordinated action would enable these employees to establish collective bargaining activities and thus to be in a position to serve as a balance-check within the industry.

The steps we have taken during the first year of the National Recovery Administration show that any substantial degree of unionism depends upon the application of such a program. The company union is well-established and will be eliminated only when adequate pressure can be exerted by all the workers involved.

*Cleaning and Dyeing Trade—1. Extent and Progress of Organization—*Organizing campaign in the cleaning and dyeing trade was most successful in the second half of 1933. Additional gains have been made since then, but the pace was slowed up in the spring of this year, and almost completely halted as a result of the Executive Order issued in May suspending operations of most of the code provisions.

In July, 1933, there were only 5 federal labor unions in the trade. Today, the Federation numbers 91 unions in all parts of the country.

It is the unanimous opinion of union officers throughout the country that enforcement of wage provisions of the code is impossible without some measure of regulation, local or otherwise, of price competition in this trade. Failure of the NRA to prevent destructive wage and price cutting has been wrongly attributed by many workers to the insufficient pressure brought upon the Administration through union organization. This misunderstanding of facts is largely responsible for the recent slowing up of the organization campaign.

The cleaning and dyeing trade comprises approximately 200,000 workers, the majority of whom are employed in wholesale plants and are known as "inside" workers. Some of the workers employed in retail establishments have also been organized, but considerable difficulty has been encountered in bringing these men into organizations and maintaining their active standing in the unions. The chief reason for this difficulty is the fact that most of the retail shops organized thus far are owned outright by the retail operator who, in many cases, employs the members of his own family as help. The status of union members who are employers themselves is doubtful in the labor movement and considerable friction has been experienced among the membership comprising this branch of the industry.

The so-called "outside" workers or drivers, route salesmen and deliverymen, are subject to problems and interests entirely different from those affecting the production employees in the plant. No route salesmen are included in the membership of the federal unions, and they are organized separately by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

It is estimated that nearly 20 per cent of "inside" workers are in the membership of the cleaners and dyers unions.

II. Organization and the NRA—The code of fair competition for the cleaning and dyeing trade was submitted late last summer, and, after extensive hearings, was given final approval on November 8, 1933.

In this code, the maximum working hours are established according to the class of the workers, consisting of 40 hours per week for plant employees and 48 hours per week for maintenance employees. The code also provides for a 45 hour maximum for plant employees during peak seasons not to exceed 9 weeks for any 6 months' period. A similar tolerance of 53 hours is established for maintenance workers. A maximum of 48 hours is provided for clerks in retail outlets. These are provisions proven to be definitely unsatisfactory and which have failed to bring about any substantial reemployment of workers normally attached to the trade.

The code further provides minimum wages for unskilled workers ranging from 27¢ to 33¢ an hour in the northern area, depending upon the population of cities, and 20¢ an hour in the southern area. A provision was made in the code for equitable adjustment of wages above the minimum, but the Code Authority has failed to enforce this provision in any way. Recommendations of the labor representatives for establishment of wage scales for skilled workers by mutual agreement in individual regions and localities has not been accepted by the Administration and has not been carried out.

Ruinous competition in this trade resulting from lack of price control is largely responsible for widespread wage cutting in complete disregard of code provisions. In the absence of an adequate measure of price regulation, and of an adjustment agency supervising code enforcement, it is impossible to give the workers adequate protection. The Labor Advisory Board of the NRA is attempting to reformulate the code to provide for such enforcement. If sufficient pressure is brought to bear upon the Administration, action may be expected in the near future.

III. Progress of Collective Bargaining—Union agreements have been successfully negotiated by a number of the unions, especially the older ones. This was possible only where local conditions were favorable. In the majority of cases, the employers refused to enter into a wage agreement on the ground that price competition made it impossible for them to stabilize wages on the basis of contractual relations with the union. Thus, it is evident that the chief difficulty in the way of collective bargaining has been the failure of the code to stabilize the industry.

In order to enforce collective bargaining and to provide for code enforcement, the Labor Advisory Board proposed to the Administrator that a National

Industrial Relations Board be created in this industry. An amendment to the code was made in accordance with this recommendation, which went into effect on April 29, 1934. Under this amendment, a National Industrial Relations Board for the cleaning and dyeing trade, consisting of one representative of Labor, one of employers and one impartial chairman, was established as an enforcement agency authorized to handle in the first instance, labor complaints and labor disputes arising under the code. The Board was also authorized to establish such local boards in the several local areas as provided in the code. The National Board began its work immediately upon appointment and succeeded in adjusting a number of disputes and in averting threatened strikes in various parts of the country. Due to the elimination by Executive Order of the Code Authority, however, and suspension of all code provisions, except those covering maximum hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining provisions, the National Industrial Relations Board was rendered inoperative and ceased to function at the beginning of June. An effort is being made to reconstitute this Board and it is expected that this will be done by administrative order, assuring renewed progress of collective bargaining.

IV. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year—Future progress of organizing campaigns depends upon effective measures taken by the Administration in regulating the industry and providing for enforcement. By invoking provisions of Section 7 (b) of the Act, it would be possible to obtain effective regulation on the basis of local area agreements. This and other means of securing stabilization of employment and wages in the industry may be made more effectively, if there is greater coordination of effort among individual locals. An attempt was made nearly a year ago by the officers of the Chicago Local No. 17742 and the Newark Local No. 17806 to organize a Conference Committee of the Cleaners and Dyers Unions. Reorganization of such a centralizing agency should prove effective in stimulating organization work and provide for an immediate increase in membership. In the absence of a centralizing agency, it would be difficult to continue a successful organizing campaign and to improve the working conditions of the membership.

Office Workers' Unions—A little over a year ago there were about 12 unions of office workers affiliated with the Federation. Today there are 32 unions among these employees. A consideration of these unions emphasizes the importance to the entire labor movement of the "white-collar" worker. The support of these workers is essential to organized labor. The unions already formed are widely scattered, being located in twenty states and in Canada. There is need of closer cooperation and coordination between them: a National Council of Office Workers would draw them closer together and give them greater strength. So far their activities have been entirely local.

Office workers are not in any way drawn together by the adoption of codes, as they are governed by the code of the industry in which they are employed. This adds to the difficulties involved in a centralized organization of these men and women. Nevertheless this is an immense and important field for unionization and the formation of a national council in the near future would stimulate organization and cooperation with other unions.

Soap and Glycerine Industry—In 1932, the soap industry employed approximately 14,000 workers in some 248 plants. This has increased somewhat in the past year, as an estimate of employment in this industry in May, 1934, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed 16,572 employees. This industry is concentrated, to a very considerable extent, in the states of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, New York, Illinois and California. This industry has suffered very little from the depression. Employment has been steadily falling since 1919, in the face of steady or even increasing volume of output. This shows that the industry has been going through a period of mechanization. There are, in fact, few operations left in the industry which are not machine operations.

There are three principal companies which account for a very large percentage probably 70 per cent of the total product of the industry. These are Procter and Gamble, Lever Brothers, and Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company. In one plant of each of these companies there is a union affiliated with the Federation. These represent, of course, only an insignificant portion of the total portion of the total employees of these companies.

Procter and Gamble employs 9,500 workers.

There are now 9 unions in this industry affiliated with the Federation. There is very close connection between this industry and the chemical manufacturing industry. It would be desirable to bring about coordination between the soap and glycerine workers' unions and the unions of chemical workers by the formation of a National Council composed of these two groups of workers.

Canning Industry—This is an industry which presents unusually complex problems from the point of view of organization. It is widely scattered. Many canneries are located in small, isolated towns, close to the crop. A considerable portion of the labor supply is itinerant to a very high degree. The industry may be sharply divided into seasonal and non-seasonal portions. The seasonal portion of the industry covers the canning of fruits and vegetables, a major portion of fish canning, and the canning of milk and of meat. The non-seasonal portion of the industry includes the canning of dried beans, spaghetti and other staples, some fish and vegetables and some meat. It is the latter portion of the industry which must be considered first from an organization point of view.

The group most susceptible to organization are those canneries located in industrial areas which operate throughout the year and which maintain a reasonably stable labor force. In this group are some 40 companies, which account for approximately 25 per cent of the total canned fruit and vegetable products. These plants employ throughout the year between 20,000 and 25,000 workers.

Closely tied up with the problem of organizing in the canning industry is that of organizing in the can manufacturing industry. This is an industry which has fought organization. A campaign to organize the principal canning factories should also include the organization of the can manufacturing plants. There are now 15 unions of cannery workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They are scattered throughout the country.

Organization in the highly seasonal portion of the industry must wait until the more stable portion is fully organized.

This is too important a group of workers to be overlooked. The code adopted on May 29, 1934, is entirely unsatisfactory. If the workers can be organized within the next several months, a reopening of the code could be demanded.

Agricultural Workers—Although no real attempt has been made to organize agricultural workers, there are 40 directly affiliated unions whose members come within this classification.

One aspect of this problem is the fact that agricultural workers are not afforded the protection of the government under Section 7 (a). Since there are still many industries, however, whose status has not yet been determined by the Administration, we cannot tell at this time just which workers will be included under the codified industries and which workers will be required to continue under depressed conditions of employment, determined solely by the employers, or to endeavor to secure more favorable conditions of employment through organization without government protection.

In Florida and California, we have certain unions whose members are engaged in picking, packing and shipping citrus fruits. There are some unions which include, primarily, farm laborers and others which include packers of fruits and vegetables. Other organized workers are engaged in connection with greenhouses and landscape gardening.

Greenhouse workers appear to be very close to the borderline between agricultural workers and industrial workers. Since hours of work in greenhouses are not directly affected by weather conditions, and since greenhouse workers are not employed in the fields, there are some reasons to hold that this is not agricultural work.

Packers and graders of fruits and vegetables, also, do not fall clearly within the classification of agricultural workers and are in a category rather similar to employees in canning plants who are now working under an approved code.

Gasoline Filling Station Workers—I. Extent and Progress of Organization—A vigorous campaign during the past year resulted in the organization of 56 federal labor unions of gasoline station, filling station and warehouse employees, in different parts of the country. In several cities the unions include in their membership practically all of the gasoline station attendants in the community.

The extent of organization today, however, represents only a fraction of the total number of employees in this branch of the petroleum industry, where the total number of workers is estimated to be in excess of 700,000. While a substantial start has been made in organizing this vast group of workers, a major part of the organization work still remains to be done.

An important group of workers in the marketing division of the industry comprises individual operators who retail gasoline under lease and agency agreements with the oil companies. Under the petroleum code no lease and agency contracts can be entered into. This rule, however, was submitted to the Federal Trade Commission for final decision, which it refused to render, and the matter is still awaiting disposition by the Petroleum Administrator. Lack of a clear ruling on this issue has hindered to some extent the organization of gasoline station attendants who continue to operate as independent agents of companies and not as their employees. It is expected that this matter will be disposed of

shortly and make it possible for all gasoline station workers to enter union membership.

II. Organization and the NRA—The code of fair competition for the petroleum industry was signed by the President on August 19, 1933, and was modified in minor respects on September 13, 1933. The code established a 48-hour week for filling station or service station workers, and provided for a minimum weekly wage of from \$15 to \$12, depending on the population of a given community. The code also provides for an equitable adjustment of differentials between the rate for skilled jobs and the minimum established in the code for common labor.

In July, 1934, the Department of Labor initiated a comprehensive survey of wages and employment in the petroleum industry. This survey is being conducted by Dr. Isadore Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The survey will cover in detail wages, hours and working conditions of the gasoline station employees, and should prove extremely valuable in raising labor standards in this division of the industry.

III. Progress of Collective Bargaining—A series of wage disputes occurred in the industry, beginning with the strike of the St. Louis union called on November 18, 1933. This strike ended on November 24, when it was agreed to submit the dispute to the newly created Labor Policy Board for arbitration. After a thorough investigation of the case the Board obtained an agreement between the disputing parties, which provided for a substantial increase in wages.

Early in May of this year the Gasoline Station Operators' Union in Cleveland struck against the local oil companies, and was successful in bringing into joint action every gas station operator in the city. The strike was called off on May 16 under an agreement providing for a full recognition of the union, for settlement of points in dispute by direct negotiations, or through arbitration.

At about the same time there was in progress a dispute between the City Oil Company of Ohio and the members of the Gas Station Attendants' Union of Akron. This dispute ended in an agreement signed on May 15 providing for a very substantial improvement in wages and working conditions as stipulated therein.

Successful agreements have been negotiated elsewhere and progress has been otherwise made in collective bargaining between unions and the management. The main obstacle has been a persistent drive on the part of the major oil companies, designed to promote company unionism. In all cases where a substantial majority of employees were affiliated with bona fide labor unions, the Petroleum Policy Board ruled in favor of the unions and thereby effectively stopped the unlawful promotion of company unions in the industry. The most effective way, however, to prevent the extension of company unions is clearly through the education of the workers regarding the significance and methods of trade-unions.

IV. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year—Emergence from the depression has been reflected in an increase of activity in the marketing branch of the petroleum industry. Some indication of the increased purchasing power of the consumer has been given by the growing consumption of gasoline in vehicles during recent months. Between February and April of 1934, to take the most recent period for which figures are available, the consumption of gasoline in-

creased by 300,000,000 gallons, bringing the total consumption in the United States in April to 1,328,925,000 gallons. This rise in consumption was accompanied by increase in the price of gasoline since the code went into effect. According to the Federal Trade Commission the immediate increase in price following the approval of the code averaged 2 cents per gallon, but were followed by subsequent declines which resulted in an average net increase in price to the consumer of only about 1 cent per gallon. At the end of the first six months' operation of the code consumers were paying at an annual rate of about \$160,000,000 more for gasoline than they were on July 1, 1933. This estimate does not include state and federal sale taxes on gasoline, and, therefore, constitutes a net increase in the sale price received by the companies.

Gasoline station workers have not been given their due share in the profits resulting from these price increases. Their only way to equitable participation in the returns received by gasoline distributors as a result of business recovery, is through more extensive union organization on a national basis. Due to the scattered location of gasoline stations as industrial units in a community, it is essential that a well-planned and intensive organization campaign be conducted in each locality in order to achieve successful and permanent organization.

Wholesaling Industries—Fifteen groups of employees covered by the codes for the wholesaling and distributing trade, the wholesale fresh fruit and vegetable distributive industry, and the wholesale food and grocery trade have organized in federal labor unions during the past year.

The nature of the establishments and the industries concerned, the diversity of the products handled, the scattered location of the unions, all point very clearly to the necessity of organizing the entire wholesale distributing field. Nor can this field be considered without also considering the necessity for extending organization to all retail trade employees.

As these federal labor unions of wholesale employees stand at the present time, they can hope for little real strength in bargaining with their employers. Most of the unions are small. These are in a few large wholesale distributing plants, as the Kroger Grocery Company, for example. Some of these larger companies have establishments in many cities. In a few of their branch establishments there are now unions, while other branches of the same companies remain completely unorganized. There is need of some central organization, to bring together in a coordinated plan all these employees. It might well be suggested to the unions most closely allied to wholesale distributing that a study of the industry be made, with a view to determining its relation to the entire retail and wholesale trade, and with a further view to the establishment of some effective form of central organization within this entire territory.

Theatrical Ushers, Ticket Sellers and Similar Employees—There are 50 federal labor unions of miscellaneous moving picture and legitimate theatre employees now affiliated with the Federation. The majority of these unions is small; their members are ushers, ticket sellers and takers, cashiers, doormen, wardrobe attendants, theatrical dressers, etc. These unions are scattered throughout nineteen states and Canada.

The members of the unions are covered by the motion picture and the legitimate theatre codes. Except in the large centers the unions must remain small and isolated. This is not a group of workers who can attain any real strength as a nation-wide organization in their present form. It should be recommended to the most closely allied national or international unions that some adjustment be made to include these various groups within their jurisdictions. In no other way can these workers secure the protection from their unions which they may reasonably expect. There are strong and effective organizations in both motion picture and legitimate theatre employees which might extend the necessary protection to the groups now organized in federal labor unions.

Funeral Supply Industry—One of the outstanding companies in this field is the National Casket Company. There are already 3 directly affiliated unions in this company, at Bellevue, Pennsylvania; Utica, New York; and, Thompsonville, Connecticut. If organization could be perfected in all of their plants, true collective bargaining would be possible, and until that time we cannot expect to obtain favorable standards in working conditions.

Athletic Goods—Although no concerted effort has been made toward organizing this industry, unions have been developed in plants of some of the leading manufacturers. Certainly, we should make every effort to develop further organization, and certainly, most of the workers involved would be organized in directly affiliated unions.

Button Industry—Three major divisions of this industry to which we have been giving attention are the fresh water pearl buttons, ocean pearl buttons, and ivory buttons. There are, however, some unions in the bone button and molded button divisions.

The fresh water pearl button plants are located in Illinois, Iowa, Arkansas, Missouri, and Ohio. The central point for organization has been Muscatine, Iowa. One of the very real problems in developing this organization is that these unions are not located in the vicinity of large centers where representatives from the American Federation of Labor are readily available. There are 12 of these unions, and most, if not all, of them are meeting with intense employer antagonism. If this organization is to carry on under existing circumstances, definite provision must be made whereby they will have the assistance and guidance of a representative from the American Federation of Labor who is fully conversant with their problems.

Some of the ivory button unions are also located away from organization centers, and some definite plan for future developments is very much needed.

Although the ocean pearl button workers in New York and New Jersey have made real progress, they are seriously handicapped by competition from unorganized plants in communities removed from this center. If these outlying plants can be organized, conditions of employment can be established through negotiations, but failure to organize them will mean a real lack of stability where organization now exists.

Other Industries—Organization has been started or has made very considerable progress in a number of smaller industries. For example, in the neckwear industry there are now 7 federal labor unions, where a year ago there were only 3; 5 new unions of dental technicians workers have been formed; in the

toys and playthings industry there are 18 unions, all formed since the adoption of the National Recovery Act; in the waste materials industry, we have 7 new unions; 4 unions have been created among merchandise warehouse employees; retail store employees, other than clerks, have formed 7 unions; employees in wholesale establishments are organized in 15 unions.

Conditions in these industries need to be very carefully studied, with a view to extending the organization which has been started. These industries are all widely scattered; plants or establishments usually employ relatively few workers. For these reasons, organization is difficult.

The toys and playthings industry is closely related to two other industries—furniture and rubber manufacturing. Wooden toys and playthings are made very largely in furniture plants; rubber toys are frequently made in rubber manufacturing plants. In very many cases the same employees work part time on toys and playthings, part time on furniture or on rubber. The code for the toy and playthings industry is much more unfavorable in its labor provisions than either of the other codes. There is need for greater uniformity in wages and hours provisions in these codes. An attempt has been made to reopen the labor provisions of the toys and playthings code for complete redrafting. With stronger organization of this and the furniture industry, better code conditions can be secured.

There are 18 directly affiliated unions in the dairy products industry, engaged in the handling of milk and in the production of butter, cheese and ice cream. These are scattered throughout the country from New York to Oregon, and south to Alabama.

In the salt industry and in the electrical storage and wet primary battery industry, many unions have been formed, but the refusal of employers to deal with union representatives has been almost universal. A record of the leading plants in these two industries is at hand and if any real gains are to be made through organization, all of these plants must be organized so that management will be compelled to meet with and negotiate with the duly chosen representatives of their employees.

It is not practicable to give a complete report upon all federal unions either by groups or individually. They include suspender workers, tar products workers, slag mill workers, sausage seasoning and spice workers, sail makers, paste makers, marking device employees, wire workers, aeronautical workers, lock and hardware workers, match workers, music autographers, pen and pencil workers, spring and wire workers, umbrella workers, waste material sorters, fertilizer workers, fish handlers, trappers, harbor workers, municipal employees, film exchange employees, librarians, egg inspectors, paper box makers, smoking pipe workers, cork workers, divers and tenders, oyster openers, and many others in small industries.

Organizing Plans for the Coming Year—Since we are working in that transition period that will usher in the New Deal, upon us rests the responsibility of shaping the practices and developing the agencies that Labor shall use in the New Deal. The first step in getting ready is organization; the second, is to define our objectives; the third, is knowing how to use our organization to get what we want.

Organization enables wage-earners to have a program and to make it effective. Wage-earners without ways of united action have only their own individual influence in shaping their own affairs or in influencing the formulation of public policy. It is an unsafe and unwise situation when Labor is not able to make its influence felt for equitable distribution of national income and for balanced deliberation preceding formulation of public policy. Organization is the repository of past experience and information, essential to ordered progress. Balance there must be if industry, commerce, agriculture, informed leadership and an intelligent citizenry are to have steadily higher standards of living and higher levels of thinking.

Organization is the normal course of action among all producing groups. Employment—the job—is the fundamental basis of organization. We find this holds for professional groups, for industry, for finance as well as for those in subordinate relationships. Lawyers have the American Bar Association with its subdivisions; doctors, the American Medical Association, with specialized branches organized accordingly; artists, authors, social workers, nurses, have their organizations through which work problems are handled; business men have the United States Chamber of Commerce and local subdivisions, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Industrial Conference Board, trade associations for the various industries; engineers have their engineering societies and the National Engineering Council. The business world is highly organized and now feels the need of coordinating and adapting these organizations to meet changing conditions and new needs. Our organizing problem consists in organizing and educating the unorganized workers.

Management of Organizing Campaigns—In determining policies with regard to organization for the coming year, it is essential that both initiation of union extension plans and development of organization be carefully considered.

The Administration offers Labor the advantage of Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but workers throughout the country cannot secure the benefits granted them under Section 7 (a) unless they are organized in unions, free from the influence of employers, with power to carry on negotiations through representatives of their own choosing.

The organization of the workers in any industry presents certain problems peculiar to that industry, and real achievement can never be expected until all such problems are fully considered and policies are adopted which will meet them. The organizer in charge can give best service when he understands the industry and fits in with the workers of the industry.

The major responsibility of an organizer is to help the union develop the ability to manage its affairs. When any group of workers secures a charter, however, they have taken only the first step toward establishing their rights. Therefore, constant help for these new unions is of the utmost importance. The new union groups, inexperienced in union or group action, had no way to know what was practical or how to get what they wanted. Many of these workers had previously made no effort to get together or even to know each other. Frequently, the groups had to learn the rules of group deliberation, that is, how to conduct a union meeting, before it was possible for the union to discuss problems or reach decisions.

There is a great deal of difference between people who are accustomed to work together in a union with well established objectives and methods of doing things, where each member is trying to establish the principles of the organization, and groups that have just joined together in a union. It is only the discipline of working together that enables a group of workers to be guided by principles of common welfare instead of personal advantage.

New union members have to learn what can be done, how it can be done, and when it can be done. The majority do not realize that years of effort have gone into establishing rights and benefits, and that union recognition and collective bargaining are the normal outgrowth from conferences between employers and employed. The education of new union members and new unions is the responsibility of the union movement. Though we are handicapped by lack of funds, we can meet this need if we pool our efforts and take advantage of all available cooperation.

Organizing activities are one of the major functions of unions. Like any other work or business undertaking, the best methods of operation can be determined by study of past experiences and factors involved in specific situations. Planning educational opportunities for organizers and for union members will promote more efficient results than when the movement is compelled to get its own information and advice.

Some major considerations stand out as the keys to more effective organizing progress:

- (1) To provide union leaders and executives with opportunities and tools for learning how to serve most effectively. The American Federation of Labor has made available to union executives information on conducting a union meeting, code hearings, changes in the NRA, suggestions on how to take up matters with labor boards and compliance officials, and similar problems. We have endeavored to supply basic data which an executive would need in discussing union trends. For industries in which a number of federal unions have been established, data on specific industries has been assembled and prepared for union use. Union executives meet and deal with highly trained industrial executives who have made a study of methods of getting results. Union executives usually assume office without any training in administrative responsibility or methods of doing things and, therefore, need all possible assistance in learning as they perform their duties.

2. Every central labor union should have an organizing committee responsible for studying industrial changes and organizing needs of the locality, for cooperation with campaigns initiated by various trade unions, and for coordinating and directing general campaigns. If the problems of organization are to be faced squarely, definite provisions should be made to meet them. The many important advantages which are to be derived from the responsible continuing organizing committees in our central bodies cannot be overemphasized. Definite responsibility for organization within a given locality not only presents an excellent opportunity for the development of organizations in the industries involved, but also offers a very real opportunity to the unions concerned to meet their problems more effectively.

3. In those industries in which a number of local unions have been organized, these unions want to keep in touch with each other in order to know conditions in all localities, what methods have been effective and what to avoid. The American Federation of Labor has used two ways of meeting these needs: national or regional councils on which all unions are repre-

sented, and news letters for the unions in single industries. These two methods have been helpful in the groups where they have been tried.

4. During the past year the American Federationist has been definitely directed to the needs of federal unions. This information was in practically all cases equally useful to all new unions. There are general labor problems and policies which concern all organizations, on which information must be available for the guidance of all. But in addition to general information and discussion of official policies and programs, there is the general field of labor happenings and news that is of direct interest to wage earners. At the appropriate time the labor movement must consider a weekly labor newspaper that will put news of the labor movement and work problems each week into the homes of workers and their families. Such a paper is published weekly by the British labor movement and by the railway unions of this country.

5. Finally, there should be definite responsibility for coordinated planning of organizing work and special campaigns. Study of the industrial field shows up key industries and strategic areas. Plans would be developed through any group the Federation might designate or set up and that agency could make recommendations for voluntary cooperation.

Local Educational Possibilities—It is suggested that organizers and central bodies fully consider the possibilities of educational work. Some of the channels through which such work may be carried out are as follows:

- (a) Educational material prepared and distributed by the American Federation of Labor to all central and state bodies, to all federal labor unions and to national and international unions upon request.
- (b) Speakers for mass meetings or for special occasions.
- (c) Personal solicitation.
- (d) Radio programs where possible.
- (e) Educational institutes.

All of these educational steps are bound to create in unorganized workers, a real interest in unionism; but further, some of these steps must be adopted, if organized workers are to maintain their enthusiasm. Too many of our unions have been formed for rate increases and have collapsed when increases were not obtained. For too many years, increases and decreases in organization have closely followed the business cycle. When the workers of this country come to know what the labor movement can mean and does mean, organization will withstand business fluctuations and this stability of organized strength will go far toward bringing some degree of stability into our economic structure. The American Federation of Labor will give all possible help in the development of any line of endeavor central bodies or federal unions may decide upon.

Another source of help is organization to promote adult education which the federal government has provided in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This Administration allocates funds to states for use in educational undertakings. In some states directors of workers' education have been appointed. These directors, if they understand labor problems and labor methods of advancing in economic, social and political fields, can be of very great service. We suggest therefore the State Federations of Labor in cooperation with the Workers Education Bureau, endeavor to have such directors authorized and to have appropriate people appointed who are competent to do educational work and set up cooperative relations with educational institutions.

Federation Membership—The paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor in August, 1934, was 2,823,750. While this figure represents the members whose per capita tax to the Federation is fully paid to date, there are many others who are just as loyal trade unionists and who are just as desirous to have the trade union represent them in collective bargaining, but who are unable to keep their dues fully paid to date because of inadequate employment. On the basis of reports from our international unions and careful examination of the records of local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor, we estimate that the total organized strength of the labor movement at the beginning of September, 1934, was 5,650,000.

This figure includes the members who can be counted on to stand with their union and who will come back into membership as soon as they are able to pay dues. In addition to these, however, there are others who, although they are not paid members, desire to have the trade union represent them in collective bargaining. On the basis of votes actually taken in elections, numbers standing with the union where a show of strength was required, and information received from those directly in touch with local situations, we estimate that the total number who look to the Federation as their representative agency cannot be less than 12,000,000. In making these estimates we have chosen always the most conservative figures.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

The two outstanding changes in union benefits for 1933 over 1932 are the decline in the total amount paid—11 millions decrease—and the 100 per cent increase in the number working the five-day week.

The decline in benefits from \$51,448,348.73 to \$40,692,112.72 represents a decline in every item except disability where there was an increase of over \$800,000. The decline in death benefits was approximately \$3,000,000 in unemployment benefits over \$6,000,000. These declines do not reflect a decline in needs of members but the effects of nearly four years of depression. Unions as well as the government have had to face the problem of relief for the unemployed as a public responsibility. The shrinking incomes of the employed make their former generous fraternal contributions a most difficult problem. It is an extraordinary tribute to the stability and fine feeling of obligation among union members that the total expenditure for this purpose during the year 1933 was more than \$13,500,000.

In addition, benefits were paid by local unions all of which are not included in the chart. Benefits established and maintained by standard trade unions over periods of years are pioneering experience which should be of material value in developing a national program of economic security.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1913—Continued

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Draftsmen's Un., Int. Fed. of Tech. Ed. Assn., and Elec. Workers of Am., Int. Brotherhood of Elevator Constr., Int. Un. of...	NO 374,283.34 Sick and Dead 25,059.00	INTERN h combined 1,059.00	ATONAL 81,082.85	BENEFITS 148,669.00	PAID 5,368.95		522,893.34 111,510.80	1.05 per hr. Journeyman 12.00 per day Helpers 8.00 per day.	8 hours 8 hours	40 hours 40 hrs., 5 days	45,000
Engineers, Int. Un. of Operating Engineers, Int. Union of Eng'rs, Int. Mach. Eng'rs' Union of N. Am., International Photo Fire Fighters, Int. Assn. of Firemen and Oilers, Inter. Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, Inter. Brotherhood of Iron Workers of U. S. and Canada, International Garment Work. of Am., United	30,800.00 2,500.00 NO 131,416.20 NO 20,000.00 900.00 1,529.00 24,400.00	INTERN INTERN 54,329.57 INTERN 3,073.40	ATONAL 1,471,948.66 ATONAL 17,340.95	BENEFITS BENEFITS 2,720.00		224.00 85,300.60 200.00 647.00	31,024.00 2,500.00 1,743,193.13 20,000.00 1,100.00 25,310.35 24,400.00	1-1.25 per hr. 35.00 per wk. 25.00 per hr. 62.00 per wk. 1,900.00 80c per hr. 45c. per hr.	8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 12 hours 8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days 84 5 days, 40 hrs. 30 hrs., 5 days	15,000 2,000 8,000 2,000 5,000 2,000 7,000 37,000 180,000 1,800 5,139
Garment Workers, Int. Ladies...	4,500.00	62,000.00	11,200.00	9,500.00			87,200.00	Operators 15.00 to 20.00 per wk. Cutters 35.50 to 40.00 per wk. 52.50 cloak mk. 30.00 dress mk. 25.00 other	7 hours 8 hours	5,000—36 hrs. 32,000—40 hrs.	37,000
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada Glass Cutters' League of Am., Window Glass Workers' Un., Am. Flint. Glass Workers, Fed. of Flat Glass Workers, Int. Union of Glass Workers, Int. Union of Granite Cutters Int. Union of America, The Hatters, Cap and Mill Work., Int. Union, United	44,000.00 6,400.00 25,500.00 NO NO 52,761.42 8,370.00		3,000.00 3,000.00	9,500.00			47,000.00 6,400.00 80,826.30 54,261.42 23,270.00 35,200.00	5.60 to 12.00 per day. 24.36 per wk. 20.00—30.00 wk. 35.00—75.00 wk. Hatters 30.00—40.00 wk.	6 hours 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 7-8 hours	30 to 36 hrs., 5-6 days. 40 hrs. 5 days 40 hrs. 35-40 hrs., 5 da.	1,800 5,139 30,000
Hod Carriers' Bldg. and Com. Laborers' Un. of Am., Int. Horse Shoers of U. S. & Canada, Int. Union of Journeymen Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Beer Dispensers Int. All Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of	35,200.00 NO 42,421.72 27,775.00	INTERN 38,759.67	ATONAL	BENEFITS		48,992.22 26,520.00	130,143.61 54,295.00	55.00 per wk. 8 1/2 hours	8 1/2 hours 8 hours	47 1/2 hrs., 5 1/2 da. 48-54 hours 5 1/2 days	30,000

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1933—Continued

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Jewelry Workers' Union, Int.	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			7-8 hours	35-40 hrs., 5 da.	5,500
Lathers' Int. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	15,968.55						15,968.55	40c. to \$1.50 per hr.	38.4 hrs., 5 days	8,100
Laundry Workers' Int. Union	3,750.00	1,421.50	1,475.00	BENEFITS		330.00	6,976.50	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,700
Leather Workers, United, Int. Un.	NO	INTERN	ATONAL		PAID		302,401.43	1,700-2,100 yr.	5 1/2 days	
Letter Carriers, Nat. Asso. of	159,385.57	143,015.86						8 hrs., 45 min.	30 hrs., 5 days	
Letter Car., Nat. Fed. of Rural	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		248,558.34	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	6,000
Lithographers' Int. Pro. & Ben. Asso. of U. S. and Canada	50,458.34	8,100.00	190,000.00					8 hours	44 hours	
Loughborough & Bt. Asso.	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		\$55-\$1.20 hr.	8 hours		
Machinists, Int. Asso. of	246,455.56	32,500.00	165,000.00		3,000.00	34,500.00	482,455.56	8 hours	44 hrs., 5 1/2 days	45,000
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	219,250.00						219,250.00	90c. per hr.		
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, United and Texas Helpers' Int. Asso. of	4,789.00		10,272.85			100.00	15,161.85	8 hours	40 hours	5,500
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, Nat. Organization	950.00					50.00	1,000.00	200.00 per mo.	6 days	100
Master Mechanics & Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat. Asso. of	22,000.00								40 hrs., 5 days	
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Nat. Asso. of	44,000.00									
Meta Workers Int. Asso. Sheet Metal Workers Int. Asso.	2,800.00	3,300.00			2,000.00	7,860.00	31,860.00	8 hours	48 hours	
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Int. Union of	1,000,000.00					950.00	9,050.00	4.00 per day	5 days of 7 hrs. ea.	450,000
Molders' Un. of Am., Int.	277,287.64	102,890.80	223,452.00				1,000,000.00	5.00 per day	8 hours	
Musicians, Am. Fed. of	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		605,720.44	80-90c p. hr.	8 hours	
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America	4,500.00						4,300.00	\$8-min. per hr.	6 hours	
Paper Makers, Brotherhood of	172,599.31				5,900.00	4,553.50	183,052.81	1.04 per hr.	8 hours	63,252
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	6,803.15					1,250.00	8,053.15	60c. per hr.	40 hours	8,900
Pat. Makers' League of N. Am.	6,300.00	3,394.39	27,106.80			408.43	37,209.62	94c. per hr.	48 hours	
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curbers, Bridge and Sheet Asphalts, Setters and Sheet Asphalts								8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,000
Pavers, Int. Union of								8 hours		
Pavers, U. S. of Am. and Canada	3,975.00					1,424.30	5,399.30	Piece work	5 days	2,200
Piano and Organ Workers' Int. Union of America	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		40c. per hour	8 hours	24 hrs., or 3 days	

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1933—Continued

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Plasterers' Int. Asso. of the U. S. and Canada, Operative, Painters and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada, United Association of	61,675.00				4,000.00		65,675.00	11.00 per day	8 hours	5 days, 2 hours	16,155
Polishers, Metal, Int. Union of Pottery, Nat. Brotherhood of Operative	117,470.00	121,145.00	500,000.00			9,456.00	748,971.00	10.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 day wk.	45,000
Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United Printers, Die Stammers and Liners Union of N. Am., Int. Plasterers' Union of N. Am., Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of N. Am., Int. Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Int. Brotherhood of Quarry Workers, Int. Union of North America, Railway Employees' Asso. of America, Amalgamated Asso. of Street and Electric	14,970.00	9,634.43				9,000.00 9,013.32	20,000.00 33,817.75	85¢ per hr. Piece work	8 hours	40-44 hrs.	2,000
	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			50.00 per week	8 hours	2 days, 16 hrs.	13
	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			40.00 per week	7 hours	40 hours	1,200
	181,692.02	3,973.90	317,266.75	114,862.00			617,794.67		7½ hours	40 hours	
			1,000.00				1,000.00	4.00 per day	8 hours	40 hours	7,000
	2,700.00			1,750.00			4,450.00	52¢ per hour	6 hours	24 hours	1,500
* 823,007.23	59,492.54	84,306.98		70,400.00	17,450.00	2,230.00	997,394.21		8 hours	43 hrs., 6 days	
					Permanent, 11,223.50 Accidental, 113,667.00	590.50	184,973.54	2,209 yearly	7 hrs., 40 min.	44 hrs., 6 days	
							7,000.00	1.20 per hr.	8 hours	5½ days	3,000
Refers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Asso., United Slate, Tile and Cement of Am., Int. Seamen's Union of Am., Int. Sheep Shearers' Union of N. Am.	7,000.00										
	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID	35.00	3,875.00	30.00 per mo.	4½ hrs. per day	3½ days at 9 hrs. per day	
Siderographers, Int. Asso. of Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada, Int. Asso. of Electricians, Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of N. Am., Int. Stonecutters' Asso. of N. Am., Journeymen	1,375.00			2,465.00							
	NO	REP INTERN	ORT ATIONAL	RECEIVED BENEFITS	PAID						
	26,900.00		4,797,418.37			58,172.00	882,490.37			5-5½ days	3,200
Stove Mounters' Int. Union	22,700.00						22,700.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	5-5½ days	
Switchmen's Union of N. Am.	7,500.00						7,500.00	86¢ per hr.	8 hours	24 hrs., 3 days per wk.	75
Tailors U. S. and Canada, Journeymen, Tailors U. S. and Canada, Int. Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of Am., Int. Brotherhood of	130,850.00	2,831.30			33,575.00		164,425.00	6.62 per day	8 hours	43 hrs., 6 days	
	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		6,832.30	1,980 per yr.	6-increased	30 hours	8,500
	78,350.00						78,350.00				

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1933—Continued

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Telegraphers, The Order of RR. Telegraphers' Un. of N. Am., The Commercial Textile Workers of Am. United Tobacco Workers Int. Union...	312,898.27 867.12 6,400.00 400.00					22,574.44	335,472.71 867.12	61¢ per hr.	8 hours	48.7 hrs. per wk.	
Typographical Union, Int.	652,125.02	67,672.64	624,414.64	2,110,833.34		212,575.07	3,668,040.71	18.00 per wk. 12.00-25.00 for full time	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 4-8 hrs., 5 days per wk.	40,000
Upolsters' Int. Un. of N. Am. Wall Paper Crafts of N. Am., United	27,000.00 3,950.00	416.00	201,650.00		100.00	8,000.00 960.00	236,650.00	45.61 per wk. 10.00 per day. 48.00 wkly.	8 hours	40 hours	6,000
Weavers' Pro. Assn. Am. Wire. Railroad Trainmen, Bro. of...	400.00 2,245,923.78	500.00 517,506.86		940,281.52	2,876,375.14	4,350.00 42,957.92	3,450.00 6,623,045.22		Yard service, 8 hours, Pass. & freight service varied.	Yard service, 208 hrs. per mo. Pass. service 5500 mi. per mo. Freight service, 3500 mi. per mo.	312
Locomotive Firemen & Engi- men, Bro. of	1,015,979.50	152,155.09	17,900.00	202,415.00	Disability, 919,318.61 Per		2,694,846.20				
Locomotive Engineers, Bro. of..	3,122,699.35		8,750,000.00	232,832.23	386,478.00 232,174.43	154,508.59	12,512,214.63	202 per mo.	Pass. service, 5.20 hrs. Freight serv. 6.50 hrs. Yard serv. 7.20 hrs. Pass. & freight day		
Railway Conductors, Order of..	999,475.00			121,110.25	171,397.93	6,960.00	1,298,943.18		Freight 8 hr. day		
Total.....	\$14,780,206.42	\$1,665,265.75	\$13,784,042.87	\$4,678,636.41	\$4,837,730.42	\$946,230.85	\$40,692,112.72				1,240,957

† Includes disability benefits.
 ‡ Includes old age pensions.
 § Includes local union benefits.
 * Paid by local unions.

Recapitulation:

Death Benefits.....	\$14,780,206.42
Sick Benefits.....	1,665,265.75
Unemployment Benefits.....	13,784,042.87
Old Age Benefits.....	4,678,636.41
Disability Benefits.....	4,837,730.42
Miscellaneous.....	946,230.85
Total.....	\$40,692,112.72

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The concluding session of the Seventy-third Congress was exceedingly interesting in that it passed upon many legislative measures which provided for drastic changes in the economic, industrial, and financial policies of the government. The amendments to the Economy Act were of vital interest to Labor. The House proposed restoration of 5 per cent in the salaries of government employees after July 1, 1934. The Senate voted to repeal the 15 per cent wage-cut. Both Houses finally agreed to a restoration of 5 per cent to become effective February 1, and to continue to July 1, 1934, with an additional 5 per cent restoration after that date. This was enacted into law notwithstanding the President's veto.

We cooperated fully with the representatives of the railroad employees' organizations in their efforts, which were successful, to secure the passage of an act authorizing the President to appoint a National Railway Mediation Board, and for the establishment of a Railroad Retirement Board. The Railway Mediation Board is designed to act as a sort of Supreme Court in railway labor disputes, exercising a number of powers not possessed by the board which preceded it. The Railway Retirement Board will administer the new Pension Act.

President Green testified at hearings on pending measures in which Labor's interests were more greatly involved. He also held many conferences with members of Congress on legislation affecting Labor and Labor's interests and rights. Day by day bills were introduced or amendments were submitted to bills that were inimical to Labor. While urging the passage of remedial legislation it was equally necessary to oppose vigorously legislation that would be injurious to Labor and the people in general.

The sentiment which developed in favor of the Thirty-Hour-Week-Bill was surprising. The members of Congress were deluged with communications urging favorable action on the bills introduced by Senator Black and Representative Connery. A bitter campaign against the enactment of these measures was carried on by the National Manufacturers' Association and other organizations antagonistic to Labor. Facts brought out at the hearings on the Thirty-Hour-Week-Bill very clearly evidenced the necessity for the application of the Thirty-Hour-Week principle to private industry as essential to the correction or elimination of unemployment.

The Housing Bill, also bills providing appropriations for highway construction and for unemployment relief, were passed.

With the purpose of reducing unemployment Senator LaFollette introduced a bill to appropriate \$10,000,000,000 for public works. Hearings were held but no action taken.

The air mail pilots succeeded in securing the enactment of legislation in their interests. This measure provides that the maximum number of flying hours will be fixed and agreements made for retirement pensions. The rate of compensation and the working conditions are to conform to decisions of the National Labor Relations Board.

The guarantee of bank deposits was continued for another year and the amount increased to \$5,000. The rural letter carriers received some concessions.

The House passed the seamen's bill providing that vessels must take out of the country as many seamen as they bring in. This measure failed of passage in the Senate, despite the fact that the upper House had previously passed a similar measure three different times. Foreign governments protested the enactment of the bill.

Another subject of paramount importance to Labor that received much support was unemployment insurance. Senator Wagner and Representative Lewis introduced companion bills, which if enacted into law, would virtually compel the states to enact unemployment insurance laws.

Following is Labor legislation passed by the Congress and signed by the President of the United States:

1. Repealed 10 per cent of the 15 per cent wage-cut for government employees.
2. Improved conditions of rural letter carriers.
3. Created Adjustment Board to adjust disputes between railroads and employees.
4. Retirement system for railroad employees.
5. Passed new Philippine Independence Act which eliminates immigration from the Islands.
6. Bank deposit guarantee extended for a year and raised to \$5,000.
7. Appropriated \$950,000,000 for unemployment relief.
8. Authorized President to appoint boards to adjust disputes in private employment.
9. Appropriated \$3,000,000 for vocational education.
10. Authorized construction of 102 naval vessels and 1,100 air crafts.
11. Restored automatic promotions for government employees.

Economy Act—The question of restoring the wages and salaries of government employees, which were reduced 15 per cent in 1933, precipitated an exciting campaign. President Roosevelt had recommended that the 15 per cent wage-cut should continue until the end of the fiscal year 1934. After July 1, 1934, he recommended that 5 per cent of the reduction should be restored to the employees. Many members of the House were anxious to eliminate the 15 per cent wage-cut. They did not consider it fair to urge wage increases in private employment and deny them to government employees. Every effort was also being made by the government to raise commodity prices, but great pressure was brought to bear to follow the recommendation of the President. The House finally deferred to the wishes of the President in passing the bill. The House bill was met by a storm of opposition.

When the bill reached the Senate, an amendment was made to repeal the fifteen per cent wage cut. The House refused to concur in this amendment and then the bill was sent to conference, which recommended a five per cent wage restoration from February 1 to June 30, 1934, and an additional five per cent thereafter. The bill as amended passed Congress but was vetoed by the President. Both Houses passed the bill over the veto.

One of the most encouraging features of the amended Economy Act was the Thomas Amendment. This provided that all employees whose wages were fixed by wage boards should work only five days a week and be paid for six days. The act provides that wages should be based on the cost of living. That meant simply a subsistence wage which goes up and down as the cost of living goes up and down. The compensation, therefore, received by the government employees will

always be on the level with the cost of living. This should be repealed. We recommend that the convention should take a strong and positive position in opposition to the passage of such legislation.

Anti-Kick-Back Law—For months complaints were made in Washington and other cities that contractors on public works, financed in whole or in part by grants from the United States, were not paying the prevailing rate of wages as specified by the Davis-Bacon law.

Employees were compelled either to return part of their wages or to accept a much lower rate. This is known as the "kick-back." Public No. 324, an act to effectuate the purpose of certain statutes concerning rates of pay for labor, by making it unlawful to prevent anyone from receiving the compensation contracted for thereunder, and for other purposes, will give wage-earners hereafter protection.

The law provides that whoever shall induce any person, employed in the construction, prosecution, or completion of any public building or public work financed in whole or in part by loans or grants from the United States, to give up any part of the compensation to which he is entitled under his contract, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of the Interior jointly shall make reasonable regulations for contractors or subcontractors on any such building or work, including a provision that each contractor and subcontractor shall furnish weekly a sworn affidavit with respect to the wages paid each employee during the preceding week.

Labor Disputes Act—Shortly after Congress met, Senator Wagner introduced a bill providing for the adjustment of labor disputes and also providing for the creation of a National Labor Board. The Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate held hearings at which President Green testified. Labor approved the measure with certain amendments.

May 26, Senator Walsh reported an entirely new bill, but no action was taken. June 16 Representative Byrns introduced in the House H. J. Res. 375, which had been prepared at the instance of President Roosevelt. This was a resolution to "effectuate further the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act" and was a substitute for the Wagner Labor Dispute Bill. It passed the House the same day and was sent to the Senate where it was passed June 19. The law authorized the President "to establish a board or boards to investigate activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct the free flow of interstate commerce."

Any board so established is empowered to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to collective bargaining as defined in Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act. The resolution specifically provides that nothing in the law shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or to engage in other concerted activities. The penalty of a fine of not

more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, is provided on conviction of any person who knowingly violates any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 or who interferes with any member or agent of any board established under this resolution.

Rural Letter Carriers—Part of the reduced compensation for rural letter carriers was restored in the last session of Congress. The equipment allowance was increased from 4 cents to 5 cents, with the proviso that such allowance should not be changed except pursuant to law enacted hereafter by Congress. A previous reduction had been made by executive order. The salary of carriers on the rural routes of thirty miles, six days a week, was fixed at \$1,800; on routes less than thirty miles, \$60.00 per mile per annum for each mile or major fraction thereof. Carriers assigned to routes served six days a week shall receive \$20.00 per mile per annum on routes in excess of thirty miles. Those on routes served three days a week shall receive \$10 per mile per annum where the route is in excess of thirty miles. No consolidation of rural routes shall be made otherwise than on account of the resignation, death, retirement, or dismissal on charges of carriers in the rural mail delivery service.

George F. Klinker, President of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, visited Washington and appeared before the Post-Office Committee of the House of Representatives in favor of better conditions for the rural letter carriers. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor aided in securing the changes made.

The Postmaster-General announced after his appointment in March 1933 that there were over 40,000 rural letter carriers and that the intention was to reduce the number to 30,000. There are at present 38,000 rural letter carriers. This number is being reduced approximately 100 per week.

Railroad Pension Act—S. 3231, to provide a retirement system for railroad employees, to provide unemployment relief and for other purposes, became a law. The act establishes a retirement system and it is made the duty of all carriers and employees subject to this act to perform and fulfill the obligations imposed thereby. The carriers affected are any express company, sleeping-car company, carrier by railroad, subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and any company which is directly or indirectly owned or controlled by or under common control with any carrier by railroad and which operates any equipment or facilities or performs any service (other than trucking service) in connection with the transportation of passengers or property or the receipt, delivery, elevation, transfer in transit, refrigeration or icing storage, and handling of property transported by railroad, and any receiver, trustee, or other individual or body, judicial or otherwise, when in the possession of the business of any such "carrier."

Each employee having attained the age of sixty-five years, or having completed a service period of thirty years, shall be paid an annuity, to begin on a date specified in a written application, which date shall not be more than sixty days before the making of the application. No annuity shall begin less than six months after the effective date. Such annuity shall be based upon the service period of the employee and shall be the sum of the amounts determined by mul-

tuplying the number of years of service, not exceeding thirty years, by the following percentages of the monthly compensation; 2 per centum of the first \$50; 1½ per centum of the next \$100; and 1 per centum of the compensation in excess of \$150. The "monthly compensation" shall be the average of the monthly compensation paid to the employee by the carrier, except that where applicable for service before the effective date the monthly compensation shall be the average of the monthly compensation for all pay-roll periods for which the employee has received compensation from any carrier out of eight consecutive calendar years of such services ending December 31, 1931.

While retirement is compulsory, if the carrier and the employee agree, the time for retirement can be extended yearly but not beyond the age of seventy years. The Retirement Board which was created by the law will determine the contributions to be made by the carriers and the employees. Until the Board determines on a different percentage the employees will contribute 2 per centum, to be deducted from the wages of employees and paid into the Treasury of the United States.

The Railroad Retirement Board is composed of three members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The law provides that one member shall be appointed from recommendations made by representatives of the employees and one member from recommendations by representatives of the carriers and the third member without recommendations of either carriers or employees.

Lee M. Eddy from St. Louis, recommended by railroad Labor, was appointed to represent the railroad organizations.

The law became effective August 1, 1934. The first pensions will be paid in January, 1935. This will permit the raising of sufficient revenue to pay the pensions necessary.

The railroad companies are protesting the constitutionality of this law and have started court proceedings to have the act declared unconstitutional.

Railway Labor Act—The Railway Labor Act, was re-written by the last Congress. Under the new National Board of Mediation this measure is more far-reaching. A national Railroad Adjustment Board was also created to consist of 36 members, 18 of whom shall be selected by the carriers and 18 by such labor organizations of the employees, national in scope, which have been or may be organized in accordance with the provisions of the act. One important clause in the act is as follows:

Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representatives of the craft or class for the purposes of this act. No carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees, or to use the funds of the carrier in maintaining or assisting or contributing to any labor organization, labor representative, or other agency of collective bargaining, or in performing any work therefor, or to influence or coerce employees in an effort to induce them to join or remain or not to join or remain members of any labor organization, or to deduct from the wages of employees any dues,

fees, assessments, or other contributions payable to labor organizations, or to collect or to assist in the collection of any such dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions.

The law also outlaws "yellow-dog" contracts. It provides that no carrier, its officers, or agents shall require any person seeking employment to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization. If any such contract was in existence prior to the date the law became effective, then the carrier is required to notify the employees that the contract is no longer binding on them in any way.

All labor disputes are to be referred to a National Board of Mediation which will endeavor to bring about adjustment. The purposes of the act are to avoid any interruption to commerce; to provide for the complete independence of carriers and of employees in the matter of self-organization to carry out the purpose of the act; to provide for the prompt and orderly settlement of all disputes concerning rates of pay, rules, or working conditions. The law became effective June 21, 1934.

Immediately after approval of the Act the President appointed members of the Board. The first act of the Board was to issue what the railroad employees designate as their "Magna Charta." It is known as Order No. 1 and every railroad must post a copy on every bulletin board and keep them posted so long as the law is on the statute books. Order No. 1 is as follows:

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2, Eighth, Railway Labor Act, as amended (approved June 21, 1934), you are hereby advised that all disputes between (insert name of posting carrier here) and its employees will be handled in accordance with the requirements of the Railway Labor Act.

The following provisions of paragraphs Third, Fourth, and Fifth, Section 2, Railway Labor Act, are by law made a part of each contract of employment between this carrier and each of its employees, and shall be held binding regardless of any express or implied agreements to the contrary.

Section 2, Third. Representatives, for the purposes of this act, shall be designated by the respective parties without interference, influence, or coercion by either party over the designation of representatives by the other; and neither party shall in any way interfere with, influence, or coerce the other in its choice of representatives. Representatives of employees for the purposes of this act need not be persons in the employ of the carrier, and no carrier shall, by interference, influence, or coercion seek in any manner to prevent the designation by its employees as their representatives of those who or which are not employees of the carrier.

Section 2, Fourth. Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representative of the craft or class for the purposes of this act.

No carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees, or to use the funds of the carrier in maintaining or assisting or contributing to any labor organization, labor representative, or other agency of collective bargaining, or in performing any work therefor, or to influence or coerce em-

ployes in an effort to induce them to join or remain or not to join or remain members of any labor organization, or to deduct from the wages of employes any dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions payable to labor organizations, or to collect or to assist in the collection of any such dues, fees, assessments, or other contributions:

Provided, That nothing in this act shall be construed to prohibit a carrier from permitting an employe, individually, or local representatives of employes from conferring with management during working hours without loss of time, or to prohibit a carrier from furnishing free transportation to its employes while engaged in the business of a labor organization.

Section 2, Fifth. No carrier, its officers or agents shall require any person seeking employment to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization; and if any such contract has been enforced prior to the effective date of this act, then such carrier shall notify the employes by an appropriate order that such contract has been discarded and is no longer binding on them in any way.

All officers of this carrier whose duties are affected by the foregoing are advised to take notice of and to comply with the provisions thereof.

Thirty-Hour-Week—In the Seventy-second Congress Senator Black introduced a bill providing for a five-day week of six hours per day which passed the Senate. No action was taken in the House. In the Seventy-third Congress he introduced a similar bill. This also passed the Senate and was referred to the Labor Committee of the House. Hearings were held at which President Green spoke in favor of the shorter work-day. The bill provides that no commodity or article that is produced or manufactured in concerns in which persons are employed more than five days a week or six hours a day can be shipped in interstate commerce.

Chairman Connery of the Labor Committee was unable to have a vote taken on the bill. Therefore, a petition was placed on the Speaker's desk for signatures requiring the Rules Committee to permit a vote on the bill. Such a petition requires 145 signatures. Before these were obtained a new petition was presented calling upon the Rules Committee to permit a vote on the Black Thirty-Hour-Week-Bill. Under the rules of the House, after a sufficient number of signatures have been obtained to a petition, a vote can be taken on the second and fourth Monday of the month. However, to enable a vote the law further requires that the signatures must be obtained 7 legislative days prior to the second or fourth Monday. For the foregoing reasons the bill failed to pass.

The bills will be re-introduced in the coming Congress and the most vigorous efforts made for their passage.

Unemployment Insurance—The sentiment in favor of unemployment insurance has grown rapidly in the last three years. Public men who had opposed this legislation have changed to its support.

During the first eight months of 1933 more than 60 compulsory unemployment insurance bills were introduced in 25 state legislatures. Bills passed one house in New York, Connecticut, California, Ohio, Minnesota, and Utah, but failed of enactment owing to congestion caused by various bills in the other house. New Hampshire, Maine, Oregon, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, and Colorado have appointed commissions to study the unemployment question.

It is definitely understood that Congress can not enact a Federal unemployment insurance law. In 1931, Senator Wagner secured the appointment of a committee to make a general study of the unemployment insurance systems in use by private interests in the United States and by foreign governments with a view to determine in what manner such systems were instituted and were being operated. In its report the committee said:

The subject of unemployment insurance is not within the sphere of Congressional action.

Based on the investigation made by the Senate Committee of which he was chairman, Senator Wagner introduced an unemployment insurance bill. It provided for a 5 per cent federal tax on the pay rolls of all employers of 10 or more persons with a proviso that any contribution that any employer had made to an unemployment fund under an approved state law would be subtracted from the 5 per cent federal tax. Farmers, employers of domestics and those in government service were excluded as in the various state bills that have been proposed. President Green appeared at the hearing held by the Ways and Means Committee of the House in favor of the Wagner-Lewis Unemployment Insurance Bill. The Committee voted to report the bill favorably, but for some reason this was not done. No hearing was held in the Senate. Both Senator Wagner and Representative Lewis will re-introduce the bill in the next Congress.

National Housing Act—Congress created the Federal Housing Administration which is to encourage improvement in housing standards and conditions and to provide a system of mutual mortgage insurance.

The administrator is authorized to insure banks, trust companies, personal finance companies, mortgage companies, building and loan associations, installment lending companies and other such financial institutions against losses which they may sustain as a result of loans and advances of credit for the purpose of financing alterations, repairs and improvements upon real property. The insurance granted shall not exceed 20 per cent of the total amount of the loans. The insurance on any low cost housing project shall not exceed \$10,000,000.

The mortgage insurance feature provides for mutual plan insurance which will be supervised by the government on mortgages for new construction. National mortgage associations will be set up which will rediscount paper for building and loan associations and other lending entities in the same manner in which Federal Reserve Banks rediscount paper for member institutions.

As soon as the Housing Act became effective, the price of material increased beyond bounds. This was regarded as a stumbling block to the success of the Act.

Vigorous protests were made by President M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The Administrator of the Act was called upon to use his influence to find a remedy. Supporters of the Act believe that it will reduce unemployment and benefit the heavy industry.

Crime Legislation—At least 20 bills having for their purpose changes in the laws to make the penalties higher in various cases of crime were introduced in Congress. Twelve of these bills came from the Department of Justice. Among

them were several which in the hands of an unfair judge could be made to apply to Labor.

Violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust law are misdemeanors and require proof of conspiracy to prosecute. In a report to the Senate Judiciary Committee the Department of Justice stated that it is often difficult to prove that the acts of racketeers affecting interstate commerce amount to conspiracy and that the act was designed primarily to prevent and punish persons who commit acts of intimidation, violence, coercion or extortion or who make threats. These are made felonies and the penalty on conviction is from one to ten years and a fine of \$5,000, or both.

Twelve bills were submitted to the Judiciary Committee by the Attorney-General but no public hearings were held on them. Only the Attorney-General and his assistant appeared before the committee. The bills were reported in the Senate one day and passed the next and then sent to the House.

Senator LaFollette introduced an amendment to one of the bills which provides:

That no court of the United States shall construe or apply any of the provisions of this Act in such manner as to impair, diminish, or in any manner affect the rights of bona-fide labor organizations in lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof, as such rights are expressed in existing statutes of the United States.

President Green entered protest against the wording of some of the bills and amendments were made. The bills passed both Houses and were signed by the President.

Closed Bank Legislation—Representative McLeod of Michigan introduced a bill authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase all remaining assets of closed banks that were members of the Federal Reserve System.

Extended hearings were held. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor urged that closed state banks also be included. Great opposition arose to the bill. The Banking and Currency Committee of the House finally reported a substitute.

An amendment was adopted authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans upon or to purchase the assets of any bank, savings bank, or trust company, which was closed on or after December 31, 1929, and prior to January 1, 1934. The Corporation shall appraise such assets in anticipation of an orderly liquidation over a period of years, rather than on the basis of forced selling values in a period of business depression.

Air-Mail Legislation—Public No. 308, an act to revise air-mail laws, and to establish a commission to make a report to the Congress recommending an aviation policy, contains clauses which vitally affects air-mail pilots.

It is believed that this legislation will give protection to the air-mail pilots. Rules and regulations which will be promulgated will, it is hoped, remove the grievances about which air-mail pilots complained during the last few years.

Government Employees—May 25, 1934, the Postmaster-General made public a ruling of the Comptroller-General denying to employees credit for time served between July 1, 1932 and July 1, 1934, in the restoration of automatic promotions.

Legislation to correct this was introduced by Representative Lamneck of Ohio and became a law. The effect of this law is to give employes in the automatic grades credit for all time served and to promote them to the grades to which they would have attained if the Economy Act had not been in effect.

Representative James M. Mead of New York, Chairman of the House Post-Office Committee, introduced a bill to provide that substitute employes in the postal service should be paid for a minimum of one hundred hours per month. This bill passed both the House and the Senate but was vetoed by the President.

Representative Martin L. Sweeney of Ohio introduced a bill to discontinue payless furloughs in the postal service. It passed the House and the Senate but was vetoed by the President.

An amendment to the Civil Service Retirement law gives employes the right to name their beneficiaries to whom shall be paid sums remaining to their credit in the retirement fund in case of death. It also removes the necessity for probate if such sum amounts to over \$1000.

Seamen's Bill—For many years the Seamen's International Union has endeavored to have a law enacted providing that vessels must take as many seamen out of the country as they bring in. The practice has been to smuggle immigrants into the country in the guise of seamen. Under present United States laws seamen can leave ship in safe harbor and remain in the country for sixty days for the sole purpose of reshipping in foreign vessels. It is alleged that immigrants who can not enter the country under the quota law or because of police records abroad, pay a certain amount of money to vessel owners and masters to smuggle them into the United States. After arrival, they simply disappear and are very seldom located and deported.

The Senate passed bills in several Congresses to correct this serious violation of the immigration laws but they failed in the House. In the Seventy-third Congress the House passed a satisfactory bill, but when it reached the Senate a vigorous campaign against a favorable report by the Senate Immigration Committee was conducted. However, the bill was favorably reported to the Senate but it died on the calendar. Further efforts will be made in the next session of Congress.

Unemployment Relief—February 15, 1934, President Roosevelt signed an act making an appropriation of \$950,000,000 to carry out the purposes of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, and for the continuation of the Civil Works Program and for other purposes. The Federal Civil Works Administration was abolished April 1. The work of giving relief was transferred to work divisions of the states and municipalities.

Much criticism came from various parts of the country because of the methods used by representatives of local relief administrations. The charges included the appointment of members of families or relatives to clerical and other positions; appointments being made for political reasons, and the failure to pay the prevailing rate of wages which the new set-up in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration required.

Many complaints came to the American Federation of Labor and were taken up immediately with the FERA. In some cases the grievances were remedied, but in many others the objectionable practices continued.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed—Congress amended Section 12B of the Federal Reserve Act so as to extend for one year the temporary plan for deposit insurance. It also increased the amount guaranteed by the Deposit Insurance Corporation from \$2,500 to \$5,000. This law has proved a contention always raised by the American Federation of Labor that the guaranteeing of deposits would give the people more confidence in financial institutions. Efforts were made to repeal the law but the sentiment was too strong for this legislation.

Immigration—Bills were introduced into Congress providing for amendments and changes in certain sections of existing immigration laws. A limited number of these bills were reported to the House for action but failed to pass. As a result, no important change was made in prevailing immigration statutes during the last session.

In 1931 the State Department issued instructions to United States Consuls not to grant a visé to any immigrant who, it seemed probable, would become a public charge. As a result of these instructions, the number of immigrants who could be admitted to the United States was reduced from 153,000 to 12,000. Representative Dies introduced a bill which was designed to embody the principle contained in these State Department instructions into a Federal statute. This bill provided that the immigration quotas for all countries be reduced ninety per cent. The American Federation of Labor supported this measure.

We are still grappling with the problem of Mexican immigration. In order to supply a remedy for undue and unnecessary Mexican immigration a bill was introduced by representative Schulte to place the Republic of Mexico under the quota provisions of the immigration law. This bill provided that the total number of persons born in the Republic of Mexico admitted as quota immigrants shall not exceed 1500, and that only persons born in such area and who are eligible to citizenship shall be admitted. This bill failed of passage. It was unfavorably acted upon by the Immigration Committee.

The Department of Labor prepared and introduced under its sponsorship and recommendation a number of bills providing for amendments to the deportation sections of the immigration statutes. It was explained by the representative of the Department of Labor that these measures were designed to remedy defects discovered as a result of experience gained through application of the deportation sections. It was further stated that there was no intention on the part of the Department of Labor to weaken the restrictive features of immigration statutes but instead to strengthen them, humanize them and make them more practicable and successful in operation.

Because of the importance of these legislative proposals, sponsored by the Department of Labor, the officers of the American Federation of Labor insisted upon a more careful study and analysis of the measures proposed. It was deemed advisable to withhold approval of these measures until the Executive Council was accorded the opportunity to study them, analyze them and confer with the repre-

representatives of the Labor Department regarding their provisions. It has ever been the purpose and policy of the American Federation of Labor to support and safeguard restrictive immigration legislation. We can not approve measures which would weaken even to the slightest degree the restrictive features of immigration legislation for which the organized labor movement fought during a long period of years. For this reason, we could not under the circumstances support or endorse the amendments to the immigration statutes drafted and proposed by the representatives of the Labor Department. However, it is intended that at the earliest opportunity, a conference will be held between the representatives of the Labor Department and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of giving special consideration to the amendments to the immigration statutes proposed by the Department of Labor as referred to herein. The future course of the American Federation of Labor relative to the Labor Department's proposed amendments to the immigration laws will be determined after a conference is held between representatives of the Department of Labor and the Executive Council.

Vocational Education—The House passed a bill providing an appropriation of \$3,000,000 a year for three years for the further development of vocational education in the several states and territories. An amendment was offered from the floor by Representative Connery which provided that none of the funds authorized should be allocated to any state or territory to pay salaries of teachers, supervisors or directors if they are denied the right to join any legal organization of their own choosing.

There have been many instances where teachers have been discharged for joining a trade union. Mr. Connery sought to correct this evil. The Connery amendment was defeated. The bill passed the Senate and was approved by the President. The appropriation will be divided equally between agricultural education, home economics and industrial education.

Workmen's Compensation—S. 3186, introduced by Senator McCarran, provided for amending the Workmen's Compensation law for the District of Columbia. When the law originally was considered by Congress, contractors all insisted that private insurance companies should supply insurance for the payment of compensation to persons injured or to the heirs of those killed. Since then, however, the views of employers have changed because of the excessive rates charged by the insurance companies, and also because of the further fact that a number of insurance companies which issued compensation insurance have failed. The bill provides for a state fund and is heartily supported by the contractors.

Naval Vessels and Air-Crafts—Congress authorized the construction of 102 naval vessels and 1100 air-crafts in order to bring the ratio up to 5—5—3. During the hearings it was estimated that it would require \$660,000,000 over a period of years to carry on the work. The bill was introduced January 9, passed the House January 30, passed the Senate March 6 and was approved by the President March 27. Forty million dollars was appropriated to begin work in this fiscal year.

The first and each succeeding vessel of each category except the 15,000 ton air carrier, upon which work is in progress, shall be constructed in the government navy yards, naval stations, naval gun factories, naval ordnance plants or arsenals of the United States, except such material or parts as were not customarily manufactured in such plants prior to 1929.

Farmer Legislation—Quite a number of bills in the interest of the farmers were introduced in Congress and supported by the American Federation of Labor. The Frazier-Lemke Bill, to liquidate and refinance agricultural indebtedness at a reduced rate of interest by establishing an efficient credit system, failed of passage, although several bills in the interest of the farmers became laws. The American Federation of Labor supported these measures and aided in securing a petition to recall the Frazier-Lemke Bill from the committee. However, it failed of passage.

Highway Appropriation—The sum of \$200,000,000 was appropriated by Congress and approved by the President to increase employment by providing for emergency construction of public highways and related projects. Twenty-five per cent of the apportionment to any state must be applied to secondary or feeder roads, including farm-to-market roads, rural free delivery mail roads, and public-school bus routes. An additional \$24,000,000 was appropriated for the survey, construction, reconstruction, and maintenance of highways, roads, trails, bridges, and related projects in national parks, Indian reservations, and public lands. The sum of \$10,000,000 was appropriated to carry out these projects for the years 1936 and 1937.

Philippine Independence—The political leaders of the Philippine Islands succeeded in having the independence law which was enacted by the Seventy-second Congress defeated by the Philippine Legislature. The opponents of the law appointed a commission to come to Washington to work for the enactment of new legislation. However, when they found that it was impossible to secure changes in the law they sought, they accepted the law practically as originally enacted.

Labor was interested in this measure because of the immigration question. Philipinos are neither citizens nor aliens, but they can come freely into the United States. Many thousands are now on the Pacific Coast, where unemployment has reached extreme conditions. The new law provides that after the legislature approved the law only 50 Filipinos a year could come into the United States. After complete independence, none can come as the Philippine Islands are in the barred zone and the Filipinos are ineligible for citizenship. The legislature unanimously accepted the independence act April 30. Immediately thereafter the government issued an order restricting immigration from the Philipippines to 50 each year.

House Petition Rule—One of the greatest grievances of members of the House of Representatives was the practice of committees to withhold reports on bills. This became so prevalent that finally a rule was adopted that a bill could be withdrawn from a committee on the signing of a petition by 145 members.

Several petitions were placed on the Speaker's desk in the last session. Every means was used to defeat the obtaining of signatures or action on the bills when the petitions were complete. The reactionary members do not like this rule and threaten the next Congress to amend it so that it will be necessary for 218 members to sign petitions. This would make it practically impossible for any petition to receive the required number of signatures. The Executive Council will protest the threatened change.

International Labor Office—Senate Joint Resolution 131 providing for membership of the United States in the International Labor Organization became a law. The President was authorized to accept membership for the government of the United States of America in the International Labor Office, which through its general conference of representatives of its members and through its International Office, collects information concerning Labor throughout the world and prepares international conventions for the consideration of member governments with a view to improving conditions of labor.

No appropriation was provided as in the debate on the floor of the House Representative McReynolds of Tennessee stated that it would not be necessary until the next Congress. He said that the government did not have to pay its share of conducting the office in advance.

President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America attended the International Labor Conference held at Geneva on June 4-23, 1934, as one of the representatives of the United States Government. Upon his return from the conference he accepted an invitation to present a report of the proceedings of the conference to the Executive Council at its meeting held beginning August 6. The confidential information given by President Lewis to the Executive Council and his report upon the detailed proceedings of the conference was very greatly appreciated and was regarded as most valuable by all members of the Executive Council.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

Owing to the publicity regarding sweat shop conditions brought out during investigations of proposed codes by the National Recovery Administration, increased demands for minimum wage laws were made. Sixteen states now have minimum wage laws. They are:

California	Minnesota	Oregon
Colorado	North Dakota	South Dakota
Connecticut	New Hampshire	Washington
Illinois	New Jersey	Wisconsin
Massachusetts	New York	Utah
	Ohio	

Every effort should be made in the states where such laws are not in effect to have similar legislation enacted.

Very important action was taken by seven states in a meeting at Concord, New Hampshire, on May 29. The states represented were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. They declared that:

No employer shall pay a woman or a minor, under twenty-one years of age, an unfair or oppressive wage.

A bill was introduced in Congress to authorize the several states to negotiate contracts or agreements to promote greater uniformity in the laws of such states affecting Labor and industries. The state which has enacted laws for the betterment of working conditions, eliminating sweatshops, setting maximum hours of labor, etc., finds itself handicapped in competition if its neighbor states have lower standards. During the depression the struggle for business has been keener and standards are consequently relaxed. Improvements which have taken many years to accomplish have been swept away. It is to remove these obstacles to fair competition that the compacts are being recommended.

OLD AGE SECURITY

Twenty states are still lacking old age security laws. Every effort should be made in the coming sessions of the legislatures in January to urge passage of this legislation. Bills introduced in Congress failed of passage because the Budget Bureau objected on the ground that it was contrary to the President's economy policy. However, there is great sentiment in favor of this legislation as it has been found that poorhouses are more costly than pensions. The states that have not as yet taken care of the aged are:

Alabama
Connecticut
Florida
Georgia
Illinois
Kansas
Louisiana

Michigan
Mississippi
Missouri
New Mexico
North Carolina
Oklahoma
Rhode Island

South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Vermont
Virginia

Further efforts will be made in the Seventy-fourth Congress to have an old age security law enacted for the District of Columbia. It would be a great financial saving to the District. Both Houses favorably reported bills in the last Congress. A filibuster prevented passage in the House.

CONVICT LABOR

Forty-two State Legislatures will meet in January or later next year. Strenuous efforts should be made to have those states that have not taken advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act do so. Seventeen states have enacted laws prohibiting the sale of convict-made goods manufactured in its own prisons on the open market.

The Hawes-Cooper Act provides that any convict-made goods shipped from one state into another shall come under the laws of the latter the same as if manufactured therein. Therefore, if a state legislature enacts a law prohibiting the sale of its own convict-made products on the open market, no other state can sell its convict-made products in that state. This is very important, as much unemployment is caused by the sale of convict-made goods on the open market, particularly so in view of the fact that the government now permits the NRA label to go on convict-made goods, which action we condemn as being injurious to free labor.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

The fact that 14 states in 1933 ratified the Child Labor Amendment aroused its opponents who have conducted a most bitter campaign to prevent other states taking the same action. Twenty states now have ratified the amendment.

Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Massachusetts legislatures refused to approve the Child Labor Amendment. The ratification resolution was introduced in the New York Legislature and hearings called, but the day before the hearings were to be held they were postponed indefinitely.

President Green sent a circular letter to all members of the Virginia, Kentucky and New York legislatures urging the members to approve the amendment. A number of public men of high renown who always have claimed they opposed the exploitation of children in industry came out against the amendment. This was particularly true in New York state.

In practically every industrial code of fair practice adopted and applied under the National Recovery Act child labor is prohibited. To a very great extent, therefore, opponents of child labor have succeeded in achieving their purpose to prohibit the employment of children under 16 years of age. This development under the operation of the National Recovery Act offers strong argument for the enactment of legislation which will permanently and effectively prohibit the employment of children in gainful occupations.

The arguments that the prohibition of child labor is socialist and that it means the surrender of parental control over children have been answered and exploded through the prohibition of child labor which has been brought about through the application of industrial codes of fair practice.

It must be clear to every supporter of the Child Labor Amendment to the United States constitution that child labor on a national basis can only be prevented and prohibited through the enactment of a federal statute. Congress can only do this when the Constitution is amended so as to confer upon them power to enact prohibitory child labor legislation.

The Executive Council urges all organizations of labor and all members of organized labor to unite in the effort to secure the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by a sufficient number of state legislatures during the coming year to guarantee the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the constitution of the United States.

IMMIGRATION QUOTA FOR JAPAN

Japan continues her persistent agitation for the placing of both Japan and China under the quota provisions of our immigration law. It is reasonable to conclude if Japan were placed under the quota all countries in the barred zone would of necessity be treated likewise.

The American Federation of Labor joined with other groups in the rejection of the exclusive immigration statute applicable to oriental countries. We have never been convinced that there should be any modification in this position which we have consistently maintained.

The Executive Council re-states its opposition to any modification whatever of the exclusive section of the United States immigration laws.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY

The political campaign for the election of members of Congress is now on in every congressional district and state of the United States. It is imperative that candidates who are favorable to remedial legislation shall be elected. According to inquiries made of the American Federation of Labor great interest is being taken in the election. Central Labor Unions have instructed their legislative committees to be active in carrying out the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor. The officers of the various State Federations of Labor are also active in requesting the legislative records on measures of interest to Labor of the various candidates in their states.

There are 435 members of the House and 35 United States Senators who are to be elected. The records of the candidates were sent to the various state and congressional districts and an appeal made to carry out the declaration of the American Federation of Labor to—

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them; oppose our enemies and defeat them whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial.

This being an "off year" the Executive Council can not too strongly urge that the greatest interest be taken in appealing to all members and friends of Labor to go to the polls on election day. In the past great friends of Labor have been defeated because of the lack of interest during an "off year" election.

One of the important questions that should be asked candidates is whether they will restore the wages and working conditions taken away from government employees under the Economy Act. While there has been a partial restoration, there are a number of conditions that should be remedied. A five-per cent reduction in wages is still in effect and this should be repealed in case the President does not restore the loss to the government employees.

The duty of the American Federation of Labor is to secure legislation of benefit to Labor and the people. In order that it can be successful, it is necessary for fair and impartial members of Congress to be elected. Every candidate should be questioned as to his attitude toward Labor by the officials in his congressional district. Candidates for the United States Senate should also be questioned as to what their attitude will be on remedial legislation.

One most important feature in a political campaign must not be overlooked, and that is to register. Failure to take part in the election sometimes results in the election of a candidate unfavorable to Labor. Every State Federation of Labor, Central Labor Union and local union have urged upon the wage earners and their friends to register.

There are many Congressmen who, despite all attempts to influence them against Labor, are entitled to the support of organized wage earners. We hope they will never be able to say that Labor did not do its duty in the elections.

LABOR AND THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

For more than a year the government, Labor and industry have been engaged in a gigantic attempt to restore prosperity to this country, and to bring about such changes in the industrial system of the country as will guard against a recurrence of the depression under which we have been suffering for more than four years, and which a year ago resulted in an almost complete breakdown of banking and of business. This attempt, in so far as industry is concerned, has been carried on under the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Under this Act, Labor expected three principal benefits: increased employment through the establishment of a shorter work week; increased purchasing power in the hands of the millions of workers through the establishment of higher wage; the right to organize into trade unions without fear of restraint, coercion, or intimidation on the part of employers and, so organized, the right to bargain collectively for the establishment of satisfactory wages, hours, and working conditions. By the extent to which these purposes have been fulfilled, the success of the NRA may be judged from Labor's interests.

Wages—When the NRA became effective last year, wages had reached such low levels that millions of workers among those still employed, even in the long work-week which prevailed, were not making a living wage. Hourly wage rates of 8, 10, 12, and 15 cents prevailed in many industries. Weekly earnings had sunk to levels undreamed of during the years preceding the depression. Competition among employers for the little business remaining was fierce, and competitive prices of goods were based upon constantly lowered wages. The situation of the workers of the country was desperate.

It was in this situation that code making began. The theory back of codes, in so far as wages were concerned, was that competition based on low wages would be eliminated through the fair trade practices of codes; that while a single unit in an industry might very conceivably be unable to raise wages under former competitive conditions, all units in any given industry might very well increase wages simultaneously; that only through drastic wage increases could sufficient purchasing power be created to provide a market for the products of industry.

Codes set minimum wages, below which no unscrupulous or inefficient employer could go in payment of his workers. In this the codes were intended to and did benefit large numbers of unskilled men and women in industry. In some industries the minimum wages fixed in the codes raised hourly wage rates for an overwhelming majority of workers in the industry. This was true, for example, in the furniture industry, in the cotton textile industry, and in many others, where wages had been especially depressed. It is, however, unfair to judge the effect of the codes upon even these groups of workers by increases in hourly wage rates. This has been the tendency of both industry and the Administration, and has led to exaggerated statements of the benefits large groups of workers have received from code wages.

Of primary importance to the worker are weekly earnings. It is upon the amount in the pay envelope at the end of the week that the worker and his family

must live. From a consideration of weekly wages, it becomes clear that minimum wage rates in the code have been set so low that the purpose of the NRA has been completely nullified in a large portion of industry. The wages fixed by the codes are not high enough to make possible an improved standard of living or to create increased consumer demand for the products of industry.

Total payrolls have increased under the NRA as has employment. Considering July, 1933, as the month just prior to the institution of the new program, under the President's Reemployment Agreement, there has been a 16.9 per cent increase in July, 1934, in the payrolls of sixteen industrial groups which report to the Bureau of Statistics.* During the same period, July, 1933, to July, 1934, employment in the same reporting industries increased by 9.8 per cent. Individual average weekly wages in the same industries increased 6.4 per cent, while cost of living increased 6.3 per cent. This meant that the employees in these industries are at the same position in regard to purchasing power as they held before the NRA. This is far from carrying out the purpose of the Recovery Administration. Increased payrolls, of course, mean increased purchasing power in the hands of the workers, but total payrolls are no indication of what is happening to the individual wage earners and earnings. In many industries codes have meant a very real decrease in wages and earnings rather than an increase, and large numbers of workers find themselves today in a less favored position, economically, than they were a year ago.

In fixing wage rates in codes, the tendency has been to overlook the relationship which must exist between hourly wage rates and hours of work. Weekly wages and employment must be maintained as hours of work are reduced. Weekly wages and employment maintained must be increased as the cost of living increases. From the following table showing percentage changes from July, 1933, to July, 1934, in employment, payrolls, average hours of work, and average weekly earnings in twenty major industries, it is evident what the effects of the NRA have been.

20 MAJOR CODES
PERCENTAGE CHARGES JULY, 1933, TO JULY, 1934

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Average Weekly Earnings</i>	<i>Average Hours of Work</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Payroll</i>
Automobile Mfg.	- 2.9	-26.6	+49.3	+44.9
Boot and Shoe	+ 6.7	-30.9	- 1.4	+ 6.7
Coal (Bituminous) ...	+21.2	-24.8	+21.8	+47.9
Cotton Textile.....	+ 3.1	-37.9	- 7.3	- 4.2
Daily Newspaper	+ 4.7	- 6.9	+ 7.4	+12.3
Electrical Mfg.	+10.0	- 8.0	+26.7	+39.1
Furniture Mfg.	+ 9.2	-23.1	- .6	+ 9.2
Graphic Arts (1)	+ 6.3	- 4.5	+10.9	+18.2
Hotels	+ 7.8	- 7.2	+14.2	+23.1
Iron and Steel (5)	- 0.8	-30.4	+16.6	+15.7
Laundry	+ 9.2	- 3.5	+ 6.4	+16.2
Lumber and Timber (2)	+ 8.9	-24.9	+ 2.6	+12.3

*The industries represented are mining, public utilities, trade, service, construction, railroads and manufacturing.

20 MAJOR CODES—*Continued*

PERCENTAGE CHARGES JULY, 1933, TO JULY, 1934

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Average Weekly Earnings</i>	<i>Average Hours of Work</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Payroll</i>
Men's Clothing	+13.4	-28.5	- 6.3	+ 6.2
Paper and Pulp	- 3.0	-23.1	+16.6	+12.9
Petroleum (4)	+ 2.9	-16.3	+25.6	+30.9
Retail Trade	+ 7.1	-11.0	+11.7	+19.6
Silk Textile	+10.9	-23.9	-11.4	- 1.4
Transit (3)	+ 5.6	- 1.5	+ 5.3	+11.1
Wholesale Trade	+ 4.7	- 9.0	+ 9.2	+14.4
Wool Textile	- 1.7	-31.9	-27.6	-28.8

Industries used in B. L. S.

- (1)—Book and Job Printing
- (2)—Millwork and Sawmills average
- (3)—Electric Rail and Buses
- (4)—Petroleum producing and refining average
- (5)—Blast Furnaces, Steel Works, Rolling Mills

Source: B. L. S.

Average weekly earnings have decreased in automobiles, iron and steel, paper and pulp, and wool textiles. When the increase in the cost of living is considered, the real situation of these employees is seen to be even worse than the figures indicate. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living in June, 1934, was 6.3 percent higher than it was a year ago. While no figure is as yet available for July, 1934, it is certain that there was a further increase in the cost of living during that month.

Even in a number of the industries listed in which average weekly wages have shown an increase, that increase is not sufficient to compensate for the increases in the cost of living. This is true of cotton textiles, daily newspapers, petroleum, transit, and wholesale trade. These millions of workers have less purchasing power today than they had a year ago.

Minimum wages fixed in codes were to apply only to the least skilled workers in the industry, to those performing common labor. It has been obvious from the beginning that without some protection extended to skilled workers, the tendency on the part of employers would be to make the minimum wage the maximum, and to reduce wages of skilled groups to compensate for increases in the wages of the unskilled. To protect the skilled worker it has been recommended again and again by Labor that protection be given wages for groups of employees or occupations according to trade, industry or subdivision of industry, the experience of the workers, and the regions concerned, as would follow from the application of Section 7(b) (see later discussion). To this the Administration has been consistently opposed. Codes have for this reason failed almost completely to protect the higher-paid groups of employees. In many cases these groups have suffered significant decreases in wages. In the electrical industry, for example, a substantial loss in weekly wages by nearly all employees in the industry has resulted from the adoption of the code. In one plant average weekly wages of \$32.00 to \$35.00 were reduced to \$20.00 and \$22.00 by the adoption of the code.

In a few industries, despite the position taken by the Administration, wage scales above the minimum have been written into the codes. This is true of men's clothing, coat and suit, hosiery, graphic arts, and motion picture codes. In the vast majority of codes, however, no protection has been given skilled workers. Some codes actually provide for reductions in weekly pay proportional to the reduction in hours of work brought about by the codes; others ignore the higher paid workers; still others—and this in a majority—include meaningless and unenforceable provisions for adjustment in wages above the minimum, "so far as practicable," "in the light of all the circumstances," "an equitable adjustment upward," "the maintenance of differentials," and so on.

All of these provisions have proven to be completely useless. All kinds of subterfuges have been resorted to, to reduce all wages to the minimum. Skilled employees have been reclassified as to occupations and duties, to bring them into the minimum wage class; they have been discharged and rehired at the minimum rates of pay.

Not only have higher paid employees been reduced to the minimum wage rates, but many "sub-standard" groups of workers have been recognized by the codes as entitled to less than code minimum rates. Differentials of all kinds have been used to cut down the minimum rates. Regional or population differentials exist in almost every code. The establishment of lower wage rates for negro workers than for white workers has been general. This threatens to make permanent the lower standard of living and the lower purchasing power of workers in the South as compared with those in the North. No investigation which has so far been made justifies these differentials. They tend to bring about a shift in industry, based solely upon the determination of certain employers to pay low wages. The same is true with regard to the wage differentials established in many codes, as between cities of different populations. These differentials are based upon the same assumption as is that of the North-South differential—that cost of living is less in one community or locality than in another. These differences in established wage rates create or intensify competition based upon labor costs.

The sex differential has been written into a majority of the codes. Operations performed by women workers are placed on a lower wage level than those performed by men. Lower rates are established for learners, apprentices, junior workers, and handicapped workers. All of these differentials are highly undesirable and can tend only to destroy the benefits the codes should bring to the common or unskilled workers.

It seems obvious that codes must be revised to increase minimum wages, to eliminate groups of workers now below the minimum rates, and to protect wages of higher paid groups of employees.

Hours—The problem of the regulation of hours through codes is closely tied up with that of unemployment. The measure of the success of the attempt to regulate hours of work is the number of persons who are still seeking jobs. Judged in such figures of unemployment the codes have as yet fallen far short of what was hoped and expected of them a year ago. The last estimate of unemployment, that for July, 1934, shows well over ten and a half million workers still unemployed. Slightly over two million of these men and women are at work on gov-

ernment projects, on PWA in CCC camps, on relief projects of one kind or another. This leaves eight and a half million men and women without even temporary jobs. It was hoped that when codes were adopted covering the majority of workers, hours would be so shortened that the millions of unemployed would be absorbed. This hope has not been fully realized.

A survey of the codes adopted shows that industry has failed completely to realize the necessity for the shorter work week. There are now between five and six hundred approved codes of fair competition, covering, it has been estimated, some 18,000,000 workers. Of the codes so far approved, by far the vast majority fix a 40-hour week or longer. Less than a 30-hour week has been established in one code, that of the cast iron soil pipe industry; the 35 or 36-hour week has been established in the garment trades, in rubber tire manufacturing, and in a few miscellaneous industries, such as cement, the manufacture of motor fire apparatus, fire extinguisher appliances, rolling steel doors, shipbuilding. Even a flat minimum 40-hour week has been established in only about 100 codes; the majority establish the 40-hour week with so long a period of averaging or so many exceptions and exemptions as to mean, in reality, a much longer week. A significant number of industries have written into their code provisions for the 42, 44, 48, 52 and even 54-hour week. Many of the codes establish, in fact, a longer work week than that which has been in effect in the industry during the entire depression. The code for the iron and steel industry, for example, established a 40-hour week, averaged over a period of six months, with a maximum of 48 hours in any one week, but, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, at no time during the past year has that industry worked up to the code hours. During 1934 the highest average work week was 37.2 hours in June. In July the hours of work were down to 28.1 per week. The automobile code established a 40-hour week, averaged over a period of 8 months, and actually permitted 48 hours per week during the production season. Yet Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that at no time since the adoption of the code has the industry worked up to its code hours. Even in March, 1934, the highest month since the code became effective, hours of work average only 39.5 per week. Such regulations can not be expected to have, and have not had, any effect upon the problem of unemployment by which the country is still confronted. Nothing can be expected in the way of new employment possibilities from an industry which, already on an actual 30 or 35-hour week, fixes a 40 or 48-hour maximum work week in its code. It has been the constant demand of Labor that hours of work be reduced to the point where the unemployed can be absorbed. It is estimated that between two and three million workers have found jobs in industry through the NRA. This is something, but it is not enough. Hours of work must be greatly reduced.

There is urgent need of more adequate information upon which to base changes in the codes. So far, no satisfactory system of reporting has been established by the Administration. There are many industries which have not yet made a single report to the Administration of what is taking place under the codes. We have entered upon a phase of national planning, which makes accurate information essential. Before it is possible to know the hours and wages which should prevail in an industry, conditions in that industry must be known. A

flexible reduction in hours of work was suggested in March, 1934, when the Administration proposed that hours of work should be reduced by at least 10 per cent, while wages should be increased 10 per cent. This was recognition on the part of the Administration that codes were not doing what had been expected of them in putting people back to work. But the suggestion was never followed through. Opposition from industry was prompt and vociferous. Recently, two attempts have been made to reduce hours of work; one in the cotton textile industry, with no corresponding raise in wage rates; the other by the Administration itself, in the cotton garment industry, when by executive order a 10 per cent reduction in hours of work and a 10 per cent increase in hourly wage rates was decreed, against the wishes of the industry.

These two attempts to shorten hours of work are important. That of the cotton textile industry puts an intolerable burden upon the workers in the industry. Decrease in hours of work, with no change in wage rates, has brought weekly earnings down to pre code levels. Average weekly earnings by July, 1934, had fallen to \$11.00, while in some sections of the country weekly earnings were again as low as \$5.00, \$6.00, and \$7.00. Accompanied as this reduction was by a constant effort to impose a stretch out on the workers, it resulted in strike action.

The second attempt to regulate hours of work by administrative order represents a great victory for Labor. It is recognition by the Administration that industry is not in every case capable of self-government. Hours of work in the cotton garment industry have been longer than those in the majority of the garment trades; no reemployment was brought about by the code. Yet the industry refused to shorten hours of work. An impartial study by the Administration revealed that the 36-hour week would be more advantageous to the industry than was the longer work week, and that week was decreed, with an increase of 10 per cent in wage rates, to protect the employees against cuts in their weekly earnings. There are undoubtedly many other instances when similar governmental policy will have to be followed, to bring about the necessary reduction in hours of work and protect earnings.

There are certain weaknesses in the codes as they are at present drawn, which prevent reemployment of many workers. Chief among these weaknesses are those which provide for the averaging of hours of work over long periods of time, in some cases as long as over a complete calendar year; the exemption of many groups of employees from the hours provisions of the codes; the extension of maximum hours of work during peak seasons of the industries.

For highly seasonal industries an averaging provision really means a much longer maximum work week than the code pretends to fix, as the longer work week in effect during the production season, may be averaged out during the season of complete lay-off which occurs every year in industries such as automobiles, canning, fishing, and many others. Practically every code exempts maintenance, repair and even "preparation" employees from all regulations of hours; others exempt "skilled or key workers"; outside salesmen have been given no protection; cleaners, janitors, shipping and stock clerks, firemen, engineers, electricians, deliverymen, outside employees of all kinds, are completely outside code regulations in the majority of instances. Many of these people are still working 50, 56, 60 and even 70 hours per week. In many of the codes no limit whatever is

placed upon the hours which employees may be forced to work during peak periods; very few codes define what constitutes a peak season.

It is impossible to estimate how many thousands of workers are kept out of jobs by these loose code provisions. Certainly, substantial reemployment would be opened up if the hours provisions of the codes were made definite; if all the exempted groups of employees were brought under code regulation; if peak seasons in industry were used to give added employment rather than to extend the hours of work.

It has already been made obvious that codes which contain these weaknesses are impossible of enforcement. Who, for example, is to be held responsible for the check upon a man's work throughout an entire year, to make certain that his hours of work have, in that time, not averaged more than 40? Clearly, the men concerned cannot themselves be expected to remember or to keep a record of the hours they work over a long period of time, so they cannot check upon the enforcement of this portion of the code. The most effective method of preventing overtime, that of payment for that overtime at not less than time and one-half, has not yet been incorporated in many codes. Of the first 400 codes adopted, 68 have no overtime provisions whatever. In a majority of the remainder, overtime, usually at the rate of time and one-third, applies only to special groups of employees, usually maintenance and repair employees. As yet, only an insufficient number of codes contain overtime provisions which affect production employees.

Child Labor and Home Work—In one way, codes have fulfilled expectations. They have, with few exceptions, wiped out child labor. The vast majority of the codes now in effect prohibit the employment of children under sixteen years of age; many codes prohibit the employment of persons under eighteen years of age in hazardous occupations or operations. These provisions offer new opportunities to hundreds of thousands of young people for education and for physical, moral and spiritual improvement and represent one of the real achievements of the NRA.

Homework, which has been so prevalent in many industries, and which has given the unscrupulous employer an advantage over the employer who wanted to pay decent wages, has been largely eliminated under the codes of fair competition. Work previously performed under unsanitary conditions in the homes, for wages unbelievably low, is now being done under code conditions. Safety and health provisions are gradually being worked out and incorporated in the codes, though this phase of protection to the workers has not advanced as rapidly as might be hoped. A special committee has been created by the NRA in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, and the Department of Labor, for working out standards of safety and health for major groups of industries.

Enforcement Machinery—So far the place Labor has in the continuing agencies set up to administer and enforce codes is entirely unsatisfactory. Only in a very limited number of codes has labor been able to secure representation on the code authorities. In less than 25 out of the more than 500 codes so far adopted has Labor achieved representation, and in only 5 or 6 of these instances has this been direct union representation on the code authorities. The administration of industrial recovery will be worked out primarily through the codes; and, until

Labor is in a position to participate effectively in this administration, it cannot hope to secure the benefits from the NRA which it has every right to expect. Nor can the NRA itself expect to function in a satisfactory fashion.

Recommendations have again and again been made to the National Recovery Administration that labor representatives be placed on all Code Authorities. These labor representatives must be given a place on the Code Authorities equal in power and in privilege to all other members of the Code Authorities. This means that the labor representatives must have full access to all information of the Code Authority in connection with the administration of the code; they must have the power to attend all meetings of the Code Authority. In no other way can they have adequate information of the policies adopted by the Code Authority, and in no other way can they influence those policies. The attempt has been made to give the labor representatives on Code Authorities only advisory powers, and to make it impossible for them to attend meetings of the Code Authority except when they are specially invited to attend. This places them in a position where they can hope to accomplish little, and will entirely defeat the purposes which Labor has in mind when it demands representation on the Code Authorities.

To summarize briefly, then, the various ways in which the labor provisions of the codes as they are at present operating, must be amended to carry out the purposes of the National Recovery Act:

1. Wages must be increased to a point where the real income of the employees, their real purchasing power, is increased. So far the codes have failed, signally, to bring about such increase.

2. Hours of work must be reduced to the point where industry absorbs at least a considerable portion of the still vast army of unemployed.

3. An adequate system of reporting must be built up by NRA, as the only basis upon which future policies and plans can be built.

4. Labor must be given a place in code enforcement and administration. It becomes clearer daily that strongly organized unions are the most effective agency available for the enforcement of the codes. Labor is one of the three elements in the New Deal. As such, it has responsibilities which it is eager and able to assume. This it can do only by securing a place in all administrative and enforcement agencies set up under the codes.

Extent to Which Codes Cover Industries—With 515 * codes now approved, it is estimated by the Research and Planning Division of the National Recovery Administration that approximately 95 per cent of all employees who are to be included under codes are now working under approved codes. An estimate of the total number of employees who are to come under codes is 24,000,000 as of the 1930 census. Inasmuch as the Labor Department index of employment for manufacturing industries was 82.4 in May, 1934, as compared with 104.8 as an average for the year 1929, employment has been reduced approximately 20 per cent. Therefore, there are roughly 19,000,000 employees in the country who should be under codes, and 18,000,000 now included under codes.

* September 6, 1934.

These figures, however, are based on the 95 per cent estimate of the Administration. Inasmuch as this figure has been quoted for several months, and since there have been certain major changes in policy during that time, the authenticity of the figure might well be questioned. For example, we have the whole problem of service trades and industries, many of which were exempt from code provisions under the executive order of May 26. It is true that "provisions covering child labor maximum hours of work and minimum rates of pay are the mandatory provisions of Section 7 (a) and 10 (b)," and are supposed to remain in effect. It is true, furthermore, that under the executive order of June 28, agreements may be entered into by "such service trades, not heretofore codified, as shall hereafter be designated by the Administrator for industrial recovery." The action which was taken by the cleaners and dyers on June 20, when they turned back their code to General Johnson, shows very clearly the unsettled condition which now prevails in this group of industry.

Inasmuch as in 1929, 800,000 persons were employed in hotels, laundries, and dry-cleaning establishments, it is obvious that a tremendous group of workers are not receiving the protection of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The workers in public utilities also have not yet been included under code provisions, although approximately 1,000,000 employees are involved. Certain major questions of policy within the administration have delayed any definite action on these codes for a period of months.

Finally, there are still thousands of workers gainfully employed in enterprises which might be considered as industrial, or which might be considered as agricultural. Probably the most important group in this classification includes fruit and vegetable packing and shipping. Reports from the northwest, from California, and from the southwest, as well as from Florida, indicate very clearly that many phases of the work required might well be considered as industrial.

Another example is that of the greenhouse workers, whose hours of employment are not controlled directly by climatic conditions. Since the canning industry is already under an approved code, serious consideration should be given to the inclusion of thousands of other workers throughout the country who are engaged in work which might be considered a parallel.

Reorganization of the NRA—President Roosevelt and his advisors have recently been spending much time on plans for the reorganization of NRA on what is presumed to be a permanent basis. The first step in such reorganization is a complete realignment of the codes of fair competition. The classification of industries which has been worked out corresponds closely to the grouping of the Census Bureau. There will be 22 industrial groupings. It is the statement of the Administration that this regrouping will assure that allied industries receive identical treatment on common problems; that many allied codes may merge by voluntary action of the industries concerned; that more accurate statistical information may be secured on industries and trades. NRA does not propose that the 500 odd codes now in operation shall be cut down to twenty-two or to any other given number. It does propose to make possible such code combinations as can be worked out between the groups or industries concerned.

In any reorganization of the NRA there are certain major policies which should be adopted. Briefly, these are:

1. The NRA should be reorganized from the point of view of a longer period than that to June 16, 1935. It becomes increasingly evident that some action will be necessary for perhaps a long time to come. Policies should therefore be considered from a long time rather than a purely emergency point of view.

2. Codes should be reopened for such changes as will bring about the original purpose of the Act—reemployment and increased wages.

3. Codes should be reopened upon petition by Labor as well as upon the initiative of industry or the Administration.

4. Compliance machinery should be divorced more completely from the NRA administration. An independent compliance board, answerable directly to the President, would be better able to assure unbiased and prompt action.

5. Every resource of the government should be used for the enforcement of the code provisions and the decisions of the labor relations boards.

6. Collective bargaining between bona fide trade unions and employers must be assured through enforcement of Section 7 (a) and the destruction of company unions.

7. Adequate information, reporting and planning agencies must be created by the government.

8. Labor must be made an active partner in the supposed partnership of government, industry and labor.

9. Service industries should be included under codes. The distinction between intra-state and inter-state commerce is not a legitimate basis for the extension of protection to some workers and the denial of protection to others.

10. The entire agricultural labor population has so far been left without protection in regard to wages, hours, organization, or in dealing with employers. Some extension of the National Recovery Act to the field of agricultural labor should be made, either through a broadening of the act now in existence, or a supplementary act pertaining to agricultural labor.

Compliance—It has been estimated that approximately 18,000,000 employees are now working under approved codes of fair competition.

It is significant to compare these figures with a recent report from the National Recovery Administration on the adjustment of code complaints by state NRA directors. The adjustment of "some 928 complaints during the two-week period ended August 4, netted 3,867 workers throughout the country a total of \$75,394 in back wages." In other words, four workers in every 20,000 received back wages.

If all existing code violations had been reported, and equitable settlement on this basis had been made, it might be said that the compliance machinery is working to perfection; but since we know of widespread violations throughout the country with regard to code minimum rates, and rates above the minimum, which code provisions should have effected, it is obvious that the machinery which has been set up by the government is dealing effectively only with a negligible portion of all violations.

Delays in compliance machinery have worked untold hardship and have gone far toward breaking the spirit of workers throughout the country who, one year ago, were looking forward to a very definite improvement in standards of living

under the protection of the government. Delays have been experienced not only in getting code complaints before government agencies which would take action, but also in the adjustments of these complaints which were ordered. The custody of the Blue Eagle is one of our major problems. So long as the power to withdraw the Blue Eagle is in the control of the National Recovery Administration, where powerful industries can exercise such pressure, we cannot well expect to secure equitable adjustments of code violations. One extremely important consideration in this connection is the fact that thousands of workers are still too much in fear of their jobs to report labor conditions which they know are not in accordance with those established by the code.

The President, in his executive order of May 15, has protected workers who report code violations against discharge or demotion. We can never expect to secure code compliance until all violations are reported, and we can not expect that violations so reported will be equitably adjusted, until certain changes have been made in the compliance machinery.

In August, 1933, when the blanket code became effective generally, local compliance boards were established throughout the country. It was found almost universally, however, that the close relationship which existed between these boards and local chambers of commerce, made code adjustments virtually impossible.

In the early part of this year state directors of compliance boards were appointed in every state, and in most cases there was an officer whose duty it was to enforce code labor provisions.

Experiences with these agencies in different states have varied with states, and with personalities. The report mentioned above is issued at the time when this machinery is giving way to compliance boards in every state, made up of a government officer with a representative of management, and a representative of Labor, and similar local boards in many industrial communities.

There is every reason to believe that these agencies will be more effective than their predecessors. The adjustment of code violations through agencies set up under individual codes is still in its infancy. We know that there are certain problems within almost every industry that are peculiar to that industry. The stretch-out in the textile industry, and in the wheat flour milling industry, for example, is a device which has been employed by management in each of these industries in order to off-set, so far as possible, any cost increases which might have resulted from the code; but in each of these industries the stretch-out is an industrial problem, and if it is to be handled effectively, it must be taken care of through a separate agency within that industry in which labor and management have equal representation and which has the necessary responsibility and authority.

Up to the present time, hour and wage violations, and 7 (a) violations have been kept quite distinct, to be handled through different branches of the government. If the codes are to have any direct results in bringing about greater employment, and increased purchasing power, hour and wage provisions must be enforced. The enforcement program is developing, but organized labor throughout the country must be permitted to have a voice in shaping this program, and

must welcome its responsibilities under this program, if labor conditions as stipulated in code provisions are to become a reality.

ORGANIZATION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The inclusion of Section 7 (a) in every code is mandatory. This section provides that employees "shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." Labor believed when the Act was adopted that it was at last freed from all restrictions upon membership in trade unions and that collective bargaining was not only looked upon by the Administration as a method of fixing wages, hours, and working conditions, but that unions would receive the active support of the Administration in organization and in collective bargaining.

It is in regard to Section 7 (a) that the most cruel disillusion of the workers regarding the NRA has occurred. Convinced that they were protected in doing so, hundreds of thousands—even millions—of workers joined unions. But employer resistance to organization in bona fide unions was by no means destroyed or even weakened by the adoption of this portion of the law. Willing to accept the benefits which the codes brought them through relaxation in the anti-trust laws and through elimination of destructive competition, they had no intention of complying with their responsibilities under the collective bargaining portion of the Act.

Workers who joined unions in good faith, therefore, found themselves dismissed for no other reason than that they had accepted, at face value, the promises contained in the law; company unions were created by employers to prevent the growth of real unions, and to forestall real collective bargaining. Agencies set up by the NRA for the enforcement of Section 7 (a) were either unwilling or unable to enforce the law, or delayed so long in its enforcement that unions concerned were weakened and even destroyed, and faith in this portion of the Act lost.

The first agency set up for solution of problems arising under Section 7 (a) of the Act, as well as the settlement of industrial disputes involving strikes or lockouts, was the National Labor Board, under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner. Under this Board, 18 Regional Labor Boards were created. The National and the Regional Labor Boards were bi-partisan in character, each under the direction of a neutral chairman. While these Boards settled many disputes, they had not sufficient power to make them effective agencies in establishing principles for industrial relations in the new order evolving under the codes.

Senator Wagner was himself one of the first persons to realize that the National Labor Board and the Regional Labor Boards were not effective agencies for securing compliance with Section 7 (a). He, therefore, introduced into the Senate the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill. This bill proposed to outlaw company unions as agencies for collective bargaining, to give the National Labor Board

power to hold elections to determine the collective bargaining agency in any establishment or plant, to give the Board power to subpoena witnesses and to take testimony under oath. This bill was not approved. In its place Congress passed Joint Resolution No. 44, creating a new National Labor Relations Board. This Resolution is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

That in order to further effectuate the policy of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and in the exercise of the powers therein and herein conferred, the President is authorized to establish a board or boards authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices, or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7a of said Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce, the salaries, compensations, and expenses of the board or boards and necessary employees being paid as provided in Section 2 of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Sec. 2. Any board so established is hereby empowered, when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any of the employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to insure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7 (a) of said Act and now incorporated herein.

For the purposes of such election such a board shall have the authority to order the production of such pertinent documents or the appearance of such witnesses to give testimony under oath, as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution. Any order issued by such a board under the authority of this section may, upon application of such board or upon petition of the person or persons to whom such order is directed, be enforced or reviewed, as the case may be, in the same manner, so far as applicable, as is provided in the case of an order of the Federal Trade Commission under the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Sec. 3. Any such board, with the approval of the President, may prescribe such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution with reference to the investigations authorized in Section 1 and to assure freedom from coercion in respect to all elections.

Sec. 4. Any person who shall knowingly violate any rule or regulation authorized under Section 3 of this resolution or impede or interfere with any member or agent of any board established under this resolution in the performance of his duties, shall be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

Sec. 5. This resolution shall cease to be in effect, and any board or boards established hereunder shall cease to exist, on June 16, 1935, or sooner if the President shall by proclamation, or the Congress shall by joint resolution, declare that the emergency recognized by Section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act has ended.

Nothing in this resolution shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities.

On June 29, 1934, President Roosevelt issued the following Executive Order, creating the National Labor Relations Board:

By virtue and pursuant to the authority vested in me under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (Ch. 90, 48 Stat. 195, Tit. 15, U. S. C., Sec. 701) and under joint resolution approved June 19, 1934 (Public Res.

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44, 73d Congress), and in order to effectuate the policy of said title and the purposes of the said joint resolution, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Creation of the National Labor Relations Board

Sec. 1. (A) There is hereby created in connection with the Department of Labor a board to be known as the National Labor Relations Board (hereinafter referred to as the board), which shall be composed of Lloyd Garrison of Wisconsin, chairman; Henry Alvin Millis of Illinois and Edwin S. Smith of Massachusetts. Each member of the board shall receive a salary of \$10,000 a year and shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. Two members of the board shall constitute a quorum. A vacancy in the board shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the board.

(B) The board shall have authority to appoint such employees, and without regard to the provisions of the Civil Service laws, such attorneys, special experts and examiners as it deems necessary for its own functions and for the functions of such regional industrial and special boards as may be designated or established in accordance with sub-sections 3 (A) (1) and 3 (A) (2) of this order. The power, however, shall not be construed to authorize the board to appoint mediators, conciliators, and statistical experts when the services of such persons may be obtained through the Secretary of Labor in accordance with sub-section 4 (A) of this order.

Original Jurisdiction of the Board.

Sec. 2. The board is hereby authorized:

(A) to investigate issues, facts, practices and activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce; and,

(B) To order and conduct elections and on its own initiative to take steps to enforce its orders in the manner provided in Section 2 of public resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and,

(C) Whenever it is in the public interest, to hold hearings and make findings of fact regarding complaints of discrimination against or discharge of employees or other alleged violations of Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and such parts of any code or agreement as incorporate said section; and,

(D) To prescribe, with the approval of the President, such rules and regulations as are authorized by Section 3 of Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, and to recommend to the President such other rules and regulations relating to collective bargaining, labor representation and labor elections as the President is authorized to prescribe by Section 10 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

(E) Upon the request of the parties to a labor dispute, to act as a Board of Voluntary Arbitration or to select a person or agency for voluntary arbitration.

Relationship to Other Labor Boards

Sec. 3. (A) The board is hereby authorized and directed:

(1) To study the activities of such boards as have been or may hereafter be created to deal with industrial or labor relations, in order to report through the Secretary of Labor to the President whether such boards should be designated as special boards and given the powers that the President is authorized to confer by Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and,

(2) To recommend, through the Secretary of Labor, to the President the establishment, whenever necessary, of "regional labor relations boards," and special labor boards for particular industries vested with the powers

that the President is authorized to confer by Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress; and,

(3) To receive from such regional, industrial and special boards as may be designated or established under the two preceding subsections reports of their activities and to review or hear appeals from such boards in cases in which (1) the board recommends review or (2) there is a division of opinion in the board or (3) the National Labor Relations Board deems review will serve the public interest.

Old Labor Board Abolished.

(B) The National Labor Board created by executive order of August 5, 1933, and continued by executive order No. 6,511 of December 16, 1933, shall cease to exist on July 9, 1934; and each local or regional labor board, established under the authority of Section 2 (B) of the said executive order of December 16, 1933, if it is not designated in accordance with Subsection 3 (a) (1) of this order, shall cease to exist at such time as the National Labor Relations Board shall determine. The National Labor Relations Board shall have authority to conduct all investigations and proceedings being conducted by boards that are abolished by this subsection; and all records, papers and property of such board shall become records, papers and property of the National Labor Relations Board. All except \$100,000 of the unexpended funds and appropriations for the use and maintenance of the National Labor Board shall be available for expenditure by the National Labor Relations Board and such regional, industrial and special boards as may be designated or established in accordance with Subsections 3 (a) (1) or 3 (a) (2) of this order. The remaining \$100,000 of such unexpended funds and appropriations shall be transferred to the Secretary of Labor for the use of the conciliation service in the Department of Labor. All employees of boards that are abolished by this subsection shall be transferred to and become employees of the National Labor Relations Board at their present grades and salaries, but such transfer shall not be construed to give such employees any civil service or other permanent status.

Relationship to Other Executive Agencies

Sec. 4. (A) The board is hereby authorized:

(1) To request the Secretary of Labor to exercise the power conferred upon him by Section 8 of the act entitled "An Act to Create a Department of Labor" (Ch. 141, 37 Stat. 738) to appoint commissioners of conciliation; and,

(2) To request from time to time the Secretary of Labor to direct officers and employees of the Department of Labor to render services and furnish information and otherwise to aid the board in the performance of its duties.

(b) The board shall at the close of each month make, through the Secretary of Labor, to the President a report in writing of its activities and the activities of such regional, industrial and special boards as have been designated or established in accordance with the recommendations of the board under subsections 3 (a) (1) and 3 (a) (2) of this order. Such reports shall state in detail cases heard, decisions rendered and the names, salaries, and duties of all officers and employees appointed under the authority of this order and receiving compensation directly or indirectly from the United States.

(c) The National Labor Relations Board may decline to take cognizance of any labor dispute where there is another means of settlement provided for by agreement, industrial code, or law which has not been utilized.

Other Agencies to Give Way

(d) Whenever the National Labor Relations Board or any board designated or established in accordance with subsection 3 (A) (1) or 3 (A) (2) of this order has taken, or has announced its intention to take, jurisdiction of any case or controversy involving either Section 7 (A) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, no other person or agency in the executive branch of the government, except upon the request of the National Labor Relations Board, or except as otherwise provided in subsection 3 (a) (3) of this order, shall take, or continue to entertain, jurisdiction of such case or controversy.

(E) Whenever the National Labor Relations Board or any board designated or established in accordance with subsections 3 (A) (1) or 3 (A) (2) of this order has made a finding of facts, or issued any order in any case or controversy involving Section 7 (A) of the National Industrial Recovery Act or Public Resolution 44, Seventy-third Congress, such finding of facts and such order shall (except as otherwise provided in subsection 3 (A) (3) of this order or except as otherwise recommended by the National Labor Relations Board) be final and not subject to review by any person or agency in the executive branch of the government.

(F) Nothing in this order shall prevent, impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Approval recommended,
FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

The White House,
June 29, 1934.

This National Labor Relations Board has now been functioning since July 9, 1934. All cases of violation of Section 7 (a) are centered in this Board unless special Labor Relations Boards have been created in the industries concerned.

In its first monthly report to the Secretary of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board published a statement of policy which largely coincided with the precedents laid down by the National Labor Board. The report stresses the importance of the adjudication of controversies arising under Section 7 (a) of the NRA as its most important task.

The following paragraph summarizes the approach of the National Labor Relations Board to the program:

While the old National Labor Board in the course of its 258 opinions established a number of principles which are so clear as to require no further discussion, these principles must constantly be applied to new situations in which the facts may be either in dispute or so different in texture from any preceding situation as to leave room for doubt or argument. In addition, questions are arising and will continue to arise under Section 7 (a) which have not been passed upon in any form by any tribunal. There is then no short cut. If Section 7 (a) is to be enforced, and it must be enforced, some agency of the Government must pass authoritatively upon each unsettled case as it arises, and that we take to be the duty of this Board.

In the short time in which the Board has been in operation, it has moved with dispatch and decision to establish certain fundamental principles in industrial relations. Chief among such principles is that which establishes the right of the majority union to bargain and contract for all employees in a given craft

or establishment. In the case of United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18838 and the Houde Engineering Corporation, the National Labor Relations Board, on September 1, made known its decision that the majority union shall be considered the exclusive collective bargaining agency. In addition, the Board further ruled that, when requested by the union, the company should enter into negotiations and endeavor in good faith to arrive at a collective agreement, covering terms of employment.

This decision, which follows that of the former National Labor Board in the Denver Tramway case, will make it impossible for companies to continue to bargain with collective unions when the bona fide trade unions can show that they are chosen by a majority of the employees as the collective bargaining agency. The Board has acted definitely and promptly in a number of cases of discrimination for union activities. There is every indication that the National Labor Relations Board is going to be an effective agency for the enforcement of Section 7 (a).

The Regional Labor Boards set up under the former National Labor Board are continued under the new Board, but are being re-organized as rapidly as possible. These Boards are responsible to the National Labor Relations Board and will, of course, follow the policies adopted by the National Board. The tendency is to coordinate not only the Regional Boards, but labor relations boards for special industries under the National Labor Relations Board.

In addition to the provisions of Section 7 (a) on collective bargaining, there was a second portion of the National Recovery Act which gave definite promise to the workers that collective bargaining would be encouraged by the Administration. This is Section 7 (b) which provides that:

The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof with respect to which the conditions referred to in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection (a) prevail, to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition, approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3.

The intent of this clause is to create a set of labor standards in addition to the absolute minima written into the codes as adopted. This provision, if included in codes, would give the most effective incentive to a peaceful settlement of the problems between the management and the workers. Section 7 (a) provides a basis of collective bargaining which is to result in collective agreements. Section 7 (b) widens the scope of such agreements to give Labor the needed protection on a voluntary basis over and above the minimum requirements in the codes which cover only a fraction of the industrial labor. Standards worked out in this way would be the only possible means of extending the purposes of the National Recovery Act to cover the groups of skilled workers who have in many instances suffered considerably from low standards established in the codes or from the lack of any standards which would give them economic protection.

Through this means it would be possible to place Labor on an equal basis with industry which has been encouraged and even forced to organize under the NRA.

This section has been included in one major code, that for the construction industry. In that industry, maximum hours of work, minimum rates of pay, and other working conditions are being determined through collective agreements approved, after hearing, by the Administration.

The following provision in the code establishes the principle of collective agreements on a regional basis:

SECTION 1. In each division or subdivision of the industry, as defined in the chapter incorporated in this code relating thereto, truly representative associations or groups of employers and employees respectively concerned, after proper notice and hearing and as a result of bona fide collective bargaining, may establish by mutual agreement (when approved by the President as provided in Section 7 (b) of the Act), for a specifically defined region or locality, the standards of hours of labor, rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment, relating to the occupations or types of operations in such division or subdivision, as may be necessary to effectuate the policy of Title I of the Act. For the purposes of this Section, the entire United States may be defined as a region. The terms of such an agreement between the employers and employees of a division or subdivision of the industry shall not be binding upon the employers and employees of any other division or subdivision of the industry.

After the President has approved any such agreement arrived at within any such division or subdivision, and after proper notice of such approval, it shall be deemed prima facie unfair competition for any employer in such division or subdivision to fail to comply with the standards of maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, or other conditions of employment so approved and prescribed by the President, in respect of the performance within the defined region or locality of the types of operations concerned; and the failure of such an employer to desist from such unfair competition, after being given due notice and opportunity to be heard, shall constitute a violation of the requirements of this code.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BOARDS

There have been two distinct phases in the development of machinery for the settlement of disputes. When the National Recovery Act was first adopted, a general Board was created by order of the President for the settlement of complaints involving Section 7 (a) and all disputes involving strike or lockout. This was the National Labor Board. It was without power. Its ability to settle disputes or to enforce the law lay entirely in its ability to mediate and conciliate. It had no power to hold elections, unless the company involved voluntarily agreed to such decision, though a later Executive Order of the President attempted to extend this power to the Board. The National Labor Board was created on August 5, and its original authority was to "consider, adjust and settle" disputes that might arise under the President's Reemployment Agreement.

Cotton Textile Board—At about the same time provision was made for a National Industrial Relations Board for the cotton textile industry. This board was an outgrowth of the "stretchout" investigation committee named during the code hearings. Devoid of statutory power and limited in the enforcement procedure by its close relationship with the Cotton Textile Code Authority, the Cot-

ton Textile Board was impotent in any of its attempts to bring about effective enforcement of collective bargaining provisions of the law. Settlement of any labor controversy in the industry, under the procedure established by the Board, is first to be attempted by local factory committee and then by the state board with right of final determination of facts resting in the National Board. The enforcement of the law, however, in any case where Section 7 (a) is found to have been violated is limited to conciliation and mediation procedure. In cases of code violations, enforcement is effected by the Cotton Textile Code Authority or the NRA Compliance Division. "Good offices" of the Board to mediate the nation-wide dispute in the industry in September, 1934, were declined by labor representatives, and a special board was created on September 4 under the Public Resolution 44, to take jurisdiction over the textile dispute.

Bituminous Coal Board—The code for the bituminous coal industry established a National Bituminous Coal Labor Board consisting of the members of six Regional Boards. The National Board may act to decide matters of general policy affecting the public or the industry as a whole or to adjust disputes in more than one of the six divisions. Any controversies concerning hours, wages, conditions of employment or compliance with the Labor sections of the code are adjusted by negotiations between representatives of employers and employees meeting in mine or district conferences as provided in the collective agreement in force in the industry. If the dispute cannot be settled in this manner and "threatens to interrupt, or has interrupted, or is impairing the efficient operation of any mine or mines to such an extent as to restrain interstate commerce in the products thereof," it shall be referred to one of the six Regional Coal Labor Boards. The decision of the Regional Board "is to be accepted by the parties in dispute as effective for a provisional period of not longer than six months to be fixed by the Board. The procedure established under the Coal Code approaches more nearly than any other instances the enforcement technique provided in the Railway Labor Act.

Automobile Labor Board—The Automobile Labor Board was created in March, 1934, as a result of the compromise settlement arrived at on March 25, through the mediation offices of the President of the United States. The unions of automobile workers realized fully that the settlement of March 25 was a compromise settlement, which they considered it their patriotic duty to accept, because they were asked to do so by the President. The Board appointed by the President consists of a chairman, and one member representing the automobile companies and one representing the American Federation of Labor unions.

The jurisdiction of this Board is limited to matters of discharge, discrimination, and representation. The Board was authorized to set up a plan of proportional representation, which fortunately it has not done. Any such plan is in direct opposition to the principles expressed in the Executive Order of the President creating the Steel Labor Board, and to those established by the National Labor Relations Board in the Houde decision.

Because of the compromise nature of the Board and of its limited powers, there has been created in the automobile industry a very unsatisfactory situation. The Board has failed completely to encourage real collective bargaining between

the unions and the employers; its action in regard to cases of discrimination has been slow and has lacked definiteness. The Board has proceeded on the assumption that all questions arising between the unions and the employers could and should be settled through mediation and conciliation. To this end the Board has consistently refused to make decisions. The workers in this industry have, in fact, received little benefit from the Automobile Labor Board, and under the President's settlement they are denied the privileges accorded to other unions under Joint Resolution 44.

Petroleum Labor Policy Board—Two other boards with real powers have been set up and have gone far toward a solution of the industrial relations problems involved in the industries. One of these was established in the petroleum industry.

A Labor Policy Board was first appointed by petroleum Administrator Harold L. Ickes on November 24, and re-organized by him on December 22. As originally constituted, the Board consisted of three representatives each of Labor and employers, with an impartial chairman. Inasmuch as one of the labor representatives appointed was a spokesman of a company union, the American Federation of Labor refused to recognize this Board, and it never became operative. The Board was re-organized to consist of three impartial public representatives. The Petroleum Board was first to make a decision that the union representing the majority of the employees must be looked upon as the exclusive bargaining agency. This ruling was contained in the decision in the case involving the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America vs. The Magnolia Petroleum Company of Fort Worth, Texas. This decision set a precedent which has been consistently followed by the Petroleum Board, National Labor Board, and was recently reiterated by the National Labor Relations Board in the Houde case.

The Petroleum Board has also secured a number of important adjustments in labor disputes including the agreement reached in the case of the Consolidated Oil Corporation, of which Harry F. Sinclair is chairman. This agreement provides that when differences can not be adjusted amicably, the matters in dispute are to be referred to the chief executive officer of Consolidated Oil Corporation and chief executive of American Federation of Labor. If they are unable to effect a settlement "they shall agree upon a method of procedure of arbitration for the settlement of such dispute or grievance," the award to be binding upon both parties.

In the case of the Phillips Petroleum Company, the Board has set an important precedent by invalidating a company supervised election held for the purpose of establishing a company union.

It is the deliberate policy of the Phillips Petroleum Company to interfere actively with the employees' right to organize for collective bargaining and to control the choice of representation of its employees," the Board said.

We are of the opinion, therefore, that the action of the company in actively promoting its company employees' union through meetings managed by the employer is in violation of Section 7, Article 2 of the petroleum code, and Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the company is asked to cease these activities.

It is for the employees freely to choose such an organization if they prefer it, the Board said in discussing the company union, and any election that purports to give employees an opportunity to express their choice must provide an opportunity for the employees to vote on as many organizations or representatives as the employees may want to choose from and must not be confined or restricted to a vote on the employers' proposal alone.

The election should be by secret ballot, and must not be conducted by an agent of the company. It should be supervised by an election committee chosen by the employees and representatives of different organizations among them, or by a neutral party agreed upon by all parties.

If this cannot be arranged, the Petroleum Labor Policy Board will conduct the election. Only in this manner can a fair and free choice of the employees be secured as to the organizations or individuals they desire to represent them in collective bargaining.

With respect to the specific disputes, the board will, on receipt of a proper petition from the employees, order such an election.

Construction Industry—In formulating the master code for the construction industry, the NRA conformed more closely than in other instances to the fundamental purposes of the Recovery Act—"To induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision." This is accepted through a provision for mutual agreements and for equal representation on the National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board, as well as on similar Regional Boards.

In the provision relating to mutual agreements, the code states that in each division and subdivision of the industry truly representative associations or groups of employers and employees concerned, as a result of bona fide collective bargaining, may establish by mutual agreement for a specified area the standards of hours, rates of pay and other conditions of employment relating to occupations or type of operation. The provision for any such agreement when approved by the President becomes a part of the code. This procedure provides a firm basis for collective bargaining resulting in agreements on a regional basis.

With collective bargaining machinery thus established, such boards, consisting of one representative of Labor and one of employers under an impartial chairman, are set up to supervise and investigate the enforcement of these mutual agreements. Each board is to give notice and opportunity to be heard to each complainant and respondent and to report its findings to the administrator to enforce the provisions of the code. In this respect, the code broadens the application of the law by including in its provisions the mandate of Section 7 (b) which states that the President shall afford every opportunity to employers and employees to establish by mutual agreement the standards of hours, wages, and the working conditions necessary to effectuate the policy of the Act. Labor has long advocated the enforcement of this section of the statute and its adoption under the construction code has set a precedent of outstanding importance.

A National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board has been also established under the code. Its fundamental purpose is industrial planning and development of policies that would further the spirit of cooperation in all matters relating to the relations between employers and employees in the industry. This board is also designed to conciliate and adjust by voluntary arbitration all disputes relating to wages, hours, and working conditions.

The decisions of the National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board are final and binding on all parties in interest, but subject to review by the administrator. Thus the enforcement machinery provided in the construction industry stands out as far more effective than in the majority of industries operating under codes.

Most of such boards, set up without definite statutory powers, without the ability to make and enforce decisions, and based only upon the consent of the employers and the employees concerned, have in the short space of a year been proven entirely inadequate to meet the situation. The assumption that employers want to comply with the law as regards collective bargaining, upon which assumption the old National Labor Board was created, has long since broken down. There has never been more widespread or determined opposition to any law than to the collective bargaining portion of the Recovery Act. The Cotton Textile Board and the Automobile Labor Board have failed completely to solve any of the problems which led to their creation. Indeed, they have brought so many new problems that the workers in the industries concerned are harmed, rather than helped, by their existence. The former National Labor Board has gone out of existence with full recognition on the part of all concerned in it that it was unable to meet the situation, with the limited powers it was given.

With this recognition of the fact that the first approach to the enforcement of Section 7 (a) was not adequate, Congress passed Joint Resolution No. 44. Under this Resolution the President issued two executive orders, one creating the National Longshoremen's Board to settle the Pacific Coast dispute in the shipping industry, and the other creating the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Immediately following the creation of these two special boards, the President issued an executive order on June 29, 1934, establishing the National Labor Relations Board to supersede the old National Labor Board.

These boards are statutory. They operate under powers conferred upon them by law; they have definite duties and responsibilities. In the short time they have been in existence they have acted with courage, promptness, and definiteness, to resolve some of the most weighty problems in industrial relations. The National Labor Relations Board has already been discussed. The Steel Labor Board has made one very important ruling in the West Virginia rail case, which states that employers have no legal interest in the organization of their employees; that they cannot, either directly or indirectly, interfere with the selection of employees' representatives for collective bargaining.

A contrast between the boards set up in the rather vague, uncertain situation which prevailed in the first months of the NRA and those set up recently under the new law leaves no doubt as to the desirability and even the necessity of reconstituting on a statutory basis boards like those in the textile and the automobile industries.

UNEMPLOYMENT

It is fully a year now since the President's reemployment drive put some 1,700,000 men and women back to work. During that year, unemployment has never fallen below the 10,000,000 mark, but has been continually higher than it

was in September, 1933, when the drive ended. During the twelve months since the drive, we have made no progress whatever in putting these 10,000,000 unemployed to work.

The Federation unemployment estimates which have been published monthly for the last few years furnish a measuring rod by which we can follow the unemployment situation and know our progress. The figures which are widely used throughout the country are based on monthly employment data collected by the United States government, which give as nearly accurate a picture of the situation as can be secured. These figures show that during depression, unemployment reached a peak in March, 1933, when 13,689,000 were out of work. The business boom of May to July, 1933, put 1,900,000 back to work, the reemployment drive from July to September created jobs for 1,700,000 more, so that by September, 1933, 3,600,000 were back at their jobs, and unemployment had been reduced to 10,108,000.

Total Unemployment in United States
(American Federation of Labor Estimate)

1930	3,947,000
1931	7,431,000
1932	11,489,000
1933	11,904,000
January	13,100,000
February	13,294,000
March	13,689,000
April	13,256,000
May	12,896,000
June	12,204,000
July	11,793,000
August	10,960,000
September	10,108,000
October	10,122,000
November	10,651,000
December	10,769,000
1934	
January	11,755,000
February	11,443,000
March	10,849,000
April	10,551,000
May	10,248,000
June	10,310,000
July	10,772,000
August	

Trade Union Unemployment
Percent of Membership
Unemployed *Part*
(Weighted) *Time*

14.5	
19.1	19
23.8	21
24.3	21
25.8	20
26.0	20
26.6	22
26.1	21
25.8	20
25.5	21
24.1	21
23.7	20
22.4	21
21.7	22
22.0	22
22.8	22
22.6	23
22.0	22
21.3	22
20.7	23
20.0	24
19.6	24
20.8	24
21.5	24

Labor expected this progress to continue as industry increased its activity this spring, and was confident that emphasis given the problem by the President as well as its catastrophic extent, would be enough to call forth every effort on the part of business to put men to work. Instead, very few industries cooperated in the President's request to increase wages and shorten hours, and although business activity at its highest point this spring (May) was 5 per cent above last September, unemployment at this point was higher than last September by 140,000 persons.

Thus it is clear that we cannot count on increasing business activity alone to put the unemployed to work. Other measures will be necessary.

Part of the present unemployment problem is due to the failure of so-called heavy industries to recover from depression. At present 3,200,000¹ are still unemployed in the heavy industries, while increased consuming power has put back to work all but 600,000 in consumer industries. The heavy industries, producing durable goods, include: building, mines, industries manufacturing iron and steel, machinery, automobiles, building materials, railroad equipment.

The heavy industries have become a most important group in our industrial make up. In normal times (1929) they employ 7,600,000, or 52 per cent of all wage earners employed in producing industry.² Industries manufacturing consumer goods employ 4,300,000. During depression collapse of these industries threw millions out of work. At the low point of depression, employment in heavy industries had shrunk to 3,000,000 or less than 40 per cent of those employed in 1929; in consumer goods industries, on the other hand, loss of employment was much less, the number at work falling to 3,000,000, or 70 per cent of the 1929 level. Thus, at the low point of depression, there were 4,600,000 out of work in heavy industries, and 1,300,000 in industries manufacturing consumer goods. Since that time, 1,400,000 have gone back to work in heavy industries, and 700,000 in consumer goods. This gain reemployed over half those out of work in consumer industries, but left over three million still out of work in heavy industries.

Unemployment in heavy industries accounts for nearly one-third of the present total unemployed in June, 3,200,000 out of 10,300,000. Business observers point out that production and employment lag here because banks are unwilling to make long term loans for programs of construction, or machine improvement and repair, and business men are still timid about undertaking such commitments. There is a more basic problem here, however. Before 1929, heavy industries were very much overbuilt. The enormous increases in producing capacity, the investment of billions of dollars in new machinery, equipment and buildings, stimulated the heavy industries to a point never before reached in our history. It is a well known fact that consuming power, in the period preceding the depression, did not keep pace with the gains in producing capacity, and that the American public, composed chiefly of wage and small salaried workers, was not able to buy the product our industries were equipped to produce. The collapse of heavy industries during depression is not surprising, nor their failure to recover.

This situation requires a major adjustment in our economic organization. We need to build up consuming power and our consumer industries to a point never before reached. Thus far consuming power including wages for emergency work has risen 30 per cent since March, 1933. This was only enough to reemploy a small portion of the unemployed. We need a new vision of American living standards and a plan for growth of consuming power which would lift every American worker to a health and efficiency level, and millions to a comfort level of living. The demand for our products could then reach the point where new

¹ The figures are for June, 1934.

² Producing industries include: Agriculture, mines, manufacturing, building.

factories could be built to manufacture consumer goods, creating new jobs in the consumer industries and using the excess capacity of our heavy industries to build the necessary equipment.

We are suffering now from a 15-year shortage of consuming power. We cannot solve the unemployment problem by going back to 1929, for even then there was a shortage. We must plan for a future when wealth produced by our industries will be equitably distributed and will create a new standard of living. We must have a living standard which will use the capacity of our industries and the capacity of our man power.

We cannot be content with living standards of five years ago. For the constant increase in production per worker in our industries creates a constantly greater production to be consumed. In our manufacturing industries, the increase in hourly producing power per worker goes steadily forward at the rate of about 4 per cent per year, and gains in other industries are similar. During depression, this gain in productivity has been just as pronounced as in prosperity, and statistics show that in the first half of 1934, the average worker in our factories produced 22.3 per cent more per hour than he did in 1929.¹ It is obvious that shortening of hours must be part of our program to raise living standards if we are to keep at work those who now have jobs.

In July, 1934, over 10,770,000 persons were without work in industry. The situation of these unemployed is becoming steadily more serious. Surveys carried on in some cities show that a large portion of the unemployed have been out of work for two years or more. Half are on relief rolls, with their families, making a total of nearly 17,000,000 persons or 12 per cent of our entire population. The United States office of education estimates that 7,000,000 young men and women between the years of 16 and 25 are neither at work nor at school. Many of them never have worked and probably never will be able to develop the habit of steady work. No worse way of undermining the stamina of American manhood and womanhood could be conceived. Health is also undermined. Reports from 18 cities show that visits of patients to clinics has increased 60 per cent.

The government emergency work program has filled a very great need and given work to several million unemployed. During the months of January and February, the number on the CWA payrolls varied between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000, and the average weekly wage received was from \$10.80 to \$14.80. To millions of unemployed, this program was a godsend.

At the termination of CWA, the most needy persons were given work under the Emergency Relief Administration, in the ERA work program. This program differed from CWA. Anyone needing work had to prove his need before work was given. An investigation was required for each person applying, and only those in urgent need were given work. Thus work under ERA definitely took on the aspect of relief. The number receiving work from CWA was reduced from slightly over 4,000,000 in mid-January, to 92,000 in mid-April, and the number on ERA increased from 30,000 in the third week of March to more than 1,000,000 in July. Time was needed to make the adjustment and the transition period was a difficult one for the unemployed, for work in industry was not available to give jobs to those laid

¹ Figures for first five months.

off from CWA. When ERA work was given, average weekly earnings ranged from \$10.00 to \$12.00.

The fact that over 4,000,000 applied for and received work under CWA, and only 1,000,000 are given work under ERA, shows that there are millions who want and need work but who do not receive it under a purely relief program. The change was considered essential because of the heavy burden of expense to the government; CWA in its peak month cost \$264,000,000 in wages alone, while the ERA payroll is running about \$50,000,000. In addition to the ERA payroll the government is under heavy expense for relief payments, the total relief bill from federal funds (including ERA work) is running above \$125,000,000 a month. When PWA and CCC are added the total bill for maintenance of the unemployed comes to \$175,000,000 monthly.

Government relief work is essential to meet an emergency, but it can never be a satisfactory method of giving employment to men and women. Those on government relief and work programs are not creating wealth which provide revenues for the payment of wages.

It is the responsibility of industry to undertake the production which gives workers their principal opportunity to earn their income. The country cannot continue to support 17,000,000 persons who are creating no wealth, and pay for their support by increasing the public debt and taxing the present small volume of business, without radical reorganization of our production structure.

The most recent figures (July) show that of the 10,770,000 unemployed, 2,130,000 were receiving work from the government, and 8,600,000 had no work whatever. Those working under government programs were as follows: PWA, 612,000; conservation camps, 363,000; E. R. A. work program, 1,156,000.

Experience during the past year has proved that business men when left to their own devices take no measures to put the unemployed to work on a nationwide scale. Our unemployment problem is immediate and critical; final responsibility for its solution rests upon the government. The present situation challenges the Administration to give us a plan by which industry, Labor and the government may cooperate to restore to workers their opportunities to create wealth and earn a living. If the situation cannot be met in this way, then it becomes the duty of the government to find other means. When private business is not able to resume its normal functions, then society is forced to take over the means of production. It is essential to get the unemployed back to work producing wealth.

RELIEF

They Must Live—It is a principle of civilization that society must make provision for those in need. With the breakdown of our business structure, those thrown out of jobs numbered millions from every walk in life. Whatever of old Poor Law attitude toward the needy lingers in our relief administration should vanish before the experience of the past four years. The unemployed are the victims of our inadequate understanding of economic principles and business administration together with maladjustments in foreign markets. No personal blame can be attached to them for their misfortune, nor should any stigma be associated with relief for their period of need. Relief is compensation for the

Injury which our economic cataclysm had done to their business and job investments. Organized society must assume responsibility for meeting needs due to social insecurities.

The relief problem is huge as is shown by the totals of unemployed and by the expenditures of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The grants to states allocated by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration from May 23, 1933, through July 31, 1934, were as follows:

General relief	\$830,636,720
Transient relief	21,516,168
Self-help organizations	1,094,714
Educational program	27,569,062
Surplus commodities purchased	51,472,000
	<hr/>
Grants for similar purposes to territories raise this to	\$944,037,224
CWA advances through July 31, 1934, total net....	\$823,562,502

These figures do not include relief by local and state agencies or by private contributions. The funds were expended for three types of relief—direct relief, self-help undertakings and work relief. This is a heavy load for industry to support, even if it were operating at full capacity. National income has been drastically cut with production at low levels and purchasing power to correspond. This means lower standards of living and lowered reserves for all. Unless the National Recovery and the Agricultural Adjustment administrations set themselves with determination to the purpose of creating jobs and raising consuming power, we may not expect from them help with the problem of the ten millions of jobless.

The seriousness of relief as an economic problem is indicated by the following table of assistance through federal sources, which shows how depression is undermining reserves steadily and how families and individuals are steadily losing their self-independence:

Month	Number of Families Receiving Relief	Number of Single Resident Persons Receiving Relief	Total Number of Cases Re- ceiving Relief	Total Number of Persons Receiving Relief	Percent of Total Pop- ulation Receiving Relief ¹	Total Obl- igations Incurred for Relief and Admin- istration
January	3,850,000 ²					\$60,827,161
February	4,140,000 ²					67,375,424
March	4,560,000 ²					81,205,631
April	4,475,322					73,010,801
May	4,252,443					70,806,338
June	3,789,026					66,339,207
July	3,451,874	455,000 ²	3,906,874	15,282,000 ²	12	60,155,874
August	3,351,810	412,000 ²	3,763,810	15,077,000 ²	12	61,470,496
September	2,984,975	403,000 ²	3,387,975	13,338,000 ²	11	59,346,338
October	3,010,516	436,000 ²	3,446,516	13,618,000 ²	11	64,769,406
November	3,365,112	461,315	3,826,427	15,080,465	12	70,632,470
December	2,651,020	438,431	3,069,451	11,663,469	10	56,351,279
1934						
January	2,486,274	456,469	2,942,743	11,104,598	9	53,895,270
February	2,599,975	532,036	3,132,011	11,627,204	9	57,571,666
March	3,070,855	563,138	3,633,993	13,494,338	11	69,794,803
April	3,873,110	583,439	4,456,549	16,869,270	14	112,888,356
May ²	3,773,314	527,557	4,300,871	16,949,884	14	128,520,426

¹ Based on the 1930 Census of Population.

² Partially Estimated.

³ Not Available.

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A representative of the National Recovery Administration estimates that the number of families on relief will reach 5,000,000 in the coming winter.

Those in need must have help and we must adjust the burden so that it can be carried as easily as possible. The first step in this problem is to separate into groups the unemployed and those receiving relief to see if the groupings will furnish a basis for developing sound relief policies. First we have the unemployment census of 1930 summarized by age:

Age	Class A	Class B
	Persons out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job	Persons having jobs but on lay-off without pay, excluding those sick or voluntarily idle.
Total number	Total 2,429,062	Total 758,585
10 to 14 years	2,459	1,653
15 to 19 years	267,246	76,814
20 to 24 years	414,683	119,819
25 to 29 years	293,901	97,054
30 to 34 years	239,127	82,630
35 to 39 years	244,744	85,254
40 to 44 years	223,385	76,842
45 to 49 years	210,310	67,643
50 to 54 years	179,703	54,360
55 to 59 years	141,153	39,951
60 to 64 years	104,782	28,109
65 to 69 years	66,484	17,168
70 years and over	39,289	10,874
Unknown	1,796	414
Per cent	100.0	100.0
10 to 14 years	0.1	0.2
15 to 19 years	11.0	10.1
20 to 24 years	17.1	15.8
25 to 29 years	12.1	12.8
30 to 34 years	9.8	10.9
35 to 39 years	10.1	11.2
40 to 44 years	9.2	10.1
45 to 49 years	8.7	8.9
50 to 54 years	7.4	7.2
55 to 59 years	5.8	5.3
60 to 64 years	4.3	3.7
65 to 69 years	2.7	2.3
70 years and over	1.6	1.4
Unknown	0.1	0.1

Approximately 270,000 in Class A and 78,000 in Class B (or 348,000 in all) were under 20 years. Over 65 years there were approximately 105,800 in Class A, 28,000 in Class B, or a total of 123,800 in all. Approximately 15 per cent of the problem are persons under 20 and over 65. The problem of relief for these groups is different from that of the workers at their prime. Obviously, there should be special relief provisions for the old and relief and training provisions for the young. Experience indicates methods.

In October, 1933, an unemployment relief census was taken covering families receiving public unemployment relief during that month.

The census showed the following significant facts: More than half the families on relief were in 8 states, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, Oklahoma and Texas, and a third of the families in the first four states. In three states, Florida, South Carolina and West Virginia, one-quarter of the population was dependent on relief, while the average for continental United States was approximately 10.; 7 states have 5 per cent or less on relief; large cities averaged higher than the United States as a whole; small families (2 to 4 persons) less frequently turned to relief and larger families (5 or more) more frequently; detached individuals constituted 13 per cent of all relief cases and a larger proportion in the cities than in the United States as a whole. Children constituted a disproportionately large part of the relief group; 42 per cent of relief persons were children under 16, whereas this group constituted 31 per cent of the population. Those between 6 and 13 showed the greatest proportion, although each age group up to 18 showed an excess of relief cases over its proportion to the entire population.

Dependent Children—Our emergency relief problem would be simpler if we had adequate provisions for mothers' pensions. Mothers' pension laws exist in 46 states but they are obviously inadequate in coverage and provisions. We should endeavor to improve these laws and secure the enactment of the best standards in all states and territories.

Old Age—Turning to the other end of the life span, we find that in October, 1933, nearly half a million persons over 65 years (477,230) were in receipt of emergency unemployment relief. This figure represents only a small proportion of the dependent aged. We have learned that relatively few of those who live beyond the producing period of life have adequate reserves to be self-supporting. A number of more or less inadequate provisions have been established for the older groups—military pensions, union old age benefits, industrial pensions, provide incomes for a portion; benevolent homes, church homes, union homes, poor houses, provide subsistence for others. Private charity and local outdoor poor relief help others. Organized society has begun to assume a social responsibility that will put provisions for the civilian aged on an honorable basis comparable with pensions for those who have given military service. The majority of those who serve society in a work capacity have even less opportunity to lay up reserves than those in the enlisted service.

The American Society for Social Security has estimated that 70 per cent of those over 65 years are dependent—receiving some type of relief compensation—a dependency that is twice that of any other group.

The dependency of the group here is evidence that society must make provision for old age. Society has obligation to make honorable provisions for those who have worked and served but have not been able to lay by for the period of disability from age.

Old age pension laws exist in 28 states. The American Federation of Labor has long advocated compensation for those past 65 years of age. We believe efforts should be concentrated on securing nation-wide legislation to provide adequately

for this group in the direction already suggested by state enactment, often the result of trade union efforts.

Sickness—In addition to unemployment there is still another grave interference with regular income—sickness, whether due to industrial or other conditions. We should consider unemployment due to this cause in preparing a program of economic security.

The problem of medical care should be separated from the financial problem of cash benefits to compensate for loss of earnings and should be considered in connection with adequate provisions for medical care for all of society.

Workers Without Jobs—When provisions have been made for the dependent young and aged—two groups for whom society has accepted its responsibility, and also for the sick, there still remain the millions seeking jobs, competent and willing to work. There are the girls and boys turning from schools into the responsibilities of adult life and the workers who have successfully held jobs over periods of years or even decades.

Wage-earners are at a disadvantage in preparing against the emergencies they meet in earning their incomes. Few industries have paid high wages or accepted the responsibility growing out of employing persons to work. We have long accepted the principle that ownership grows out of creative work, but have not carried the principle into modern production relationships. We have failed to recognize that workers who invest their producing capacity in making products or providing services have at least as real an equity in a business as the person who invests capital. This equity in the undertaking entitles the work relationship to some degree of protection. The rights of a worker attached to a payroll must be worked out by workers organized for collective responsibility and in negotiation with employers. We have just begun the development of the implications of Labor's equity in the job aided by legal recognition of the principle in Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act.

The next step in the development is acceptance of responsibility for a stable income for wage-earners. Either there must be assured work or reserves must be accumulated to pay wages when production falls off.

The American Federation of Labor has endorsed the principle of unemployment compensation and formulated principles recommended for legislative measures. We believe that the adoption of a federal measure similar to the bill introduced by Senator Wagner in the last Congress, would greatly facilitate the enactment of state measures and might facilitate the establishment of the principle by industries.

We reaffirm the principles adopted by the convention of 1932 for unemployment compensation measures.

ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

By Executive Order dated June 20, 1934, President Roosevelt created a Committee on Economic Security, consisting of the Secretary of Labor, chairman; the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, and an Advisory Council to be appointed later. The Committee appointed a Technical Board on Economic

Security consisting of qualified representatives selected from the personnel of the federal government and Dr. E. E. Witte as executive director in charge of studies and investigations to be carried on by the Technical Board.

The Technical Board is constituted as follows:

Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, 2nd Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Otto Beyer, Director of Section of Labor Relations, Federal Coordinator of Transportation.

Thomas Eliot, Assistant Solicitor, Department of Labor.

Corrington Gill, Assistant Administrator, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Walton Hamilton, Chairman, Advisory Council, National Recovery Administration.

A. H. Hansen, Chief Economic Analyst, Department of State.

Alexander Holtzoff, Assistant to Attorney General, Department of Justice.

Murray Latimer, Chairman, Railroad Retirement Board.

William M. Leiserson, Chairman, National Mediation Board.

Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.

H. A. Millis, Board Member, National Labor Relations Board.

H. B. Myers, Assistant Director, Research and Statistics, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Herman J. Oliphant, Solicitor, Department of the Treasury.

Stuart Rice, Assistant Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

Winfield W. Riefler, Executive Director, Central Statistical Board.

H. R. Tolley, Assistant Administrator, Division of Program Planning, Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Victor N. Valgren, Senior Agricultural Economist, Department of Agriculture.

Jacob Viner, Assistant to the Secretary, Department of the Treasury.

Aubrey Williams, Assistant Administrator, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

In making provisions against the emergencies of unemployment, we ought to consider carefully the experiences of countries that have operated unemployment insurance systems—especially Great Britain and Germany.

Great Britain began with a plan that covered the highly seasonal industries and expanded the provisions to cover all industries in the hope thereby to meet the emergencies growing out of the transition from a war to a peace organization of production. The insurance fund had to be supplemented by grants from the national treasury.

The Unemployment Insurance Act has been repeatedly amended to meet existing need. The new act of 1934 provides public assistance for those who have exhausted their insurance benefits as a separate group. Transitional benefits and also the administration of out-door relief to the able-bodied unemployed, are placed in the hands of the Unemployment Assistance Board. There is set up a new national service to assist

persons to whom this part of the Act applies who are in need of work and the promotion of their welfare, and, in particular, the making of provision

for the improvement and re-establishment of the condition of such persons, with a view to their being, in all respects, fit for entry into, or return to, regular employment, and the grant and issue to such persons of unemployment allowances . . . in accordance with the provisions of this part of the Act.

This Board will take over those whose insurance benefits are exhausted and who are receiving transitional benefits, and secondly the unemployed whose relief has been furnished solely by the local poor law.

The Board will provide and maintain training courses to help the unemployed adjust themselves to new fields of unemployment.

This new provision apparently puts main dependence for relief in this Public Assistance provision.

Provisions for casualties of industrial and social forces are only supplementary to the reorganization of business on a stable basis, social planning for the adjustment of production to social needs and standards and job planning on an extensive scale. A federal public employment service is the national center around which much of our planning should develop. Employment trends constitute a basis for vocational training and counselling, rehabilitation and re-training. The employment service could well be the forecaster of new employment fields. It must not subordinate its economic and social functions to financial responsibilities.

RELIEF PRINCIPLES

The adoption of any legislative program would not remove the need for emergency relief during the coming years or make unnecessary a permanent relief program. There is need to rewrite our poor laws into public welfare measures enlarging their recognition of Society's obligation to all persons incapable of earning a living, and eliminating their stigma of pauperism. We recommend the following principles as basic in such a program :

Because every individual is entitled to an opportunity to earn his living, every worker deprived of employment is entitled to the essentials of life. Relief must be supplied the needy.

These essentials must not be provided at the expense of sub-standard living for the employed—Extension of poverty is not a sound policy, for maintenance and restoration of buying is the primary objective in recovery.

To increase production and to develop new employment opportunities are the only ways to relieve unemployment. Our present production level is so low that we are not producing enough goods to enable our citizens to live at their accustomed standards. Some jobs can be available if the work week were drastically reduced to 30 hours without reduction in pay, so that the result would be immediate increase in buying in the retail market. Relief is not a permanent substitute for normal producing of wealth and earning of income. It should provide income for the emergency in such a way as to conserve the morale and producing ability of the individual. Work is the keystone in any relief program. A well planned program of public works and national conservation is the most direct way to start up the depressed heavy or durable goods industries. By putting the unemployed back to work in the heavy industries, new consuming power will still further stimulate the consumer goods industries.

The American Federation of Labor believes that sound social planning so that our natural resources may be used as a means to higher standards of living for all, and the highest educational opportunities for all citizens, will give us a sound foundation for economic planning. Central economic planning should develop policies coordinating labor standards, provisions for adequate employment for all, production of goods and services to maintain high standards of living for all, as well as other public welfare aspects of industry.

NATIONAL INCOME

Probably one of the most effective ways of showing the decline which occurred between 1929 and 1933, is a consideration of the national income. National income for 1929 has been placed at \$85,000,000,000 (Evans Clark, *The Internal Debts of the United States*, 13). For 1933, it has been estimated at \$40,000,000,000. This was slightly higher than in 1932, but with the exception of that year, national income for 1933 is the lowest since 1915. The amount of national income per *gainful* worker in the country (including unemployed) has been estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board as only \$795.00 in 1933, and to find a lower per capita income it is necessary to go back to 1911—again with the exception of 1932, which was just slightly below 1933 (Conference Board Bulletin, February 20, 1934).

During the depression, the percentage of the national income which must go to debt service has increased enormously. In the year just preceding the war, 1913-14, out of every \$100 received from wages, salaries, dividends, and interest, only \$6.00 in charges on money borrowed had to be paid out. In 1932-33, according to the study of Evans Clark, \$20.00 out of every \$100 went to such debt service. This is a great increase over 1929, as well, when 9 per cent of the national income was represented by debt service. We should not be suffering at the present from the over-borrowing of the years from 1921-1929, if general business conditions had not so drastically reduced income. At the same time, however, it is clear that the over-borrowing in the boom years helped very materially in bringing on the depression.

That this tremendous debt structure which has been built up is a serious problem which must be met is undeniable. The most desirable remedy is, of course, economic recovery. Meanwhile, however, the government has undertaken to refinance maturing obligations from public funds through the RFC. This kind of refinancing must be continued. There is constant talk of currency inflation as the method of recovery. To this organized labor must be forever opposed. No group suffers more from inflation than the wage earners, and no group must be so alert to prevent unrestrained and unregulated currency inflation which will destroy the workers' purchasing power even more effectively and completely than it has been destroyed by the depression.

Figures on the growth of the national debt are also of great significance. According to a recent statement of the National City Bank, government receipts, expenditures, deficit, and gross debt from 1931 to 1935 (estimated) are as follows:

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Growth of National Debt

	Gov't. Receipts	Gov't. Expenditures (millions of dollars)	Deficit	Gross Debt June 30
1931	3,317	4,220	-903	16,801
1932	2,121	5,274	-3,153	19,487
1933	2,238	5,307	-3,068	22,539
1934*	3,140	7,200	-4,060	26,977
1935*	3,975	6,486	-2,511	31,834

* Estimated budget as submitted to Congress.

Source: Nat'l City Bank, July, 1934.

A more recent speech of the Secretary of the Treasury puts the cost of the New Deal at only \$505,000,000. His statement is that while the national debt has increased \$6,000,000,000 between March 4, 1933, and June 30, 1934, this is not a true picture of the debt situation; that in the same period of time, certain offsetting factors have cut down the \$6,000,000,000 to \$505,000,000. These offsetting factors he lists as three:

1. Increase in Treasury's cash balance of \$1,600,000,000.
2. Profit \$2,800,000,000 from gold devaluation.
3. Increase in assets (*) of Government agencies, \$1,095,000,000.

(*) Assets consist of preferred bank stock, capital notes, loans to public and private borrowers, made by R. F. C., P. W. A., etc.

Source: *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 29.

Speech of Secretary Morgenthau.

Whether the increase has been \$6,000,000,000, or only \$505,000,000, we know that a crushingly heavy debt burden rests upon not only our generation, but upon many generations to come. We view this debt with alarm and with misgiving.

SOME PROBLEMS OF RECOVERY

The volume of goods produced and the aggregate of services rendered is our real national income. In these terms our economic history has been the history of swift and gigantic industrial growth. Along with almost constant acceleration in the rate of output went the steady expansion of the consuming power of the American people. Within the last two decades we have piled up masses of skyscrapers in our cities; we have flooded the highways with millions of automobiles; we have filled our homes with radios, and have moved, over railways, highways and airways, billions of tons of goods.

Following the collapse of our top-heavy debt structure in 1929, the real income of the nation began to fall off at a rapid rate. When, a year ago, we began our halting emergence from the depression we found that our losses were staggering: industrial production of the nation was severely crippled, and the standards of living of the people were drastically cut. Now that we can look back on this depression as a completed experience, we are in a position to ask ourselves at least two fundamental questions: What have been the changes in our national income as reflected by industrial production? To what extent has the position of the worker as a producer of wealth changed within recent years?

I.

In the summer of 1929 the volume of industrial production began its precipitous decline. The first depression low was reached in July, 1932, and after a brief and fleeting recovery, production dropped to a second low in March, 1933. This was followed by a long-delayed, sharp increase in production, much of it undoubtedly in anticipation of monetary inflation and of raised production costs under codes. A considerable portion of output in this initial period of recovery was not marketed, but held in stock, thus adding stimulus to the brief recession in production activity in the second half of 1933. Toward the end of last year the trend was reversed and productive activity resumed.

In March, 1933, industry operated at less than half of the rate attained in the peak months of 1929. Since March of last year two-thirds of this decline has been recovered, but we still have to go the remaining one-third of the way if we are to get back to the 1929 production level. In this connection, however, we must remember that during the four years of the depression our population increased about 3 per cent. On July 1, 1933, there was an increase of 4,188,571 over 1929, according to the Department of Commerce estimate. Today we have about five million more residents in the continental United States than we had in the pre-depression year. To provide for these additional millions of Americans on the 1929 scale our production must exceed the volume attained in that year. This can be done only by reconstructing the efficiency and coordination of our entire economic system along new lines. With 10,000,000 wage-earners idle and with a large portion of our factories empty, we must be careful to insure a return to the pre-depression production levels, which would not be deceptive and temporary but built upon the sound foundation of permanency.

II.

Labor is the primary agent in the production of wealth. We know, however, that the dynamic growth of our national economy has considerably changed the position of the industrial worker participating in the production of goods and services.

With unprecedented changes in mechanical equipment of industry, the problem of technological unemployment came to the fore since the World War. The requirements of war had sent industrial mechanization and technological research through a forced march. The results were far-reaching. While the number of wage-earners in manufacturing industries remained below the 1919 figure, throughout the post-war decade productivity of the worker per hour had increased about 50 per cent. In fact, the rate of increase in output per person was much greater than the rate of increase in the physical value of production. Even accepting the conservative estimate for this period made by Dr. Mills of the National Bureau, we find that from 1919 to 1929 output per worker employed increased approximately 43 per cent. This means that work requiring one hundred men in 1919 could be done by seventy in 1929, and that thirty out of one hundred could have been dispensed with.¹

¹ Frederick C. Mills, "Economic Tendencies in the United States" (1932), pp. 290, 531.

Census figures on the rate at which workers were separated from given manufacturing industries and the rate at which additions were made to the number employed, throw additional light on this development. During the post-war decade workers were being turned out of manufacturing industries in far greater numbers than in pre-war years, while the numbers of new workers taken on were relatively much smaller. The years of business prosperity brought not only expanding production and rapidly increasing productivity, but also instability of employment and uncertainty of income to the wage-earner.

In the wake of the financial collapse of 1929 a wave of unemployment swept the country. Production of goods suffered a drastic curtailment but productivity of Labor continued to increase. During the depression, therefore, Labor was suffering from the combined effect of cyclical and technological unemployment. According to the recent figures of the National Bureau of Economic Research, between 1929 and 1933 the output of the worker per man-hour was increased by 27 per cent.¹ During the same four-year period the index of physical output of manufactures was reduced by 38 per cent and factory employment by 34 per cent.

Charles A. Bliss, of the National Bureau, in commenting on this development, points out that a work week averaging about 50 hours in 1929 has been reduced to about 38 hours in 1933, with the depressed rate of activity keeping the weekly hours well below the maximum prescribed in the NRA codes. This 25 per cent drop in weekly hours reduced the total man-hours by 50 per cent since 1929. Under these circumstances a 27 per cent advance in the output per man-hour is indeed striking.

It must be made clear that this increased productivity resulted not so much from installation of new machinery as from the use of the best of the available equipment and the effort on the part of the management to follow the cheapest, most direct and efficient methods of production. With lagging output came a substantial increase in the overhead cost per unit of product. The least efficient plants were shut down and those that remained in operation were worked in such a way as to make for the fullest possible use of the best available equipment. Striving to prevent the narrowing of profit margins, the management laid off as many men as possible and cut down the wage rate paid to the worker. In the absence of a complete organization of labor, the disparity in the bargaining power made it possible for industrial management to carry on operations through the difficult years at a tremendous cost to the worker. The worker who was dropped from the payroll was the one who paid the full price. The one who remained at work was also forced to contribute his share through reduced wages. More than that, he was under constant pressure to produce more and to work harder, haunted with the fear of losing his job and joining the millions of unemployed.

Briefly, then, the worker suffered during the depression from the impact of several distinct forces: (1) Depression in itself as a broad phase of the business cycle; (2) Increased industrial efficiency brought about a 27 per cent increase in

¹ Charles A. Bliss, "Recent Changes in Production," National Bureau of Economic Research Bulletin No. 51.

output per worker per hour, throwing additional masses of workers out of employment; (3) A large portion of those continuing to work had only part-time employment which reduced their incomes to below-subsistence levels; (4) Those workers who continued to produce during the depression either on a part-time or full-time basis, were forced to work at drastically reduced wage rates, and along with their families, had to maintain themselves on inadequate incomes, receiving no compensation, of course, for their increased output; (5) By thus contributing in very real monetary terms to the maintenance of industry as a going concern, the wage-earners piled up a vast structure of debts which they will have to liquidate during the period of recovery; (6) Reduced to a lower standard of living, the worker was forced to change his consumption habits, thereby reducing potential demand for consumers' goods for the immediate future; (7) As a result of unemployment and lowered income, the wage-earners were faced with an enormous deficit in such human terms as sickness, premature death, and all the other plagues of poverty which came to the surface when the living standards, built up since the beginning of the century, had been swept away.

This brief summary shows that as an economic group the wage-earner has suffered a greater set-back from the depression than is generally realized. Only a clear realization of their true economic position will make it possible for the workers to regain the lost ground.

III.

Viewing the depression in retrospect, but at a very close range, it is dangerous at this time to go beyond a brief stock-taking of the major tendencies apparent from the recent events. Within the limits of this very succinct survey, we can go only one step further—to consider the main implications of these tendencies for the immediate future.

During the post-war decade, the volume of goods and services produced in the United States was being increased at a rate never before maintained for a similar period of time. But under this rapid acceleration in the rate of production, the economic system was showing definite strains and maladjustments. The basic roots of our present difficulties may be traced back to that period. A growing volume of unemployment in the years of productive expansion was a new and far reaching development.

The growth in the shifting of Labor among manufacturing industries was also significant, but we can discern in that period an even more important cause of the present economic instability.

With the widening of the margin between the productive power and immediate essential needs of the population, more productive effort was devoted to the manufacture of instruments of production and the less essential consumption goods. Annual additions to and replacement of capital equipment were made during the post-war decade, at the unprecedented rate of 6.4 per cent.¹ We were augmenting instruments of production at a rate higher than we were increasing our standards of living.

¹ Frederick C. Mills, *op cit.*, p. 535.

We have every indication that too large a proportion of our productive resources was poured into the production of durable goods and especially of capital equipment. It is highly significant that the falling off in the production of durable goods and capital equipment was the most important factor in the decline of the productive rate during the depression. Between 1929 and 1932, production of perishable commodities declined by only 16 per cent and of semi-durable goods by 25 per cent. At the same time, production of durable goods was reduced by as much as 69 per cent and that of capital equipment by 66 per cent.¹ ..

It is important to realize that in the post-depression period, the purchasing power of the consumer will be applied primarily to the acquisition of commodities most essential for human consumption. It will be some time, therefore, before we begin to increase savings—some time, in other words, before we begin to spend on a large scale for future incomes, and thus supply investment funds necessary for new production of capital equipment. This tendency, however, should be offset by the demand for durable goods accumulated during the years of lower consumption. On the whole, it is probable that more productive energy will be devoted in the near future to provide for such durable goods as housing, and that manufacture of capital equipment will experience a slower recovery.

We are thus faced with potential serious checks to reabsorption by the industry of those now unemployed, and with fundamental economic readjustments, which will undoubtedly contribute to economic instability and to instability of employment. Organized labor stands face to face with further threats to the security of the worker. It must prepare now to safeguard the worker from the onslaught of future insecurity.

There is ample evidence of the immediate and pressing need for a further shortening of hours of work as a first step towards stabilization of employment. The general adoption of a shorter work week is bound to bring a sustained industrial stability. Further and substantial increases in wages for industrial labor must be made to encourage a demand for durable goods, as well as consumption goods. These wage increases should be attained through collective bargaining and should provide not only higher hourly rates but assure the workers more stable weekly and annual incomes. Living standards must be brought to a sufficiently high level to assure the worker adequate compensation for his human and economic shares in the cost of the depression. Provided with adequate purchasing power, we can substantially accelerate the rate of production of goods and services.

In resuming normal industrial activity, we must not permit the return of the chaotic competitive conditions of the pre-depression era. We must raise the level of real national income, not only by resorting to the industrial and economic efficiencies but also by introducing new social efficiencies. A reduction in the real income of the nation means a reduction in the standard of living of the American people. We must strive to reconstruct not only the production of goods on a pre-depression scale, but also the standard of living on a new and equitable scale.

¹ Charles A. Bliss, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

All of this can be accomplished only through a sustained growth of labor organization. The worker must no longer be a mere part of the industrial equipment of the country, but an active and effective participant in the major economic developments. The problems of an industry are not only the problems of the employers. The problems of an industry are the problems of all attached to it. The responsibility for industrial conditions now rests to a large extent upon the employers nationally organized into trade associations. The responsibility for these conditions must be shared by labor similarly organized. By preserving a democratic principle, we must provide for joint employer and employee responsibility and joint employer and employee control. But this must come through a voluntary arrangement not compulsory, through a direct participation of representatives of organized labor in the deliberations of industrial administrative agencies. Labor should be given an opportunity to join hands with the management in the great national enterprise of rebuilding our industrial economy on the basis of social as well as economic efficiency and thus assure a return to prosperity more permanent and more equitable than we have seen.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The devastating effects of the present economic crisis on the public schools of America continue to be widespread to an alarming degree. Communities in all parts of the country lack funds with which to maintain their public schools. Thousands of schools would have been closed this year had not emergency aid been given them by the federal government. But even with this limited aid the schools, and, consequently, the children of the nation, have suffered much.

Schools have been operated on part time, the school year shortened, number of teachers decreased while school enrollments everywhere have increased, increasing thereby the teacher's burden and decreasing the amount of personal attention which any child may have from the teacher. Whole parts have been taken from school systems, some essential parts of the school. Kindergartens, vocational education, music, art, manual training, health services and many others vitally important have been discarded. Each of these parts plays a vital rôle in the set-up of a well balanced school system; a system in which children may be trained to assume in full their responsibility as citizens in a democratic nation. The essential features of a school system are not limited to rudimentary instruction in a few subjects. The American trade union movement has long sponsored a program of education which is an expression of personal and community growth. As community vision has been enlarged, the school system has grown.

Because there is an unfortunate movement to remove essential parts of the school system by calling them "frills," we feel it is important at this time to analyze ten of these so-called "frills" and see what their places in present-day education really are.

Vocational Education—We in the labor movement are deeply concerned in keeping vocational education in school curricula everywhere. Vocational training prepares the individual for efficient employment so that he can become self-support-

ing and contribute to the economic welfare of the country. It is an essential part of a socially balanced educational program, both for periods of national prosperity and periods of national depression.

In some ways vocational training is more important in this period of depression than it was in a period of prosperity. Changes in manufacturing processes and production methods have resulted in throwing many persons out of employment who must be retrained for some other line of work. Many skilled persons who were laid off on account of the depression will never again be able to return to their former positions. Some of these persons have moved away, some have found employment in other lines of work. In some instances methods in production work and trade practices have changed to such an extent that those who were laid off are now no longer employable unless they are retrained.

Then, too, there is that great army of youth who in normal times would be absorbed into industry but who are now either adrift, adding to the stream of the unemployed, or else in school. If in school, they need vocational training that will make them employable when the doors of industry are opened to them.

If adrift without anything to do, they need to be given a training that will qualify them for employment at the earliest possible moment and which in the meantime will serve to maintain their morale.

While in a broad sense we recognize that a very large portion of all school curricula is vocational work, we feel that the growing recognition given to a more limited meaning of the term indicates that quite generally education no longer is limited to an appreciation of the culture of the humanities. Today the fine arts and the liberal arts, and a full experience in a complex industrial society determine our standards of education and are reflected in our schools and in schooling.

Vocational education to be vocational and educational must reflect and interpret current social, economic and occupational trends. Training in skilled trades, however important that may remain, does not in itself meet the whole problem. Technological changes in industry demand a flexible system of adjusting the worker to the job. And the average job analysis of today would not call for trade or job specifications which could be clearly and boldly set out. Nor can the mere repetition of splendid academic phrases help. "Training for life's situations," "fitting the worker to the job," "learning by doing" are much-used slogans to which in principle we subscribe. We are concerned over making them effective. A vast amount of research is needed. Vocational guidance with vocational training is vitally essential. Vocational guidance in turn should be correlated with a scientifically planned, socially administered employment service. The training and placement of all workers whether they wear overalls or white collars is one of our major problems.

Industrial Arts—It is essential that educational training include opportunities for self-expression on the part of the individual, as these constitute experiences necessary for growth and development. Through design and construction in wood, wood finishing, fiber and textile materials, metal work, electricity, drawing and printing, pupils find opportunities for self-expression in practical materials not found in other school subjects. Planning and laying out projects on paper, making out bills for materials to be used in the projects, getting out stock, performing

the necessary hand and machine operations on the materials, and assembling parts into completed projects, constitute a unique and valuable kind of school experience and a learning through self-expression. Activities in the industrial arts are just as natural and just as vital a means for self-expression as are activities in reading, writing, mathematics, language, and music. Moreover, they are kinds of activities which appeal strongly to the boys and girls.

The School Health Service—By common consent, health is an essential objective of education. It is unwise for school officials to look upon the school health service as something to be abandoned or curtailed until the return of better times. This service may in some instances be carried on in a more economical manner, but to go beyond this is to abandon a fundamental principle.

The preservation and improvement of the health of the child, which too often needs to be improved, cannot be postponed. The child who is physically below par fails to respond as he might to the means of mental development furnished through the schools, and there is a proportional waste of time and effort and money in attempting to educate him. There is economic waste again in sending into the world a child who cannot grapple with the problems of existence.

Instead of neglecting our school health activities we might better see if they can be improved. The need for this work is particularly acute now. A large percentage of the nation's children are on relief. Tens of thousands of the citizens of tomorrow need medical attention. School health service is the machinery to render this service. The preservation of the health of our children is real necessity.

Junior High School—When the junior high school was introduced in many localities it was not an educational institution in the true sense. It was—and in some cases it was intended that it should be—a mere adjunct of high pressure, unsocial, industrial activity. This we fought. However, now the junior high school, like many other divisions of the school system, is still seeking to find the best form in which to serve the community and is functioning and functioning very well.

The entire development of the junior high school in the United States has been brought about in less than a quarter of a century. The increase in number of these schools has been pronounced since the World War. The following facts make it easy for anyone to draw his own conclusions.

During this period the following important changes have been brought about in the schooling of girls and boys from 12 to 15 or 16 years of age.

1. Improved retention in school. In 1918 pupils in the public schools averaged fewer than 8 years of education; in 1930 this average has been raised to 9 $\frac{2}{3}$ years.

2. Expansion in curriculum offerings. Subjects which have become prominent following the introduction of the junior high school are physical education, fine arts, manual arts, home economics, and business training.

3. Expansion into extra-curriculum offerings. The old school offered its pupils little in the form of dramatics, journalism, hobby clubs, organized drill activities, and inter-class athletic games before they reached the first year of the

fourth year high school. These and other extra-curriculum activities are regular features of the modern junior high school.

4. Extension of provisions in caring for individual differences of early-adolescent pupils, including educational and vocational guidance, exploratory courses, library service, health work, and employment of better-trained teachers.

These improvements in the education of young girls and boys have come in coexistent with the development of the junior high school, and have, in many places, been hastened by the establishment of junior high schools. Here the school can help and here the junior high school leads the way in this endeavor.

Education is a preparation for life and for living, and music figures in this as largely as literature and mathematics and history. True, music is a language of which we can have some knowledge without training, but this is true also of English, and mathematics, and other subjects. However, without teaching, a child is not likely to learn to read music, nor to participate in the joys of its performance. Without an introduction to its expression in higher forms he is not likely to know those forms and to fully enjoy them. Not every child can be a Mozart any more than every child can become a Shakespeare, but every child can be made to have a greater appreciation of both music and literature by training than he would otherwise experience. If the teaching of music is a "frill," then the teaching of literature is a "frill," for music is incomparable as a revelation of sheer beauty and as an interpreter of human emotion.

With the advent of more leisure than our forefathers possessed and with the development of the radio, there is more time and opportunity for the enjoyment of music than ever before. But we are not likely to be able to enjoy the finer things in this field unless we know that they exist and unless we have had our own ears tuned as far as they are tunable to the understanding of the great things of this great art. Every child, and not just a few children, should be able to feel to the full the ebb and flow "of music's golden sea setting toward eternity."

Art Instruction—The use of our abilities to read and write and cipher is but slightly out of proportion to the amount of time and money devoted to the development of these skills by the schools. They are important, but they are not relatively as important as their long and large traditional standing in the curriculum would make us think.

Education is a "training for service and for appreciation." The service which most of us render society is not done by writing or figuring, nor is our appreciation confined to the enjoyment of books or of mathematical formulae. With the invention of the moving picture machine and the radio our enjoyment of life through the printed page has even diminished.

We often forget that a nation's contribution to civilization is measured not merely by its mathematics and its literature but equally as much by its art, and we are likely to enjoy both past and present civilizations in the products of the pencil and brush as much as in the printed page.

Not every child can become a Raphael, but the artist may not develop unless his interests are early awakened and his abilities trained. The business of awakening his possibilities becomes the province of the public school as much as education for a scientific or a literary career. One appreciates any fine piece of work most

fully when he has tried to do such work himself, and the art instruction of our schools leads to a fuller knowledge and enjoyment of great sculpture and painting and architecture. Art education rightly done is no more a "frill" than was, in earlier time, the teaching of the three r's.

Exceptional Children—It is universally conceded that a major objective of education is to help the children of today to become the contented and respected citizens of tomorrow. It is also conceded that several millions of school children do not profit satisfactorily by the regular educational program because of extreme visual or auditory handicap, a crippled body, serious speech defect, mental deficiency or intellectual superiority, emotional maladjustment, or organic difficulties; and that unless education is properly adjusted to the peculiar needs of these children they are likely to become burdens or even menaces to society.

On the other hand, it has been shown that special educational provisions planned to minimize handicaps and capitalize abilities have resulted in social and economic advantage to both the children themselves and to the community in which they live. A physician uses specialized medical treatments for special needs, even in the face of increased costs. No less should the educator be responsible for going beyond the confines of standard procedure into the realm of special classes, special methods and equipment, and clinical service for those who need them. The welfare of the child demands that he be given the opportunity of happiness and of achievements in keeping with his ability to achieve. The welfare of society demands that he be prepared to make some constructive contribution, however small, as an adult citizen. Obviously, the only means by which this can be brought about is to adapt instruction to his needs. Therefore, special education for exceptional children, far from being a fad, becomes a necessity in the nation's program of training for citizenship.

The State University—The well-organized university prepares students for a professional career. It trains them for public service. The university of today recognizes public service as a distinct profession, and hence offers special training for it. It affords students the opportunity for original research work in the interest of human progress.

The tremendous importance of training men and women in and for research work, quite apart from the value that the training has for him who receives it, is the value of such work to society. For some time now we have recognized the necessity for research in the biological, chemical, and physical sciences. We are now demanding an exact scientific approach in other fields of human endeavor as well, particularly in the social sciences. A scientific approach, a questioning, critical-minded attitude, exact facts, obtained with exacting precision are needed in approaching our social and economic problems. Scientific economic planning, and social planning must replace the haphazard system of sentimental, destructive, *laissez faire* organization which has brought the world into the chaos now confounding us.

Research; intelligent, planned procedure is the answer. The publicly supported institutions of higher learning must be reliable institutions in which our leaders may be trained for whatever field of specialized professional service will

be of social value to the community. They must through their laboratories—of whatever form they may be—bring knowledge to the people. The university should be so organized that it can come to the people, wherever they are in the state, and help them train for better service to their state through an enriched experience which the university will afford them. The higher institutions of learning need money for this work; money as an investment for the state. These institutions must be preserved and maintained at a high level of usefulness. To do otherwise would be robbing the farmers and the workers of their just share of the return of the Nation's wealth.

The Kindergarten—The kindergarten performs a vital educational service for the child of 4 and 5 years, which must be given at that age only. It starts him as he should be started.

The kindergarten seeks to give the child a realization that he is one of a group and that he must learn how to get along with others who too have rights and privileges. He must learn how to respond to directions and to handle materials with which he can express his ideas. He develops adequate habits of personal hygiene. Children from families speaking a foreign language at home are given an English vocabulary and training in using it effectively. These young children of foreign-born parents carry back into the family a little realized influence in true Americanism.

Today we know that physical and mental tendencies that may make difficulties in later life are discoverable at an early age. In the kindergarten corrective treatment can be given.

Experiences of the kindergarten program introduce children to the beginnings of reading, arithmetic, and other subjects of the elementary school curriculum with marked success. It is difficult to apply adequate measures to the growth and development of these young children. However, within the past few years research has shown that children who have attended kindergarten have higher scores in intelligence and in achievement in the school subjects; their ratings in social habits are higher, and they have fewer promotion failures than children without kindergarten experience. The reduction of promotion failures is a saving in dollars and cents to the taxpayer and, what is more important, it saves the child's courage and self-respect.

The kindergarten is educationally sound and socially essential and is of greatest importance in starting the training of a child in such a way that proper attitudes are developed in him so that his education will be positive character training.

* * *

Reduction of the number of schools, cutting the length of the school year, elimination of any part of the system, increasing the size of classes or of teacher pupil load in any other way, reduction of teachers' salaries below a cultural wage, are among the drastic steps advocated by self-styled economy leagues in waging a fight against our schools and our children.

We ask that our state and city central bodies in seeking to maintain a good school system in their respective states should emphasize our purpose in asking

that social costs far more than money costs be considered in planning the welfare of our children.

The problem is not a simple one.

* * *

School Revenues—School revenues have been reduced during the last few years. The reduction of the sources of public revenues in use up to this time have meant the reduction of funds with which to maintain the nation's schools. Property taxes which are the chief source of school revenue have been greatly reduced. In 80 per cent of our schools, support comes from local funds, 19 per cent from state funds, and only 1 per cent from the federal government. The large percentage of revenue coming from local funds is significant because up to the present time, state and local governments have used the general property tax almost entirely as a means of obtaining revenue. It is estimated that about 75 per cent of our local funds are obtained through the property tax. The assessed valuation of property has declined rapidly in the past few years, a decrease of between 30 and 40 per cent in some states, resulting in a corresponding reduction in collectable taxes on property.

In addition, revenues based on the general property tax have decreased materially because of the widespread prevalence of tax delinquency. In some cities there was a delinquency as high approximately as 40 per cent. A number of states confronted with the tragic threat of loss of homes of their citizens have enacted tax moratorium laws, and in 15 states tax limitation laws have been enacted. These statutes while tragically necessary to preserve the home will further decrease school revenues.

Yet, we insist that the schools must be maintained at a standard worthy of a democratic nation. Hence, revenue for their maintenance must be found.

We have long advocated a tax program of graduated income and inheritance taxes. We insist that vast financial resources protected now by statute which exempts them from taxation should be made to yield a return to the community.

In many states under the guise of seeking school revenues, states have adopted a sales tax program. Through the propaganda of those who wish to cut their personal or their corporation's taxes, citizens have been led to believe that the support of a sales tax will result in more revenue for the schools. Labor has been quick to see the falsity of this propaganda and has fought it, while seeking a more just source of revenue for the schools.

Economy but not Retrenchment—While we advocate adequate school appropriations, and in advocating them will work to obtain them, we recognize that school administration in many places must be revamped and in other places completely reorganized, so as to make possible a richer return for the public from its funds. Multiple administrative units should be abolished, and coordination of local and state agencies should be rapidly effected, redistricting school areas with a view of obtaining a thoroughly democratic and a completely unified administration, must be undertaken. Waste in purchasing and in construction, waste due to inefficiencies, duplications, inflexibility, waste in any form must be eliminated.

We urge a program of economy based on sound educational theories and prac-

tices; but economy is not to be mistaken for retrenchment. And retrenchment resulting in social devastation must be fought.

A Permanent Policy and an Emergency Policy—The American Federation of Labor has consistently and persistently opposed federal control of education. While it recognizes that education of the citizenry of a nation is the concern of the entire nation, it feels that the administration of education is and must remain distinctly a state function.

During this emergency we have actively supported legislation which sought aid for school areas, which without federal aid could not maintain their schools. With the increased demand for federal aid and with the glaring immediate need for federal aid, we must consider the entire question of the relation of the federal government to education.

In 34 states there is now a plan of state aid to local communities for education. A well planned state aid program was found to be necessary to assure to each citizen within the state a more equitable share of opportunity of personal cultural enrichment.

So, too, the federal government has a responsibility for the boys and girls who today in one state are denied an education may migrate into another state and become social burdens there.

While the states must not be allowed to evade their responsibility, the nation must not allow the children—the future citizens of that nation—to suffer. The federal government must actively recognize that the breakdown of the educational system or any part of it of any state today is the potential problem for the citizens of all states for tomorrow.

A balanced planned program is vitally important. However, with the pressing problems of the emergency upon us, we are gravely in danger of having our permanent policy on educational matters determined by the conditions prevailing during this economic emergency. It is our belief that we should carefully distinguish between a permanent policy regarding the relation of the federal government to education and an emergency policy therefor.

We believe that during this emergency the federal government must render immediate and adequate aid to the states, so that no child will be denied the opportunity for training in good citizenship and that schools will be maintained at a level which will not result in social losses.

Educational relief activities of the government have thus far taken two forms: a program of educational work-relief and authorization of loans (total of \$75,000,000) on adequate security to enable communities to make payments of salaries owed to the teachers.

Loans to Educational Institutions—In addition to giving aid by immediate grants to states and municipalities for school purposes, emergency federal loans for educational purposes should be available. States, municipalities, school districts and higher educational institutions are in need of credit facilities that will enable them to continue their educational work.

At the present time school districts in many localities are tragically overburdened with credit obligations that should be refinanced. Such refinancing

would in effect release for the current expenditures of the schools the large sums now required for debt service. Approximately 23 per cent of the estimated income for the schools of this country will this year be required for debt service, varying from a 5 per cent total in one state to 50 per cent of the total school revenue in another. In many school districts, if they pay their current operating expenses, their credit obligations must be defaulted; if they meet their credit obligations, there is not enough money for their current operating expenses.

The credit difficulties confronting educational institutions and school districts are due to a large extent to high interest bonds, bonds with a market value far below par, bonds in default, unmarketable tax anticipation warrants, funds frozen in banks; all factors which could be greatly relieved by a federal loan or federal refinancing.

The tremendous importance of the maintenance of the nation's public schools and higher institutions of learning demands that they be accorded at least the same privilege in borrowing which is now given to industrial and private organizations. During the last year over a billion dollars was loaned to banks, railroads, etc., conducted for private profit. Surely the government should extend the same type of aid to public business conducted for social profit.

There must be evolved and developed a constructive control of credit, a plan concerned with social as well as monetary values. In such a plan consideration would be given to the reduction of the present vast cost of debt service. As an immediate emergency step the American Federation of Labor must continue to work to secure for the nation's educational institutions the right to borrow or refinance their paper at a low rate through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Teacher as a Worker in the Community—Teachers have suffered with other workers; suffered more in many localities. Constant threat of loss of work, irregular salary payments, salaries reduced to the vanishing point, school buildings on the verge of collapse, loss of sick leave when greater need for it existed, a stretch-out system in the schools, in the form of greatly enlarged classes, all have combined to develop in the teacher an attitude which certainly must make his work less valuable to the community.

Teachers like other workers want a sense of security which comes from having a dependable source of income. About 50,000 teachers were employed at less than \$300 for the year. Some did not get the contract salary.

The teacher must be paid a salary commensurate with the responsibilities entrusted to him. We know of no greater responsibility in a democratic nation than being entrusted to train for citizenship.

Teacher Tenure—Teacher employment, and, consequently, of course educational standards are seriously jeopardized by the widespread prevalence of annual teacher employment contracts used by school systems. Under such a system, teacher employment is not determined simply by the teacher's professional fitness, but also by his support of a particular viewpoint, person or partisan faction at the moment pleasing to the Board of Education. Nor is the teacher employed on an

annual contract likely to be free to teach, unaffected by propaganda and particular pressure groups. Not if he wishes to have his contract renewed.

The right of any teacher to join any professional organization of his own choosing must not be violated. The application of the principle of the "Yellow Dog Contract" to teachers by state or local school authorities must be vigorously fought.

In some states opposition to teachers' joining a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is manifested in forcing teachers to join an organization sponsored and often controlled by school officials.

It is our belief that any efforts to remove a teacher from his job for any reasons other than professional incompetence or immorality destroys the efficiency of school system, prevent teaching from becoming a profession and deny the community the services of courageous, intelligent, professionally qualified citizens.

For a number of years the American Federation of Labor has advocated teacher tenure laws for the several states. At the present time only 11 states of the union have state-wide teacher tenure. Such laws would guarantee to the people of the state the appointment and the retention in service of qualified, thoroughly professional teachers and at the same time, to assure to the teacher the right to perform his duty to his community and to his students without fear of political or other pressure on him from any special group. We call upon the State Federations of Labor to cooperate actively with the American Federation of Teachers in obtaining adequate teacher tenure laws in each state.

Educational Research—The development of education must be predicated on the development of scientific methods in educational research. It is exceedingly difficult to determine even the measuring rods with which certain phases of research are to be made. The number and complexity of the elements increases this difficulty.

Yet research in all fields and phases of education is absolutely essential. We are delighted with the amount and the type of educational research which many agencies are carrying on.

The very stimulating report of the Committee on Social Studies suggests in certain aspects the studies in those fields made ten years ago by the American Federation of Labor.

We note with particular interest the increased activity in the field of research in the United States Office of Education. We feel that figures on all phases of educational work should be made available through the United States Office of Education; for a governmental agency should be the most complete source of data on this subject. We, therefore, urge adequate appropriations for the research work of the United States Office of Education.

CCC—Unemployment among the adolescents and youths of the country has meant not only a serious economic and social loss for the present but has endangered community standards for the future. The lad now maturing with the physical hardships wrought by unemployment daily experiences of bitter disappointments and nothing before him but a continuation of the utter futility

which he is now experiencing, will develop a cynicism which is bound to be unsocial and possibly anti-social.

Thousands of boys and young men hoping to find a better chance elsewhere have left home. Without funds, without friends, severed from all constructive guidance, they have wandered from town to town and from state to state, only to find the problem of their home town elsewhere repeated.

To meet this problem, in part, the CCC camps were established. The purpose back of the camps is excellent. The work done in them is often of great value. They have helped in the physical rehabilitation of thousands of young men and boys. By further developing the educational program of these camps and by closely correlating their vocational training with public employment agencies they will be increasing their already great social value.

High school and junior college facilities should be extended in all communities to help keep the youths in their own community and in a course of training.

The nation can not afford to let the child be the principal victim of the depression. His physical well being must be preserved; the schools must be maintained at a high level. Child labor and school attendance laws should be exactly administered. The protection of the child and the child's opportunities for him are of our deepest concern.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Emergency Education Program of the FERA, designed to put to work 100,000 necessitous teachers, is in line with American Labor's concept of the expanding field of education. The Emergency Education Program last year covered six points, viz., adult education, classes for adult illiterates, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, nursery schools and rural education. For next year the fields of activity are the same except that forums are substituted for rural education. With the exception of rural education, regulations have restricted the Emergency Education Program to services not offered before 1932. In other words, it is designed not to meet deficiencies in school budgets but to provide for educational expansion. It is the soundest kind of work relief.

The Emergency Education Program set-up includes for each state and for the federal government a general supervisor of the Program appointed by the Department or Bureau of Education, but working under the rules of the Emergency Relief Administration, which appropriates the money for the Program. Under each state supervisor it is expected that there will be at least one supervisor for each section of the six-point program. For most states there will be other supervisors to handle parts of the program in large cities or administrative details. In the federal set-up and in many states there is a special supervisor for workers' education as a separate section of adult education. The supervisors of all parts of the program are presumably responsible for selection of teachers and their training before undertaking and also on the job. This is very important for many of the teachers chosen have had no experience in the type of class which they will be expected to teach. This is particularly true in case of adult education.

It is of especial importance to labor that supervisors sympathetic with the broad educational aims of labor be chosen. State supervisors of workers' educa-

tion should have close contact with and understanding of the American labor movement as well as sound educational experience and principles. Otherwise, they are prone to confuse American Labor's ideals with dogmas of class conflict or to fail to appreciate the importance of integrating education with Labor's life and work. Consequently it is essential that the officers of the State Federations of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau be consulted in selection of these supervisors.

The Emergency Education Program's emphasis upon adult education coincides with organized labor's interest in the expanding field of adult education. The Federation recognizes the need for training its younger organizers, officers and leaders just as industry sees the necessity of training classes for foremen, superintendents and executives. The Federation also stands for education of its membership in methods of making themselves articulate about their needs and aspirations, in understanding, interpreting and promoting the labor movement, in the processes of collective bargaining, in the problems of their industry, and in the basic social sciences—economics, government, and social and psychological problems. The Emergency Education Program is an important but not the only resource for such classes.

Workers' Education Bureau of America—The year 1933-1934 has been a test of the capacity of workers' education to serve as an instrument of guidance to American Workers in the face of sweeping changes.

The National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau began on the 3rd of October, coincident with the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor. Delegates to this convention were from representative sections of the country. It proved to be a significant gathering of the workers' education forces. During the two days that the convention was in session the delegates had an opportunity of listening to addresses from the United States Commissioner of Education, from the Director of the Adult Education Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and from the Specialist in Workers' Education in this same department. Each speaker in turn made it abundantly clear that a new opportunity confronted the labor movement in connection with the Emergency Education Program. In addition a collection of materials on workers' education was exhibited, most of which was used by the United States Office of Education for a continuing exhibit. This national convention outlined a policy for the year which looked toward expansion of the labor institute program and the development of summer schools and other educational undertakings with which the Bureau had been associated.

Upon the conclusion of the national convention of the Bureau and of the American Federation of Labor, the program of the Bureau was enlarged. It became clear that it would be necessary to increase the staff of the Bureau if it was to respond to the increasing demands for its services in different parts of the country. Four regional directors were selected, one for the Pacific Coast, the second for the western area, the third for the East, and the fourth attached at the outset to the Washington headquarters to serve as a liaison between the Workers' Education Bureau and the Emergency Education Program. The important work of these persons can be briefly summarized from their own reports.

The Pacific Coast—The first of the regional directors to be appointed had been for the past thirteen years Director of Workers' Education in the State of California. This Director assumed the responsibility of serving the states of Oregon, Washington, and California. It became at once clear in the development of the program on the Pacific Coast that it would be necessary to set up some program of cooperation with the state universities and the state federations of labor similar to that which had existed for the past nine years in California. Consequently, with the collaboration of the Secretary of the Bureau, one of the first steps taken was to set up an interstate agreement between the state federations of labor and the state universities, providing for a plan of collaboration.

Three labor institutes have been held in the cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco in California, one Labor institute in Portland, Oregon, and a fifth in Seattle, Washington. The Western Summer School for Workers in Industry was held for the second successive summer at Occidental College in Los Angeles. Thirteen classes for workers were held in two cities in California, four classes in Portland, Oregon; public forums were held in many central labor unions and various conferences and discussion groups were conducted under the director's general direction. As an additional form of collaboration with the FERA he provided opportunities for the employment of four relief teachers in classes held on the Pacific Coast.

In addition to this contacts were made with the Utah State Federation of Labor and the State University and an agreement similar to the agreement in the Coast states was drawn up between the University of Utah and labor for a joint educational program.

The Western Area—The second director to be appointed for the West was formerly Director of Extension at the University of Oklahoma. His field covered the territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, the Canadian border and the Gulf of Mexico, and including the states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Missouri. While this territory is agricultural in character, the industrial development has been such as to justify the creation of 144 central labor councils, in addition to a state branch of the American Federation of Labor in each of these states. Under the direction of the regional director institutes have been held in the following cities: Oklahoma City; Shreveport, Louisiana; Little Rock, Arkansas; Kansas City, Missouri; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Topeka, Kansas. Representative groups of the leadership of labor in this regional area have been in attendance at these institutes and it has been a uniform report that the work has been of a very satisfactory nature.

In addition a special effort has been made in the encouragement of standing committees on education in the various state federations of labor, central labor councils, and local unions. In at least half a dozen states such committees have been appointed, which include among their services the following undertakings:

1. To plan an educational program as a part of the annual conference of the State Federation of Labor. In some cases such institutes are made a part of the regular session; in others, as in Colorado and South Dakota,

- the educational session is held on the day preceding the opening of the convention.
2. To study the educational programs of tax supported institutions with the view of recommending that such programs should include an adequate and fair presentation of the objectives and conditions of employment of wage earners in the modern industrial system.
 3. To see that labor has adequate representation on the governing boards of educational institutions.
 4. To advise with the Workers' Education Bureau and with other educational agencies as to the workers' educational program to be developed in the state.

Forums have been developed in a number of central labor unions and classes have been started following each of the labor institutes.

Another special effort has been made to establish branch libraries in connection with labor temples, for workers who wish to have readily available standard material dealing with the phases of the labor problem.

During the period of service contacts have been made with the following universities in the Middle West: University of Texas; University of Kansas; University of Louisiana; University of Arkansas; University of Oklahoma; University of Wyoming; Washington University, St. Louis; Drake University, Des Moines; Centenary Methodist College, Shreveport, Louisiana; Denver University; University of Wichita; Oklahoma City University; Kansas City College; and Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

The office of the regional director has worked in close cooperation with the state and federal officials in setting up emergency workers' education programs and has held conferences in Minnesota, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Colorado, South Dakota, and Iowa.

The Eastern Area—The third director to be appointed was formerly the New England representative of the Bureau, to serve as director of workers' education for the eastern area. For the first six months his work has been confined to the six New England states and has represented an intensive program in contacting the various officials of the state federations of labor and in setting up labor institutes, convening special conferences, developing cooperative relationships with the universities and assisting in connection with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's program. Institutes have been held in the following cities: New Haven, Springfield, Boston, Lawrence, Augusta, Providence.

In addition, the director has cooperated with the FERA in setting up two summer schools, one at Cambridge and the other at Amherst and has taken part in various conferences called by the Emergency Relief Administration.

Probably the outstanding development in New England is the proposed Connecticut Valley Conference Board on Workers' Education. It is a set-up which permits the Central Bodies from Greenfield, Massachusetts, down through the Valley to the Trades Council of New Haven, consisting of nine different central bodies, to participate in a joint enterprise with the universities and colleges in that district to carry on the project of workers' education. The colleges of this district, particularly the Economics and Sociology Departments, will serve on such a board and the central bodies with no exception have agreed to send delegates to it. It is anticipated that this board can not only be a clearing house

furnishing members of their faculty to participate in workers' study classes or lectures to various local unions, but in addition the facilities of the economics libraries and research departments can be made available to the workers of this district. The exchange of ideas and experiences also will be of immense value. It is expected that this conference board will function early in September and be a continuing affair in this Valley.

The New England situation promises to be one of the most fruitful in the development of workers' education.

Washington, D. C.—The fourth representative was loaned for a period of six months by the University of Chicago. Her first service was to be detailed as a member of the Informal Advisory Committee on the Emergency Educational Program. For three months she worked in close collaboration with the FERA and the Office of Education developing plans for the conference held in May and in developing materials which would be helpful in connection with the summer conferences. In addition, she served as liaison with the American Federation of Labor and the Emergency Educational Program and assisted in a multitude of ways in keeping close contact with the labor and educational forces through this important transitional period.

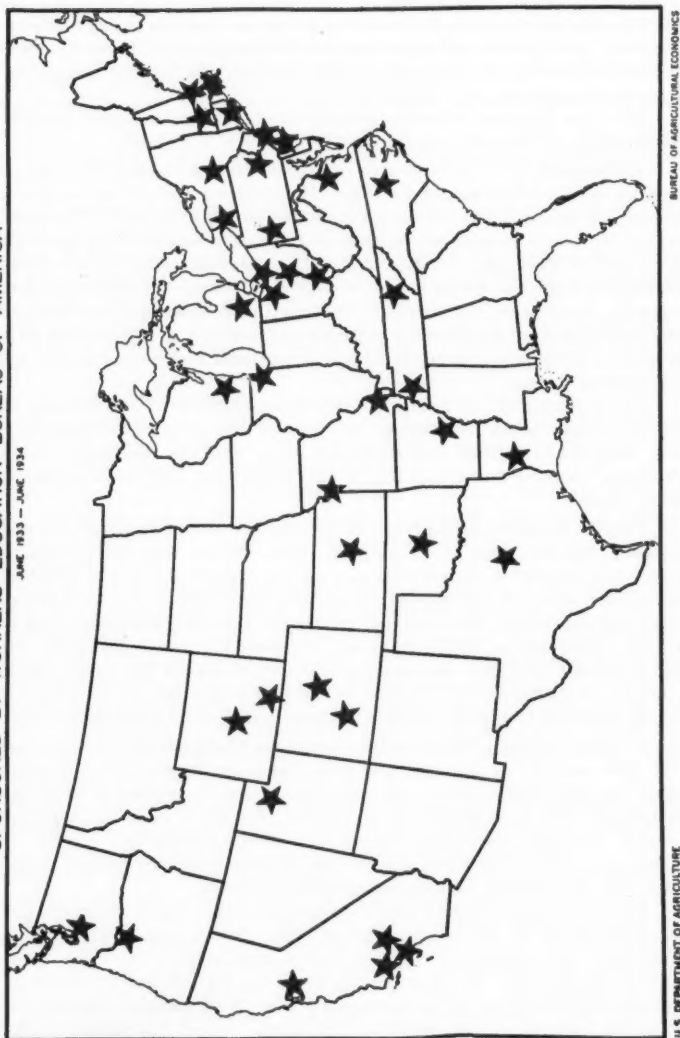
For a period of three months this representative of the Bureau made an intensive study of the possibilities for workers' education in Michigan in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor and the Emergency Educational Program, planning and conducting a Labor Institute, and devising materials for study classes.

Labor Institutes—In addition to the regional directors appointed under this program, the Secretary of the Bureau, in accordance with the directions of the Executive Committee, undertook to set up and conduct a series of labor institutes in various parts of the country, in collaboration with the state federations of labor and the central labor bodies. Among the institutes thus developed and conducted were those at Buffalo, Akron, Columbus, Richmond, Knoxville, Memphis, and Rutgers University. In response to a special request for service in Cleveland a local representative was attached to the staff of the Bureau in connection with the development of a labor institute program in that city for a period of four weeks.

Follow-Up—One of the important problems which has developed in connection with the program of workers' education has been the matter of follow-up. An effort has been made to work out a program of specific courses to be set up in collaboration with near-by centers of learning for the various workers' education groups. In many cases these classes have been a conspicuous success. The collaboration of the colleges and universities has been especially helpful in connection with the development of this continuation program.

Increased emphasis upon adult education fits into the Federation's own needs for transmitting to its membership and their future leaders the great body of knowledge and experience which it has accumulated in its more than half a century of existence. The membership needs the outlook and discipline of understanding the American labor movement's objectives, methods and policies. The oncoming leaders need the wealth of experience which the present leaders have gained through struggle, trial, mistakes, and achievements. This is particularly

LABOR INSTITUTES ON THE RECOVERY PROGRAM
SPONSORED BY WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA



important in view of the fact that the Federation has lost through death within the past decade over 300 leaders. What a wealth of seasoned understanding of Labor's problems and methods has irrevocably passed with them!

Today the American labor movement is far more extensive and powerful than when they began to serve it. The very significance of the American Federation of Labor gives to its organizers and even to local officers influence which the giants of the movement struggled for years to attain. To use this power as wisely as they did at the close of their lives and to serve the ever-expanding requirements of the American labor movement demands the conservation of their wisdom and experience.

Industry sees the need of training its foremen and supervisors, and has given considerable attention to courses on leadership as well as courses on the technical aspects of foremanship and supervision in different industries. It is no less important for the American labor movement to plan for the training of shop stewards, local officers, organizers and national or international officers. The greatest aids in such training are the present leaders of the Federation. Therefore, Workers Education hopes to turn to leaders of the Federation for assistance in forming and teaching classes. It also asks cooperation in beginning the collection of materials on trade union methods and policies and experiences in trade union leadership.

HOUSING

In order to help overcome the deficiency in home construction and needed repairs which has accumulated during the past several years, and to give employment to workers customarily employed in the construction industry, a housing measure was proposed in Congress. Although the law enacted fell short of the original purpose, the Executive Council favors the principle of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, to provide credit for the modernization of homes.

The Government issues loans for modernization purposes which must be secured through the regular credit agencies. A survey recently made by the Department of Commerce shows a general need for modernization and repairs in cities covered. Their preliminary report of their Real Property Inventory constitutes a basis upon which plans for employment and modernization can be based. This inventory should be extended and brought up to date from time to time to serve as an essential in economic and social planning. Housing is a most important factor in individual and community life.

In order to have this public money serve the needs of the small home-owner Congress fixed the rate of interest at five per cent. We urge that five per cent be kept as the maximum rate paid by the home owner. Congress arranged that the risk element inherent in the small loan, should be provided against by Federal insurance of the loans.

INDUSTRIAL REGIMENTATION

One of the defenses employers have imposed against union extension is the kind of regimentation that makes for an impersonal relationship. This tendency has been inherent in the subdivision of work involved in mass production. It has been equally identified with large scale production.

The impersonal management attitude toward workers is intended to make them feel like cogs in the production machinery. One expression of it is recording wage earners by number and using the number instead of name as convenience in bookkeeping and other office records. Another expression is the arbitrary dismissal of workers who have reached 45 years of age and continued refusal to employ older workers. The purpose, of course, is to assure the resilience of youth for the speed and accuracy necessary for repetitive work. But the result in both cases is to ignore the personality and the human value of the workers. The responsibility of the corporation for the workers as human contributors to industry can be more easily ignored if workers are lumped as numbers.

The regimentation that exists in industry was introduced by employers so that they might more easily ignore or exclude problems that interfered with a larger flow of returns into dividends and profits.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

Fourth Vice-President James Wilson tendered his resignation and the Executive Council, acting in accordance with Section 9, Article IX of the Constitution, filled the vacancy through the appointment of George M. Harrison, President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

In conformity with the established custom the several vice-presidents were advanced in their numerical positions. Consequently, President Harrison was appointed as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

Brewery Workers—Teamsters—Engineers—Firemen—The Washington 1933 Convention decided that engineers employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers; that teamsters employed by breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America; that firemen employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Firemen, and Oilers.

Friction increased. The Brewery Workers refused to abide by the convention's decision.

It being agreeable to the four interested organizations, President Green and President Ornburn, of the Cigarmakers International Union, attended a meeting of the Executive Board of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, in Cincinnati, February 20-21. Representatives of the three other organizations also attended.

The meeting was most interesting, and was characterized by a spirit of fairness on the part of all present. An earnest effort was put forth to secure an agreement which would form the basis of a settlement of the jurisdictional dispute. Suggestions were offered and proposals made. None of the representatives present assumed a rigid, inflexible position. All seemed willing to yield upon procedure and upon plans and policies, so far as it was possible to do so, in order to arrive at an understanding.

The Brewery Workers made a proposal which was unacceptable to the representatives of the three other organizations involved. This proposal was as follows:

(Copy)

INT'L UNION OF UNITED BREWERY, FLOUR, CEREAL, AND SOFT
DRINK WORKERS OF AMERICA

Cincinnati, Ohio.

February 19, 1934.

President Wm. Green, of the American Federation of Labor, and I. M. Ornburn, Special Representative of the Executive Council in the jurisdictional controversy between the Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen vs. the Brewery Workers.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS:

The General Executive Board of the Brewery Workers' International Union, fully cognizant of the grave responsibility resting on them in the jurisdictional controversy between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen & Helpers, the International Union of Operating Engineers, and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and being restricted by the action of the international convention held in September, 1933, from complying with the decision rendered by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in October, 1933, makes the following proposition to the three contending organizations as a basis of adjustment, subject to the rules and provisions of our international constitution which requires a referendum vote of the membership.

It is the desire of the Executive Board of the Brewery Workers' International Union to check the present destructive conditions brought on as a result of the jurisdictional controversy which tends to destroy the conditions heretofore enjoyed by the men engaged in the brewing industry, and is not conducive to the best interest of the organized workers.

In submitting the proposition as a basis of adjustment, it is done with the purpose in view of establishing peace in the industry, and for the benefit of the workers engaged in it, but with the clear and definite understanding that the members of the General Executive Board are fully convinced of the justice and the righteousness of the cause of the Brewery Workers in their present industrial form organization, and with the clear and distinct understanding that we are unanimously opposed to the decision of the American Federation of Labor in the jurisdictional decision affecting our organization, and temporarily surrender the great principle involved that peace in the industry and the conditions of the workers may be conserved, in the hope that the American Federation of Labor will ultimately change its policy to conform to the need of our present day industrial development.

We agree to recommend to the membership of our International Union for their approval the following basis of settlement:

1.—That all brewery drivers, and those on brewery payrolls, be recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers.

That all other drivers delivering beer products, including long-distance hauling, be recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' International Brotherhood.

That all drivers engaged in these capacities, now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union, shall be transferred by them to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, within sixty (60) days after the referendum vote of the membership, provided the referendum approves the recommendation of the General Executive Board.

2.—That all Engineers employed in breweries now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union be transferred to the International Union of Operating Engineers at the expiration of agree-

ments in the various cities of the country, provided, however, that in those cities where the Engineers have no local union the Brewery Workers' International Union is empowered to retain engineers in membership and protect them in their collective bargaining agreements until such time as they establish a local union to which, if in existence one year, to assure its permanency, the engineers, members of the Brewery Workers' International, shall transfer at the expiration of the agreement in the respective locality.

3.—That all firemen employed in breweries now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union be transferred to the International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers at the expiration of agreements in the various cities of the country, provided, however, that in those cities where the Firemen have no local union the Brewery Workers' International Union is empowered to retain firemen in membership and protect them in their collective bargaining agreements until such time as they establish a local union to which, if in existence one year, to assure its permanency, the firemen, members of the Brewery Workers' International shall transfer at the expiration of the agreement in the respective locality.

4.—This proposition is submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the three contending organizations, Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen, with the understanding that until the referendum vote of the membership of the Brewery Workers' International Union has been completed, and the results known, all hostilities shall cease and a status quo established.

5.—As soon as the result of the referendum is tabulated the result shall be transmitted to the American Federation of Labor, Teamsters, Engineers, and Firemen.

The above proposition was arrived at by our General Executive Board only after mature consideration, and it is our earnest hope that it will be acceptable to all interested groups, believing sincerely that an understanding on the basis submitted is in the interest of not only the interested organizations but the labor movement in general.

I am, by Order of the General Executive Board of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America,
Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Immediately following the rejection of this proposal by the three organizations involved President Green and Special Representative Ornburn submitted a counter proposal which was accepted by the representatives of the Teamsters, the Engineers and the Firemen. That proposal reads:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Washington, D. C., February 21, 1934.

Mr. Joseph Obergfell, General Sect'y-Treas., Officers and Members of the General Executive Board of the Int'l Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America, 2347-49-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS:

For the purpose of bringing about a settlement of the grievous jurisdictional controversy existing between the International Union of Brewery Workers, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, the International Union of Operating Engineers, and the

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, we submit the following series of proposals which we earnestly hope and trust will be accepted:

1.—That all contracts and agreements between the Brewery Workers' International Union and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, the International Union of Operating Engineers, and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and the owners and proprietors of breweries begin and expire simultaneously on the same date.

2.—In negotiating agreements between the representatives of the organizations named and the brewery owners and managers that no agreement be entered into separately and that no agreement be approved or signed until a general agreement has been reached applicable to all of the four organizations herein named.

3.—That a tribunal composed of representatives of organizations which are not directly connected with the four International Unions named, be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of passing upon the reasonableness of wage demands or working agreements proposed and that in the event a disagreement arises between the representatives of the four organizations named as to the reasonableness or unreasonableness of any demand or demands submitted, the tribunal thus appointed shall make a decision and the decision thus rendered shall be final and binding upon all who are parties to the agreement.

4.—That in small towns, cities and isolated sections where no local union of the Teamsters, Engineers or Firemen exists, Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen employed by brewing manufacturers shall be members of local unions of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, and this arrangement to continue until a local or local unions of Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen is established.

5.—At the termination of agreements now existing between United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers with brewery owners, Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Helpers, Engineers and Firemen who may be members of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers shall be transferred, except as above stated, to the Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen's International Unions without the payment of penalties or initiation fees.

6.—Where a Teamster is employed part-time in the brewery and as a driver, he shall remain a member of the union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers.

7.—All inside brewery workers who clearly come under the jurisdiction of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, and who may have become members of the Teamsters International Union, shall be immediately transferred to the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers International Union.

8.—In order to develop co-operation, harmony and goodwill, the organizations, parties to this agreement, will pool their economic strength so that it may be used in the fullest measure in negotiating wage agreements and in the settlement of grievances and disputes which may arise between employers and employees.

9.—It is proposed that pending the acceptance of this proposal by the representatives of the organizations named and its submission to a referendum vote of the membership of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, that all hostilities shall cease and the status quo be maintained. Any dispute or difference in interpretation which may arise over the meaning of the series of proposals herein submitted shall be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor and I. M. Ornburn, Special Representative of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Cigar Makers International Union, for final decision.

In submitting this series of propositions as a basis for a settlement of the jurisdictional dispute referred to, the full support, assistance, council

and help of the American Federation of Labor is offered and guaranteed in order to bring about the consummation of an agreement and the acceptance of the proposals herein submitted by the membership of the Brewery Workers International Union when a referendum vote as herein referred to is held.

In all sincerity and all earnestness of purpose, we respectfully appeal to the representatives of all the organizations herein referred to for acceptance of the proposals herewith submitted.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President of the American Federation of Labor.

(Signed) I. M. ORNBURN,
*Special Representative of the Executive Council
of the American Federation of Labor.*

The Executive Board of the Brewery Workers considered the proposal in executive session. They then agreed to submit it to a referendum vote of the membership for acceptance or rejection. The laws of the Brewery Workers International Union require that such a proposal must be passed upon by the membership through a referendum vote.

On May 12 Secretary Obergfell, of the Brewery Workers International Union, advised President Green that a referendum vote had been held upon the counter proposal made, and that it had been rejected by the following vote:

For Acceptance	170
For Rejection.....	24,161

The communication of Secretary Obergfell is herewith included and reads as follows:

**INT'L UNION OF UNITED BREWERY, FLOUR, CEREAL, AND SOFT
DRINK WORKERS OF AMERICA**

Joseph Obergfell, *General Sec'y-Treas.*
Albert J. Kugler, *General Organizer*

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
2347-49-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 12, 1934.

Mr. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

In accordance with your proposal of February 21, 1934, we submitted the subject matter to a referendum vote of our entire membership, the results of which have been tabulated and are as follows:

For acceptance of the proposition of the American Federation of Labor, submitted by yourself and I. M. Ornburn special representative.....	170
Against your proposition	24,161

A complete record of the vote of each local union will be forwarded to you within the next day or two, and will also be published in our official journal "The Brewery Worker," May 19th issue.

This surprisingly near unanimous vote of the membership, constituting 99.3 percent of those who voted, voices in unmistakable terms the desire of

the men directly involved for the retention of their present form of organization. The General Executive Board of our International Union is in honor bound to respect and carry out the expressed will and mandate of the membership.

We sincerely trust that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will equally respect the will of the workers and their right to self-determination in choosing the organization in which they prefer membership.

The Trades Union Movement is founded on the deep-seated principle of voluntary membership and that must, of necessity, be the guiding spirit of the leaders of our labor movement. The American Federation of Labor has always been found in the forefront of the great struggle of the peoples of the world to attain the rights of self-determination. Who dare then say that the same principle shall be denied men who are members of an organization which has been in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor for nearly a half century?

The membership of the Brewery Workers was called upon by you in your nine point program to determine their choice. They have made their decision. If the result of the referendum vote would have been the reverse it would have been a mandate to the International Union of United Brewery Workmen to forthwith surrender the men to the respective organizations, claiming jurisdiction. There would have been no other course but to respect the will of the members, and the International Union would have turned them over. We hope that the mandate of the membership will be equally respected by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. If that not be the course of the Executive Council then there would be no equal and exact justice accorded the membership of the Brewery Workers' International Union. We hold that no proposition can be one-sided only,—“To lose when you lose and lose when you win.”

In this critical period of disrupted economic conditions we are passionately concerned that justice be accorded to preserve the economic security of the membership involved. Intelligent cooperation within the ranks of labor is needed. There must be borne in mind that the workers in this organization have established satisfactory conditions, and are working under collective bargaining agreements with their employers. Their relationship has been, for the most part, amicable and more free of strikes and conflicts than most any other group of workers in the American labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor might well be gratified if each of its affiliated organizations could show as solid an organized front as the Brewery Workers. Its work would be materially lessened by such solidarity. To attempt to disrupt or dismember such an organization at this time is nothing less than an attempt to defeat the principles of organized labor.

The Brewery Workers may not be numerically your largest affiliated organization, but is second to none in the achievement of the ideals for which labor is organized.

We ask for no extension of jurisdiction, and are seeking only to retain the form of organization that we have had for nearly a half century during which time we have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We ask for our right to maintain our organization, to protect and advance the economic, social and intellectual interests of our membership.

By order of the General Executive Board, I am

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

P. S. We request that a copy of this letter be transmitted by you to the members of the Executive Council.

Because of the character of the letter sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor by Secretary Obergfell it was deemed advisable to make reply thereto, setting forth the position of the American Federation of Labor, the action which had been taken by the convention of the American Federation of Labor relating to the jurisdictional dispute which affected the Brewery Workers and other organizations, and the moral obligation of all parties at interest to recognize, respect and obey the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. This letter as herein referred to reads as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Washington, D. C., May 15, 1934.

Mr. Joseph Obergfell, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

In your letter dated May 12th you advise me that the result of the referendum vote of the membership of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America upon the proposition submitted having for its purpose the settlement of the jurisdictional dispute existing between your International Union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Operating Engineers and the Firemen, was 170 in favor of accepting the proposition and 24,161 against.

The vote reported is decisive, and to me it is disappointing though not surprising.

In making reply to the comments you make upon the jurisdictional controversy existing between your International Union and the other organizations which are involved, and the result of the referendum vote, may I remind you that the jurisdictional dispute referred to was passed upon by a Convention of the American Federation of Labor. This supreme tribunal in the ranks of Organized Labor decided that teamsters and chauffeurs, even though employed by brewery manufacturing interests, come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

In the light of this action what must any reasonable-minded person determine that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should do,—“respect the will of the workers” (who belong to a single unit affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) “and their right to self-determination in choosing the organization in which they prefer membership” as set forth in your letter, or obey the mandates of the highest court within the American Federation of Labor movement?

Who is it that is clothed with authority to define the jurisdiction granted an international union and to render a decision in jurisdictional disputes? It has always been recognized that conventions of the American Federation of Labor are clothed with that authority. There could be no orderly process in our American Federation of Labor movement if each unit affiliated with it and chartered by the American Federation of Labor is to decide and prescribe its own jurisdiction.

There must be tribunals to which jurisdictional disputes are referred. Fair dealings between men, between the officers of organizations, and between organizations, call for the subordination of personal opinions to the will of the majority and complete acceptance of decisions rendered upon jurisdictional disputes by the court of last resort created by the laws and constitution of the American Federation of Labor. If the question of determining jurisdictional lines between international unions was left to each international union, the strong and powerful would dominate the

weak, jurisdictional questions would be settled by the law of force rather than by the law of reason, good judgment and fair decision. Unless we follow an orderly process which provides for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes arising between national and international unions upon the basis of fairness, sound reason and good judgment, chaos will constantly prevail.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has but one choice in this jurisdictional dispute which so seriously affects your International Union, and the Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen's International Unions; it must respect and recognize the decision regarding this jurisdictional dispute rendered by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Washington, D. C., October 2-13, 1933. Even though international unions may refuse to carry out the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council must do so and must insist that the international unions affected respect, observe and carry out the decisions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Please bear in mind that the proposal submitted with the recommendation of myself and Mr. Ornburn, special representative of the Executive Council, to your membership was based upon a sincere desire to compose the differences which existed between your International Union and the others involved. We believed that it offered a plan of settlement which all concerned could accept. Since this proposal was rejected by your membership we must now revert to the decision of the Convention. The Executive Council can make only one choice, and that is to insist upon your International Union accepting the decision of the Convention, recognizing the authority of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to settle this jurisdictional dispute, and to cooperate with all parties interested in applying the decision before the next Convention of the American of October, 1934.

In order to bring about acceptance and application of the decision of the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor in the jurisdictional dispute referred to in this communication I am asking that you and your associate officers meet me at my office in Washington at some date within the very near future which will be convenient and accommodating, for the purpose of considering the jurisdictional dispute passed upon by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the status of your International Union in relation thereto, and plans and policies by which the decision of the Convention may be carried out.

Please let me know when it will be convenient for you and your associate officers to meet with me as I have herein requested.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

P. S. Since dictating the foregoing, I received your communication containing the tabulated report of the vote cast by each local union chartered by your International Union in the referendum vote. Thanks for this additional information.

W. G.

In response to the request made in this official communication, the officers of the Brewery Workers met with the President of the American Federation of Labor on July 25. The official request was made that the officers of the Brewery Workers International Union submit a plan of settlement of the jurisdictional dispute existing between the Brewery Workers and the other organizations involved.

Nothing came out of this conference because the officers of the Brewery Workers International Union advised they were unable to comply with the decision of the Washington convention, or to formulate and offer any plan of settlement other than to suggest that the Executive Council continue its efforts to reach an understanding and a settlement with all parties at interest which could be acceptable to the officers and members of the Brewery Workers International Union.

The Executive Council has diligently and strenuously endeavored to prevail upon the officers and members of the Brewery Workers International Union to comply with the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in Washington, D. C., October, 1933.

We sincerely wish that we could report compliance with the decision and the settlement of this vexing, serious jurisdictional dispute. We submit to you this report of the action which the Executive Council has taken, the service which it has endeavored to render, the way and manner in which it has tried to prevail upon all affected to conform to and submit to the decision of the Washington convention.

With these facts and with this report we submit the matter to the convention for consideration and for such further action as it may decide to take.

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS—INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS

We are pleased to report that an understanding providing for a settlement of their long-standing jurisdictional controversy over knit goods workers has been reached and approved by the Executive Council.

BUILDING TRADES

That there should be solidarity and cooperation among all organizations of labor is of greatest import to the maintenance and progress of the organized labor movement; it is of supreme concern to the building trades organizations. The cleavage in the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by the withdrawal from affiliation with that department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, caused the American Federation of Labor many anxious moments. It is, therefore, with all the more satisfaction and pleasure that we record herewith that these three organizations are now part of the official family of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Their reaffiliation was brought about on June 14, 1934.

UNION LABELS

The union label is the conception of the American trade unionists; it is the child of new life and of the New World. Neither economic history nor scholarly research has disclosed any record of a prototype of the union label among the medieval guilds, those first and early groups of workers.

The first Congress of Trades and Labor Unions which met in Pittsburgh December 15-18, 1881, and organized the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of United States and Canada, recommended to all smokers to buy only cigars packed in the boxes bearing the union label or the blue seal of the cigarmakers. These labels were issued at that time by the Cigar Makers International Union, the White Cigar Makers of California and the Cigar Makers Assembly of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as a guarantee that the cigars thus packed were not manufactured by Chinese labor in California, by inmates of state prisons, or by the unclean tenement system of manufacture in New York City, but were made under clean and sanitary conditions. Even in that early day trade union workers recognized the necessity of some distinctive mark to designate things produced and work performed by them.

From year to year as groups of local unions of similar trades were formed into national or international unions, these different trades adopted union labels, buttons, shop cards or other insignia distinctive of the trades represented.

The American Federation of Labor adopted a union label for use by those local unions having no national organization but affiliated direct to the Federation.

In practically all the yearly conventions of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to date, by resolution or report from the Executive Council or committees, some discussion or record of union label progress or propaganda has marked the convention proceedings.

By authority of the 1908 convention of the American Federation of Labor a digest was made and published of union label laws, comprising in full or in substance the statutes, state and federal registrations, digest of court decisions, initiations, civil and criminal remedies, search warrants and applications of the several states and territories. This digest proved to be of great value and is now in the reference library of the American Federation of Labor. The Labor Review of the United States Department of Labor in April 1932 gives a digest of laws governing trade marks of trade unions.

One of the first studies made of the union label was by John Graham Brooks. This was published by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1898. Another study was by Ernest R. Spedden, Ph.D., and published by the Johns Hopkins Press of Baltimore in 1910. A further study is a chapter on the subject by Paul Douglas published in the volume "The Work in Modern Economic Society," 1923.

The laws of practically all the forty-eight states assure to labor organizations the right to register, use and protect from counterfeit or unauthorized use, the trade marks or labels chosen by them to distinguish the products of union label from other goods or manufactured articles.

The Executive Council recommends to those organizations which have not already registered their union labels, buttons, cards or other insignia that they do so at once.

The union label has a high and honorable record. The importance of increasing its use and emphasizing its prestige is doubly significant now that the National Recovery Act has developed the Blue Eagle and the NRA label.

All officers and members of the American Federation of Labor are called upon to render special service in creating a demand for union label conditions and in promoting union label support.

It is the earnest desire and sincere wish of the Executive Council that the entire labor movement rally to the support of the Union Label Trades Department in carrying forward a special campaign in support of the union label and in support of the sale of union labeled goods.

TRADE UNION AUXILIARIES

We were not prepared to make a definite report to the 1933 convention upon this matter and, therefore, requested, and the convention agreed, that the matter should be held in abeyance. Now, as a result of investigations which we made, we recommend that the National Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries, with headquarters in St. Louis, be recognized as representing trade union auxiliary groups and that this organization be accorded representation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor by a fraternal delegate.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The Executive Council desires to comment on the splendid growth and work of the American Federation of Government Employees, a new organization, which was chartered in August, 1932.

This organization has jurisdiction over governmental employees and has within the last year tripled its membership and doubled the number of its locals.

The organization was also very active in the campaign to obtain restoration of the government pay, which is regarded by the Council as important in leading the way to better conditions in industry.

This young Federation also had a part in the adoption of the Thomas amendment, which established a forty-hour week for mechanical employees in the government.

The representatives of the American Federation of Government Employees have submitted to the Executive Council a proposition for an intensified study of the classification act, which sets the salary of a number of employees in the federal government.

The present classification act is imperfect in many details. It is not universally applicable. It probably should not be universally applicable because the present act works injury to employees by reducing their wages.

The principal purpose of classification is to assure that the wage or salary is commensurate with the duties performed.

The American Federation of Government Employees has recommended a survey in order that all of these factors may be correlated for the information of the American Federation of Labor. The survey would include recommendations as to groups to be included (after consultation with all of the international and national unions concerned), the salary rates, and other such data.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED TRADE UNIONISTS

By Resolution No. 60 the Washington Convention directed the Executive Council to investigate whether it would be feasible to establish as a memorial a chair in a university of standing for the study of industrial problems as affecting the wage earners and the human values in society.

As a result of this investigation we find the cost involved in establishing a chair in a university of standing is altogether too great to be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN

Resolution No. 91 was referred by the Washington, 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council with instructions to appoint a committee to interview Father Coughlin in an effort to bring about amicable adjustment of the conditions set forth in the resolution.

We regret to be compelled to report that despite every effort on our part we have been unable to conform to the convention's instructions.

COAL

In our report to the last annual convention, we pointed out that the United Mine Workers of America, after the passage of the Industrial Recovery Act, conducted a comprehensive and successful organizing campaign in the partially organized and non-union districts of the country with the result that the mining industry was completely organized.

After months of negotiations and conferences a code of fair competition for the bituminous coal industry was approved. Basic wage agreements covering large mining areas of the country were negotiated between representatives of the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America. The basic agreement in question negotiated under the code provisions expired on the 1st of April of this year. Previous to its expiration, representatives of the Mine Workers and the operators met in joint conference. As a result of this conference, substantial improvement was made in the contract. The new contract provisions were submitted as amendments to the code and were finally approved and placed in effect by executive order.

Under the terms of the new agreement the bituminous mine workers were granted a seven hour work day, five days a week, with substantial increases in wages. The basic wage scale in the north was fixed at \$5.00 per day of 7 hours, and \$4.60 in the south, with modifications on a lower basis in some of the southwestern districts.

The United Mine Workers of America has made substantial progress under the Recovery legislation. Basic contracts now substantially cover every mining section of the country. The organization has gained in strength and prestige and is well equipped to build upon the foundation laid, and to make for continuing progress in the future. The United Mine Workers of America is to be commended on the great accomplishments which have contributed to the general welfare of Labor in this country.

Up to this writing no anthracite code has as yet been agreed upon. In the anthracite jurisdiction an agreement is in effect which runs until 1936. Wages in the anthracite industry have never been reduced, and it is seemingly more difficult to secure a code in that field than in other fields where agreements were not in effect. However, the Mine Workers are continuing to press for a code in the anthracite industry so as to accomplish the purposes of the Recovery legisla-

tion, and, on the basis of the protection of wages and other standards, they are endeavoring to work out the anthracite problem. Equalization of work, overtime and maximum hours are some of the important matters involved in the anthracite jurisdiction in the negotiations looking to consummation of a code.

We express the hope that stabilization in the bituminous and anthracite industries will be conserved and furthered. The United Mine Workers of America is to be congratulated for their splendid effort looking to stability and relative prosperity in the coal industry.

RAILROAD WORKERS

During the past year the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations together with the other standard railroad labor organizations have been very active in promoting the best interests of their membership and have succeeded among other things in getting a restoration of the 10 per cent wage deduction over a period of nine months, a new "Bill of Rights" in the amendments to the Railway Labor Act, and old age security in the Retirement Insurance Act, all of which have given their organizing activities a great impetus. Thousands of railroad workers have joined the ranks of the standard railroad labor organizations in order that they may participate in the gains already achieved as well as make their contribution to future improvements.

Wages—The 10 per cent wage deduction agreement negotiated by the 21 standard railroad labor organizations with the "Willard Committee" at Chicago, dated January 31, 1932, for a period of one year, was extended by agreement of December 31, 1932, for a period of nine months, to October 31, 1933, and again extended for a further period of eight months to June 30, 1934. The two extensions followed negotiations with a conference Committee of Managers, the first in connection with notice served by the railroads of intention to reduce basic rates 20 per cent as of February 1, 1933, at expiration of the "Willard Agreement," and the second in connection with notice served by the railroads of intention to reduce basic rates 22½ per cent upon expiration of the first extension October 31, 1933. In this latter case the President of the United States conveyed to the representatives of both the railroads and the employees, his desire that the recovery program be not retarded by a controversy over wages and that both parties assist that program by agreeing upon extension of the deduction arrangement for a further reasonable period. Such extension was agreed upon June 21, 1933.

This agreement provided that the 10 per cent payroll deduction "is hereby extended for a period of eight months . . . so that up to and including June 30, 1934, ten per cent shall be deducted from each pay check . . . ; that basic rates of pay shall remain as under the agreement of January 31, 1932; that the extended agreement shall terminate automatically June 30, 1934, and that no party prior to February 15, 1934, will serve notice of a desire to change or extend this extended agreement, or of an intended change in basic rates of pay, such change or extension to become effective on or after July 1, 1934 . . ."

The carriers served notices on February 15, 1934, of their desire to reduce basic rates 15 percent effective July 1, 1934, and asked that the representatives of the employees meet them in conference on March 15.

When the representatives of the employees met with the Conference Committee of Managers in Washington, on March 15, they were offered a proposal to extend the existing agreement for ten months. This as well as the 15 per cent reduction in wages was refused by the employees in their comprehensive reply of March 17, which read in part:

In response to what we then considered an unjustified demand by railway managements, we consented in January, 1932 to this 10 per cent deduction from the earnings of the men and women we represent. What shadow of justification there was for this deduction at the low point of the depression has now disappeared, and rising railway traffic, increasing gross and net revenues, together with rising prices at once require and permit the restoration of basic rates of pay. Your request would in effect continue this deduction in the interest of strengthening the position of the railway bond holders. But the lean years of the depression found interest payments to these bond holders steadily increasing, rising in the worst years of the slump to the highest level ever attained. The record shows an increase in interest payments from \$511,000,000 in 1929 to \$533,000,000 in 1933—while compensation of employees dropped from \$2,941,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,404,000,000 in 1933. The figures of decreased compensation only indicate the terrific privations forced upon these railway employees; men earning as low as five and six dollars per week are among those being asked to continue their sacrifices from their pitiful wages to permit improved conditions for the railway bondholders. The managements here are asking us to agree with them in a policy which contradicts and must to a very large extent nullify the national industrial recovery program. We are asked to confirm a program of restricted wage payments and of reduced employee purchasing power. In plain language you ask us to obstruct and retard American economic recovery, and to support you in your refusal to contribute anything at all to the national rehabilitation. We cannot and will not acquiesce.

Failing to come to an agreement both parties to the controversy accepted the services of Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation as a mediator, which were proffered by the President of the United States in an attempt to settle the controversy. Meanwhile, the employee representatives served notice of their desire to increase basic rates 10 per cent effective July 1, 1934.

The situation was made most difficult for the employees by the fact that the President had publicly asked both sides on February 14 and again on April 20 to extend the existing agreement for six months.

The Coordinator made numerous efforts to bring the parties to an agreement based on the President's proposals but without success, whereupon, he notified the parties on April 21, that nothing further could be accomplished by continuing his efforts at mediation and, therefore, his services would come to an end.

It appeared that negotiations would be broken off and procedure would continue under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. But on Monday, April 23, the committee representing the railroads asked for further conferences, and after several days of negotiation the following agreement was reached and signed by the representatives of the carriers and the employees on April 26, thus settling the controversy:

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Memorandum of Agreement

This agreement, entered into at Washington, D. C. between the undersigned Conference Committee of Managers and the Railway Labor Executives Association, witnesses that the parties have agreed as follows:

1. As hereinafter modified the agreement signed at Chicago, Illinois, on January 31, 1932, as extended by agreements dated December 21, 1932 and June 21, 1933, in behalf of participating railroads and their employees, represented as therein set forth, and who are further represented in the making of this agreement by the respective parties hereto, is hereby extended as hereinafter set forth and upon the terms and conditions herein-after stated.

2. Basic rates of pay, until changed upon notice as hereinafter provided, shall remain as under the agreement of January 31, 1932, as extended. Seven and one-half per cent ($7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent) shall be deducted from the pay check of each of the employees covered by this agreement for the period beginning on July 1, 1934, and ending on December 31, 1934, inclusive, and said deduction shall be reduced to five per cent (5 per cent) for the period beginning on January 1, 1935, and ending on March 31, 1935, inclusive, and no further deduction shall be made under this agreement thereafter.

3. No notices of changes in basic rates shall be served by any party upon any other party prior to May 1, 1935.

4. With respect to employees in the lower paid brackets, the foregoing shall not be taken to prevent discussion and adjustment between individual carriers and organizations with respect to spreading employment, or of the matter of opportunity for increased earnings of part time employees, but changes in basic rates shall in no event be involved.

5. If, as and when on or after May 1, 1935, notices of changes in basic rates shall be served by any of the organizations or carriers now represented by the Railway Labor Executives Association and the Conference Committee of Managers, it is understood that said Association and said Committee cannot bind any such organization or any such carrier in respect thereto, but they do recommend that in the event that general wage movements are inaugurated, the proceedings under such notices should be conducted nationally and pursuant to the Railway Labor Act.

6. Formal notices heretofore served by the participating railroads upon the participating organizations of employees for a fifteen per cent (15 per cent) reduction in basic rates of pay shall be considered as withdrawn and further proceedings thereunder discontinued.

The organizations affiliated to the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. were parties to this agreement.

Wages in Canada—The management of the Canadian railways have persisted in their efforts to reduce further the wages of their employees.

In the fall of 1931 an attack was made on the wages of the running trades and telegraphers, followed by similar attacks on those of the mechanical trades, clerks and the other groups of employees. Failure to reach an agreement by negotiations brought the dispute of the running trades and telegraphers before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Act the majority report of which recommended a 10 per cent cut in wages to take effect after November 15, 1931. The railroads proposed a 10 per cent cut effective December 1, 1931, for a period of one year, which the employees declined. A settlement was finally reached on February 4, 1932, based on the Chicago wage agreement, providing for a 10 per cent deduction from the pay checks of the em-

ployees effective from December 1, 1931, to January 31, 1933. Similar agreements were signed by the other groups of employees with whom the carriers had agreements in the past, each providing for a 10 per cent deduction to be effective for one year, but none of which ran simultaneously.

During the early part of 1933, the Canadian railways made a second attack on the wages of their employees, demanding a 20 per cent reduction in basic rates of pay. As before, the running trades and telegraphers were the first to be attacked, followed by attacks on the other groups of employees as the date of expiration of their deduction agreements approached.

The running trades and telegraphers expressed their willingness to extend the 10 per cent deduction agreement as was done in the United States in December, 1932, but they declined to accept a 20 per cent reduction in wages, whereupon, the carriers applied for a Board of Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Act which on April 25, 1933, recommended a 20 per cent cut in wages. On May 1, 1933, the carriers put into effect an arrangement whereby 20 per cent was deducted from the pay check of each of these employees.

On June 13, 1933, the carriers served notice on the mechanical trades that effective July 16, the management desired to deduct an additional 10 per cent from the wages of these employees making a total deduction of 20 per cent. Similar notices were served on the other groups of employees.

While negotiations on these requests were in progress, the running trades made numerous efforts to get management to rescind their order, but without success. A strike vote was then taken, the result of which prompted the Prime Minister to urge that the employees and management make a further effort to bring the controversy to a successful conclusion. After considerable negotiation a compromise settlement was reached and signed on October 28, 1933, providing for a 15 per cent deduction in wages from November 1, 1933, in lieu of the 20 per cent deduction which had been put into effect on May 1, this to continue for one year or until October 31, 1934, when the deduction will be reduced to 10 per cent, with the provision that after September 1, 1934, either party may serve 30 days notice of a desire to change this percentage.

Following this settlement, the negotiations on wages with the other groups of employees, which had been held in abeyance pending the outcome of the dispute with the running trades, were resumed. The Maintenance of Way Employees agreed to accept an additional 5 per cent deduction for a period of one year subject to a 60-day notice on or after September 1, 1934, of a desire of either party to change wage rates. The Board of Conciliation considering the dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railroad and its railroad and steamship clerks submitted a report recommending a 15 per cent deduction for a period of one year, after which it would be reduced to 10 per cent subject to notice by either party of a desire to change. A feature of this report, which was later embodied in an agreement, was the provision that the added 5 per cent deduction would not apply to men who were working part time or who had accepted lower paid assignments.

The mechanical trades, represented by Division No. 4 of the Railway Employees' Department, who were among the last to resume negotiations, entered into an agreement effective for one year from December 16, 1933, providing for a

similar deduction, except that the added 5 per cent did not apply to men working less than 40 hours per week, thus exempting most of the mechanical trades employees who were working part time, from this additional cut. The agreement follows:

The parties hereto agree—

(a) that effective from December 16, 1933, and until December 15, 1934, fifteen per cent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheques, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, provided that the existing ten (10) per cent shall continue in effect for those staffs for which the bulletined working time is less than forty hours per week.

(b) that effective from December 16, 1934, ten per cent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheques, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, provided that either party may, after October 16, 1934, serve thirty days' notice, as required by Wage Agreement now in effect, of a desire to change such percentage to become effective December 16, 1934.

The wage movement in Canada has served a good purpose in that it brought the standard railroad labor organizations who cooperated with one another for a common cause in closer harmony; and to this may be attributed the fact that a 5 per cent deduction was imposed on the membership instead of a 10 per cent deduction, as well as the present move under way to organize an association composed of the standard railroad labor organizations in Canada similar to the Railway Labor Executives Association in the United States.

EMPLOYMENT

Beginning in 1929 railroad employment declined rapidly, reaching a low point early in 1933, after which there was a gradual improvement due largely to the President's program for national recovery. The railroads are dependent on industry for most of their traffic; and, therefore, the increase in business activity was reflected in an increase in railroad employment.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number of employees on class I railroads (including officials) declined from 1,686,769 in 1929 to 1,031,914 in 1932, or 38.8 per cent. In 1933 the number of employees reported was 970,893 or 5.9 per cent below the number reported for the year 1932. This is the first time in many years that the average employment for the year has fallen below the million mark. The low was reached in March when 919,881 were employed. During the first five months of 1934 an average of 1,000,492 persons were employed, which is an increase of 7.1 per cent over the like period last year when 934,264 were employed. Employment in May, 1934, reached 1,044,108 as compared to 938,406 employed in May, 1933. This represents an increase of 11.3 per cent.

Employment in the Mechanical Department has declined more rapidly than in the other departments during the years of the depression by way of reductions in force and part-time work, but has shown a disposition to recover more quickly during the past year; pay-rolls increased even more rapidly because of resumption of full-time work.

When retrenchment is necessary, the Maintenance of Equipment Department is the first to be cut and is usually cut to the bone, whole shops being closed down at a time. Meanwhile, equipment in good order is used up and when traffic increases appreciably there is not sufficient equipment in good order to handle it or any future increase, making it necessary to increase their maintenance of equipment program considerably with the result that part-time workers are given full-time and furloughed employees are reemployed.

An effort is being made to stabilize employment by urging managements to budget their repair work in advance and to give a minimum force steady employment, rather than to close down the shops completely and then to open them for short periods and to employ outside help in addition to the regular force to complete the work at hand as has been the practice in the past.

The number of maintenance of equipment employees declined from 455,858 in 1929 to 282,971 in 1932, or 37.9 per cent. In 1933 there were 262,550 employed which is 7.2 per cent below the number employed in 1932. During the first five months of 1934 the average employment was 281,237. This is an increase of 11.3 per cent over the like period a year ago when 252,759 persons were employed. Employment in May 1934, the latest month for which figures are available, was 290,302, or 17.6 percent above the same month last year at which time 246,896 were employed in the Maintenance of Equipment Department.

The severe retrenchment policy of the carriers during the depression, with its resultant reduction in employment is reflected in the percentage of freight cars and locomotives in bad order. This situation is worse than it has been in years, and while activity in the Maintenance of Equipment Department has been increased in the past year, it has not been sufficient to improve the bad-order situation but has served only to prevent it from getting worse.

In 1929 only 6.0 per cent of the freight cars on Class I railroads were in bad order and awaiting repairs, according to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This percentage increased to 10.6 in 1932, and 14.2 in 1933. During the first five months of 1934, 14.4 per cent of the freight cars were in bad order, as compared to 13.2 in the like period in 1933, while in May, 1934, 14.5 per cent were in bad order as compared to 14.3 in the same month a year ago.

Likewise, 16.4 per cent of the freight locomotives and 16.1 per cent of the passenger locomotives were in bad order in 1929, increasing to 26.7 per cent and 24.9 per cent, respectively, in 1932, and 32.7 and 28.6 per cent of the total in 1933. During the first five months of 1934, 34.2 per cent of the freight locomotives and 30.0 per cent of the passenger locomotives were awaiting repairs as compared to 31.4 per cent of the freight and 27.7 per cent of the passenger locomotives during the same period in 1933. In May, 1934, this percentage was 34.4 and 29.3, respectively, as compared to 32.7 per cent and 28.6 per cent of the total during the same month a year ago.

The retrenchment policy of the railroads from 1929 to 1933 made possible a substantial reduction in maintenance of equipment expenses, which came largely out of the pay envelopes of the employees in the form of part-time work and unemployment.

During the past year the increase in maintenance of equipment activities is reflected in the increase in maintenance of equipment expenses, while the reduction of part-time work and the increase in employment is shown by the increase in total compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees.

Maintenance of equipment expenses declined from \$1,211,342,962 in 1929 to \$623,551,414 in 1932 or 48.5 per cent. In 1933 they declined further to \$598,704,469, or 4.0 per cent below those of 1932. During the first five months of 1934, maintenance of equipment expenses totalled \$272,689,108 which is an increase of 18.2 per cent over the expenses for the same period a year ago at which time they totalled \$230,628,068. In May, 1934, maintenance of equipment expenses were \$56,793,470 as compared to \$46,933,372 during the same month a year ago. This is an increase of 21.0 per cent.

The total compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees in 1929 was \$760,472,016, which declined in 1932 to \$349,943,320 or 54.0 per cent. In 1933 it declined further to \$329,338,488 or 5.9 per cent below that for 1932. During the first five months of 1934, the compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees totalled \$154,750,403, which represents an increase of 22.5 per cent over the like period in 1933 when \$126,367,471 was paid. In May, 1934, their compensation was \$33,199,924 as compared to \$25,728,203 during the same month a year ago, which is an increase of 29.0 per cent.

Thus, while the employment and earnings of the mechanical trades employees have shown much improvement, a great deal of deferred maintenance still remains to be taken up and no doubt will be as traffic and revenues improve.

Legislation—During the past year the Railway Labor Executives Association, of which the organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. are members, was unusually active in the matter of legislation affecting railroad workers. The following matters, which constituted the legislative program of the Association, were introduced as bills early in the 2d Session of the 73d Congress:

1. Amendments to the Railway Labor Act, providing for right to organize, prohibition of company unions, establishment of National Boards of Adjustment for the consideration of grievances.
2. Six-hour day without reduction in compensation.
3. Hours of Service Act, from 16 to 12 hours.
4. Amending Federal Employers' Liability Act.
5. Retirement insurance.
6. Limit on length of trains to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile or not more than 70 cars.
7. Full crew.

In addition a flagging bill sponsored by the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and a signal inspection bill sponsored by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America were endorsed by the Railway Labor Executives' Association and introduced in this Session of Congress.

Of the nine bills introduced, four received no consideration; these were the amendments to the federal employers' liability act, the full crew bill, the hours

of service act and the signal inspection bill. Hearings were held on the flagging bill by the Senate Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce, while the six-hour day bill and the train limit bill were considered by both the Senate and House Committees on Foreign and Interstate Commerce. The amendments to the railway labor act and the retirement insurance bill were enacted into law.

It is interesting to observe that in addition to being the only labor legislation enacted in the last session of Congress, the railway labor act as amended and the retirement insurance act are unique in that the former embodies the most progressive thought with respect to the right of workers to organize and the method of settling disputes, while the latter is the first national industrial retirement insurance bill ever enacted. Both are a distinct contribution to our industrial legislation, and point the way for the employees in all of industry.

Six-Hour Day

Another effort was made by the standard railroad labor organizations during the last session of Congress to bring about the enactment of their six-hour day bill. This measure was introduced in the Senate by Senator Black, as S. 2519, and in the House by Congressman Crosser as H. R. 7430. Hearings were held by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on March 1, 2, 6, and 7, 1934, and by the House Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce on March 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1934. These committees failed to report the bill out despite the urgent need for a six-hour day in the railroad industry with the result that a petition to discharge the House Committee was circulated in the House and signed by the required 145 Representatives on May 11. Pending the elapse of seven days which is required before such a petition can come up in the House for consideration, the House Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce reported the six-hour day bill without recommendation. The final jam of legislation pending prior to adjournment of Congress prevented action of this measure.

Railroad Retirement Act

The bill providing for a retirement system for railroad employees, which passed both houses of Congress by a record vote, may be regarded as a sound initial step in the direction of assuring by law to all workers in the railroad industry that provision will be made for their comfort during the late years of their life when old age interferes with a continuation of their earning power as active workers.

After several years of intensive study, the standard railroad labor organizations drew up a pension bill based on the full reserve plan, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator Wagner, and in the House by Congressman Crosser on March 2, 1932, as S. 3892 and H. R. 10032, respectively. Following the 11 day hearing by a sub-committee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in January, 1933, some revision was made in the provisions of the bill, and it was introduced again by Senator Wagner as S. 1529 on April 25, 1933, and Congressman Crosser as H. R. 4596 on April 4, 1933, and re-introduced by him to conform to the Senate bill as H. R. 8138 on February 20, 1934.

The Hatfield-Keller bill, S. 4646 and H. R. 9891, which was sponsored by the so-called National Pension Association and introduced in 1932, was revised by incorporating several of the provisions of the Wagner-Crosser bill and then reintroduced as S. 817 and H. R. 4231 in 1933. The plan contained in that bill was a pay-as-you-go plan and many of the provisions contained therein were unsound, impracticable and inconsistent.

On March 28, 1934, Senators Hatfield and Wagner introduced a bill as S. 3231 in the Senate. This bill, which was reported to be a compromise, contained many features of the former Hatfield bill, and except for a makeshift provision for the establishment of reserves it did not constitute a compromise between the former Wagner and Hatfield bills.

On April 23, 1934, when a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce opened hearings on S. 3231, a representative of the standard railroad labor organizations appeared before the committee and offered numerous amendments to the bill and the reasons why they should be adopted. Some were taken from the Wagner-Crosser bill without change, while others were revised in an effort to display a disposition to cooperate with the Committee in the construction of a compromise bill which would have some chance of enactment. In an effort to meet the situation in a practical manner fully safeguarding the interests of the employees he proposed a four-year trial or experience period at a minimum of cost. This period would provide much more adequate data and greater assurance that when a reserve system was established it would be created on a sound basis and that it would be within the reach of railroad employees.

During the hearings, which continued for three days, Mr. Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator, appeared and recommended that Congress await the data and information which he was gathering and which he expected would be completed within the next few months. That it was his desire, at the next session of Congress, to bring in recommendations for the enactment of a plan that would provide retirement pensions, unemployment relief payments and some form of dismissal wage. He agreed that there was a real need for some more adequate and definite retirement system on the railroads, and, further, that it was desirable to provide a means whereby workers could contribute to the establishment of adequate funds.

The railroads opposed any legislation and estimated the cost would be prohibitive to them. The question of constitutionality was also raised. A bill which was satisfactory to the representatives of the standard railroad labor organizations was reported out by the Senate Committee, and on Thursday, June 14, 1934, it passed the Senate by a roll call vote of 65 to 0.

The Senate bill was introduced in the House as H. R. 9596 by Congressman Crosser. Hearings before the full Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House opened on Friday, June 8, and by agreement were concluded in one day. The sub-committee, which was appointed to study the bill, could not come to an agreement, so on June 11, Congressman Crosser obtained their permission to introduce a new bill containing what the committee had already agreed upon and introduced H. R. 9911, which passed the House on Friday, June 15, without a record vote.

The differences in the two bills, S. 3231 and H. R. 9911, were harmonized in conference the same evening and on the following day both the Senate and the House concurred in the conference report. It became law with the signature of President Roosevelt on June 28, 1934.

This measure is known as the Railroad Retirement Act, and it became effective on August 1, 1934. Retirements are permitted six months thereafter on and after February 1, 1935.

It is to be administered by a board of three members, one appointed upon the nomination of the employees, one upon the nomination of the railroads, and one without the recommendation of either of these parties. The President has made the appointments and designated their terms in accordance with the law. The member appointed without recommendation by either the employees or the railroads is Murray W. Latimer, an authority on pensions and formerly of the Coordinator's staff, who is chairman and will serve for two years. The other two members, appointed from recommendations made by the railroads and by the standard railroad labor organizations, respectively, are John T. Williamson, superintendent of the relief and employment department of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and chairman of its pension board; and Lee M. Eddy, vice-president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. They will serve terms of three and four years.

Retirement can be exercised at age 65 or after completion of thirty years service. If retirement is based on 30 years' service before reaching age 65 the monthly annuity is reduced by 1/15 for each year the employee is less than 65 years of age.

For past service the average monthly compensation for the eight-year period ending December 31, 1931, excluding all pay periods during which the employee received no compensation, is the basis upon which annuities will be calculated. Such basic monthly wage will be multiplied by 2 per cent of the first \$50 or part thereof, by 1½ per cent for the next \$100 or part thereof and by 1 per cent of compensation in excess of \$150 up to and including \$300 per month.

A deduction of 2 per cent from the wages of the employees up to \$300 per month will be made by the employer after August 1, 1934.

A maximum of 30 years is all that may be used in the calculation of an annuity.

An employee has the right to the accumulation of service by months whether worked for one or for more than one carrier. It will, however, be necessary for the employee to furnish evidence of such service.

The plan is intended to continue for four years or such a part of the four-year period as is necessary to the collecting of information and data which will provide the board with material upon which to construct a sound permanent plan.

The board is given broad latitude in dealing with present railroad pension plans and with aged employees who have been retired at age 70 or over.

Amendments to Railway Labor Act

The enactment of the amendments to the Railway Labor Act marks another step forward in the realization of a sound industrial democracy.

When the Railway Labor Act became law on May 20, 1926, the standard railroad labor organizations felt after years of effort that at last they had secured the means whereby disputes could be settled effectively and railroad employees would have the unquestioned right to choose their own representatives without influence, coercion or intimidation. While much good was accomplished by this law, certain defects appeared during the years it was in operation, which when taken advantage of by the carriers tended to defeat the purposes of the act. For example, it provided for the establishment, by agreement, of adjustment boards for the prompt settlement of disputes; yet the railroads in most cases refused to cooperate, and with the exception of the transportation group no adjustment boards of any consequence were established. The law provided that the employees would have the right to select their own representatives without influence, intimidation or coercion, yet company unions continued to exist against the will of the employees. These were the most important defects.

After carefully considering the matter in the light of their past experience with the Railway Labor Act, the representatives of the standard railroad labor organizations drew up a set of proposed amendments which were discussed with the President and the Federal Coordinator in order to get their approval and finally introduced in the Senate by Senator Dill as S. 3266 at the request of the Coordinator, who appeared personally to testify for it before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce to which it was referred. The representatives of the employees also appeared to present their views and urge immediate enactment. The Senate Committee reported the bill out on May 21, and Congressman Rayburn then introduced it in the House as H. R. 9689. The House Committee on Interstate Commerce, to which it was referred for hearing, reported out an amended bill which was introduced in the House as H. R. 9861 by Congressman Crosser, and passed by the House on June 15 under a suspension of rules. The bill came before the Senate for action on June 18 and was passed with some slight amendments. As the hour of adjournment was near time was too short to appoint a conference committee to harmonize the differences between the two bills so the House accepted the Senate bill. President Roosevelt signed it on June 23, 1934.

These amendments constitute virtually a new Railway Labor Act. The most important changes include: (1) The establishment of a National Board of Adjustment, divided into four independent parts, for the prompt settlement of disputes between the railroads and their employees, and whose awards are enforceable in the courts. (2) Incorporation in the Railway Labor Act of the provisions now included in the temporary Emergency Railroad Transportation Act which insure the complete divorcement of railroad employees and management in the choice of representatives to deal one with the other, the outlawing of company unions, and adequate means for the enforcement of these provisions. (3) Creation of a new National Mediation Board reduced from five members to three and adapted to the work which it will be called to perform under the amended act. (4) Broadening the scope of the act to include not only carriers by railroad and sleeping car and express companies, but also all companies which operate equipment or facilities or furnish service included within the definitions of the terms "railroad" and "transportation" in the Interstate Commerce Act.

The new law is now in operation. The President has appointed the members of the new National Mediation Board, who are William M. Leiserson, chairman, James W. Carmalt and John Carmody. The railroad and employee members of the National Boards of Adjustment have been selected and the boards are now in the process of organization.

Progress of Organization

Section 7 (e) of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, which was enacted into law during June, 1933, gave all railroad employees the right to organize without influence, coercion or intimidation on the part of the carriers who were ordered to keep their "hands off" so far as labor organizations were concerned.

Following the enactment of this law, a widespread organizing campaign was begun by the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations, but progress was slow because of the failure of certain carriers to abide by the law. Violations were brought to the attention of the Federal Coordinator who used his good office to bring about substantial enforcement.

Organizing then proceeded under less difficulty, but new obstacles arose. When a majority of the employees of each craft on a railroad desired the standard railroad labor organizations to represent them, the management refused to recognize them. The Railway Labor Act of 1926 made no definite provision for the settlement of representation disputes except that a vote could be taken providing the mediator could get the management to agree to take such a vote. It was this situation in addition to the fact that Section 7 (e) of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act was only temporary that prompted the standard railroad labor organizations to seek amendments to the Railway Labor Act in these respects.

The Railway Labor Act as now amended provides that railroads must not deny their employees the right to join the union of their own choice without influence, coercion or intimidation, under penalty, and in case a dispute over representation arises, the National Mediation Board is required to determine by a vote or any other appropriate means who represents the employees within 30 days. When management is advised of the representatives thus selected, they are required to treat and deal with these representatives. Under these circumstances organization and the securing of agreements is proceeding with good results.

Since the railway workers' organizing campaign was begun a year ago, 39 railroads have been organized; charters were applied for by 32, and new charters issued to 31; an old charter was reissued to one. Four small properties were organized and included under a system agreement already in effect.

Recognition was granted by agreement on 3 roads, as the result of a check of authorizations by agreement on 1 road and as the result of a vote taken by agreement on 8 roads, making a total of 12 roads on which recognition was secured by negotiation and agreement.

A total of 21 representation disputes were referred to the Board of Mediation of which 7 were settled, 6 by a vote and 1 by a check of authorizations. Five of the votes and the check of authorizations were in favor of the organizations represented by the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L., while 1

vote was in favor of the company union. In the latter instance coercion was used by the company, so the vote will be protested and the case resubmitted to the new National Mediation Board. The cases unsettled numbered 14, of which 2 were terminated by the Board of Mediation, leaving 12 cases unsettled and pending.

Summarizing briefly, of the 39 roads organized, recognition was granted on 18 roads, 3 by agreement, 2 by a check of authorizations and 13 by a vote of the employees. Agreements have been negotiated on 10 of these roads, 8 of which have been signed, and 2 are awaiting signatures. Roads on which conferences are in progress or pending number 11, while the new Mediation Board has 12 cases still unsettled. These cases have been resubmitted to the new National Mediation Board, which according to the law must report on them within thirty days. New cases will be submitted consistent with the ability of the Board to handle them.

Good progress is also being made with the organization of the private car lines which are now included within the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

United States' membership in the International Labour Organization by Act of Congress last June entails new opportunities and responsibilities for the American labor movement as well as for the United States government. The International Labour Organization is autonomous. Nations can be members and governments may deal with it without membership in the League of Nations. It is completely dissociated from the Peace Treaties. Its objectives are economic, not political. The United States in becoming the fifty-eighth member nation of the International Labour Organization recognizes that many problems confronting labor are international in character. It implies the obligation to extend the spirit of Section 7 (a) of the NRA to its wider international ramifications.

The International Labour Organization provides for representative recurring conferences on matters of concern to Labor. The standards proposed in these conferences can be subscribed to by member nations either through draft conventions which have the force of law in the signatory countries or through recommendations which offer weighty moral support to either voluntary or legislative action in nations subscribing to those recommendations. The machinery of recommendations, therefore, is especially suitable to a federated body like the United States comprising 48 quasi-sovereign states. These recommendations do not bind us to action but may add the stamp of seasoned international discussion and approval to the standards proclaimed by the American labor movement. They also help to raise labor standards in industrially backward countries whose products may and whose accepted standards of living for the worker most certainly do threaten the working and living conditions of American wage-earners.

The American labor movement recognizes its responsibility to cooperate with and further the aims of the International Labour Organization. The International Labour Organization can lend to the American labor movement the

support of its international information and experience in setting up labor standards in various industries.

To the American Federation of Labor comes a special responsibility growing out of the practice that the labor representative at the International Labour Conference is chosen by the Government in agreement with the most representative organizations of the working people and that the national trade union organization nominates the workers' delegate wherever such an organization exists.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has continued whenever possible to lend its helpful assistance to the labor movements of the Latin American countries.

We find that great interest has been aroused in the labor circles of these countries by the National Recovery Act. The press of Latin America has widely publicized its development and ultimate effects on both labor and industry.

Cuba achieved political freedom through the overthrow of political autocracy. During the political despotism of President Gerardo Machado, Cuba had no open, free labor movement. Assassinations, oppressions and imprisonments had been reported to the Pan-American Federation of Labor by labor leaders. Many labor leaders disappeared or were killed. Though this information reached us, we were powerless to help those afflicted for they would have suffered worse fate if the charges made had been given to the public. We knew that the people of Cuba would work out their own salvation. They did; and now, with the new freedom achieved, Cuba will be able to build up a great trade union movement. Already, communications received from our affiliated groups in Cuba express hope for better and greater things to be attained through the medium of labor organization.

We hope that the President of Cuba, H. E. Carlos Mendieta, will look forward and will see his way clear to encourage the workers to organize for their mutual peace and benefit.

The Mexican Federation of Labor extended cordial invitations to the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor to attend its twelfth convention. Previous engagements prevented us from attending.

Nicaragua is thriving under a democratic government. Under the able direction of the President of the Republic, Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, Nicaragua again will be able to progress socially and economically. This progress will benefit directly the masses of the people. Labor will again reorganize and federate. It will be recalled at this time that in 1926 we lent our sincere cooperation to Dr. Sacasa at the time when General Emiliano Chamorro was holding illegally the Presidency of the Republic, which he attained through a *coup d'etat*. Dr. Sacasa, who was then Vice-President of the Republic, had to flee from the country. He came to Washington to present a statement of facts to the Department of State with regard to the real situation of Nicaragua. Dr. Sacasa in a communication to President Green stated:

With great satisfaction I have read in the press, the interest that your important Federation has shown in the actual affairs of my country and in the name of the people of Nicaragua, I am glad to express to you my profound gratitude.

The agents of radical and revolutionary European organizations are still seeking to destroy the confidence which Latin American workers have in the American Federation of Labor. In Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, Uruguay and other countries, their propaganda is carried on in a subversive manner. The result of the domination of European radical and revolutionary philosophies among the labor movements of Latin America can only be imagined; but that it would be disastrous must be conceded.

Labor leaders from Colombia, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Honduras, Haiti and Santo Domingo are endeavoring to reorganize the labor masses. During these years of depression, the labor movements in Latin American countries have been more or less in a stagnant state.

The Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is still postponed. Labor organizations from Colombia and Chile have stated in communications that they would like the Congress to be held in their respective countries. Cuba was selected by the last Congress as the meeting place for the Sixth Congress.

PUERTO RICO

Organization Progress—Important developments have taken place in Puerto Rico during the past year, all of which have brought practical results in strengthening the already existing organizations and in organizing new unions.

The hope instilled in the minds and hearts of the Puerto Rican workers by the New Deal, intensified their enthusiasm for organization. Hundreds and thousands of workers of all trades, especially those employed in the sugar industry and needle trades, crowd the Federation halls anxious to join their respective unions, or to apply for charters for new ones.

There is no doubt but that Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act has been a great help in the organization drive throughout the Island.

There are now 450 local unions with a membership of approximately 80,000 covering all trades and occupations under the jurisdiction of the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico. Great credit is due to the earnest, capable work of the volunteer organizers and the representatives of the organized labor movement of the Island for the steady progress in organization. They have rendered yeoman's service through open air meetings, conferences, lectures and personal interviews.

Sugar and needle trades being the leading industries in the Island, it follows logically that unions of agricultural and needle workers lead the organized labor movement. About 125,000 workers are employed in the sugar industry, including factory and plantation workers. In the needle trades it is estimated that nearly 100,000, mostly women and children are employed, ninety per cent or more of whom are home workers.

The workers in Mayaguez, mostly women, the leading center of the needle work industry, last October made a most courageous protest against unbearable conditions through a general strike. This gradually affected the entire industry. Through the cooperation and mediation of the Commissioner of Labor, who took charge of the situation at the request of Governor Gore, an agreement was se-

cured by which the workers received an increase in wages ranging from 15 to 25 per cent.

As a result of the strike, unions have been organized in the greater number of the needle trade centers. At present more than 75 per cent of the factory and shop workers are organized. A start has been made to organize home workers. There are now 35 local unions with a membership of about 12,000. This includes 9 unions, exclusive of home workers, with a membership of more than 3,000.

A campaign has been started to bring all the needle workers' unions under the banner of the Ladies Garment Workers International Union.

Sugar Workers—A general walkout was expected at the beginning of the grinding season last January, which would have tremendously affected the economic conditions of the Island. Through the initiative of the Commissioner of Labor a conference was held at San Juan, attended by representatives of the Sugar Growers Association and by representatives of the sugar workers' organization. Committees were appointed. After several days' discussions, an agreement was signed for the entire season by the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, representing Labor, and the Sugar Growers Association, representing the employers. While Labor did not secure all it had hoped to achieve, yet the agreement is a forward step with some improvements.

Longshoremen—A general strike of longshoremen occurred during the month of December, 1933. After several weeks conferences between representatives of the Longshoremen Unions and of the steamship companies, presided over by the Mediation and Conciliation Commission, and with the cooperation of the Insular Department of Labor, a satisfactory agreement was reached. Improvement of working conditions, increases in wages and union recognition were attained.

Telephone Employees—High-handed tactics used by the Puerto Rico Telephone Company, a public service corporation controlling the telephone services of the Island, outside of a small territory served by the Insular Government, forced employees of this company to go on strike. Unwarranted discharge of efficient employees of several years' services, reduction in wages, notwithstanding the increased cost of living, were some of the causes inducing the strike.

Faulty organization, desertion of some of the strikers, non-cooperation of the unorganized employees, and police intimidation were the chief factors in bringing defeat to this movement. The greater number of the strikers have returned to work. A few were refused re-employment. Some were prosecuted under alleged charges of sabotage.

Labor and Social Legislation—We cannot report any progress or improvement in labor and social legislation this year.

Workingmen's Compensation Law—Hon. Blanton Winship, succeeding Hon. Robert H. Gore, as governor of the Island, recommended to the Insular Legislature the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation to establish the monopolistic state fund. The Legislature responded favorably to this recommendation. The Governor vetoed the bill, giving as his reasons that it was defective.

Destitute Widowed Mothers Pension Fund—Act No. 17, approved August 24, 1933, providing pensions for destitute widowed mothers, assigned the sum of \$100,000 annually for its expenses and administration, said sum to be taken from the tax on beer and light wines.

A pension board composed of five members was provided in the law; the Commissioner of Labor, the Commissioner of Health, and a representative of the Free Federation of Labor were designated besides two other persons.

Officers were installed and thousands of petitions were filed and classified, but, for some unknown reason, the treasurer of Puerto Rico did not set aside the sum appropriated by the Insular Legislature.

At the 1934 regular session of the Legislature, the law imposing a tax on beer and light wines was amended to include tax on all kinds of liquors; and, as the law does not specifically provide the appropriation for the "Widows' Pension Fund," even though it is specifically provided for in the original act, the governor and the treasurer of Puerto Rico ruled that the law is not in operation.

The Economic Commission of the Legislature and the Pension Board have requested from the Attorney-General of Puerto Rico an opinion on this matter.

National Industrial Recovery Act—Although to Puerto Rico was granted the privilege of writing its own industrial codes under the NRA, yet for the past ten months nothing has been accomplished for the benefit of the great masses of wage earners and the unemployed.

The code for the needlework industry, the only one so far approved, over the protest of Labor, went into effect on July 19, 1934. It has been the cause of a general unrest and discontent, for, instead of improving wages and working conditions, it is being operated to the detriment of Labor.

Minimum wages established in the code for a forty-hour week, of \$2.00 for hand-sewing and embroidery in the homes; \$3.00 for hand-sewing and embroidering in the shops; and \$5.00 for machine operators and other occupations in the shops, are considered by employers as too high. They are doing their utmost to defeat the purpose of the code. Unless strong steps are taken by the NRA officials to remedy this condition, it is feared that a general strike, tying up the entire industry, will be the outcome.

Federal Emergency Laws—Most of these laws have been made applicable to Puerto Rico, due to the active efforts of the representative in Congress from Puerto Rico. The Island has been benefited to a great extent through these laws. More could be accomplished if the works undertaken were of a permanent character.

Puerto Rico Business Transferred to the Department of the Interior—Through an Executive Order, effective July 28, 1934, the affairs of the Island of Puerto Rico have been transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

The organized labor movement of Puerto Rico, time and again, through the Free Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, advocated this measure.

The change from a military to a civil administration places Puerto Rico in a closer contact with the mainland, which no doubt will prove beneficial to the Island.

Visit of President and Mrs. Roosevelt—A delegation of the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico called on the President during his visit to the Island and delivered to him a resolution, officially extending the greetings of the organized labor movement of the Island, and respectfully requesting the extension to Puerto Rico of all social and relief legislation approved by the Federal Congress.

Publicity—A publicity campaign is being carried on in the insular newspapers, especially in the important daily "El Mundo," giving complete information of the most important events of the labor movement in all parts of the world, and especially of the United States. This educational campaign has proven to be of great benefit and influence to the laboring people of the Island.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

The 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor declared:

That the American Federation of Labor join with other public-spirited organizations in our own country in officially adopting a boycott against German-made goods and German service, this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish people.

Acting under that authority, President Green on December 26, 1933, issued the following:

Washington, D. C., December 26, 1933.

To National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor,
City Central Bodies, and Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS:

The utter destruction of the Trade Union Movement in Germany and the arrest of many of its officers and leaders by the German Government has attracted the attention of all classes of people in the United States, as well as throughout the world. It became a matter of consideration and discussion at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, because the complete annihilation of the German trade union movement and the unjustifiable persecution of its officers and active members appealed to the sympathies and sentiments of the officers and delegates to the convention.

Because the information relating to the cruel treatment accorded the officers and members of trade unions in Germany and the Jewish people was so conclusive and shocking, the convention of the American Federation of Labor concurred in the recommendation made by the Executive Council,

That the American Federation of Labor join with other public-spirited organizations in our own country in officially adopting a boycott against German-made goods and German service, this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish people.

Pursuant to this action of the convention, therefore, I am calling upon organized labor and its friends through the national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to carry out this declaration of the convention relating to a boycott against German-made goods and German service.

In declaring for a boycott of German-made goods and German service, the American Federation of Labor recognizes the right of the German people to govern themselves and to formulate and adopt their own political policies and to do so without interference from any other nation. Labor is, therefore, not fighting against any political order set up in Germany or against the German people; we are asking only that the annihilation of German trade unions shall cease and that the persecution of German working people and of Jewish people merely because they are Jews, shall be terminated.

It is readily conceded that only a most unusual, extraordinary condition could call for such drastic action. This extraordinary condition existing in Germany offers justification as shown by the following reliable, accurate information supplied the American Federation of Labor by trustworthy sources:

One of the first official acts of the Hitler government was the destruction of the labor movement. From the start, the Nazi officials began a campaign of calumny and physical violence against the German unions. In the space of one week, from March 2 to 10, every trade union publication in the country was suppressed. The result was that the leaders of the trade union movement were cut off from all contact with the rank and file.

The Nazis did not stop at this. Nazi storm troopers, aided and abetted by the police began a series of raids upon the offices of the various trade unions throughout the land. The storm troops insisted first of all that the union officers display the swastika emblem in their windows. In numerous instances storm troopers emptied the cash registers and took away with them whatever money they could lay their hands on. Hardly a labor union in Germany but was visited by the Nazi storm troopers. In scores of cases the storm troopers took actual possession of the union headquarters, converting them into barracks. All this was done ostensibly "in the interests of the Third Reich and the protection of the German workers."

On May 2 the Hitler government finally outlawed the General German Trade Union Association, confiscated its property, arrested the prominent leaders, took over all the labor banks, cooperatives and similar organizations, lock, stock and barrel. Every president of the 31 international unions comprising the General German Trade Union Association was arrested at the same time, in addition to the general secretaries and clerical help. Among the prisoners were the two outstanding leaders of the association, Theodore Leipart and Peter Grassman. In all, several hundred union leaders were arrested that day, and hundreds more during the days that followed. For weeks the prisoners were kept in Nazi barracks, before being transferred to the regular city prisons and ultimately banished to concentration camps.

On May 3 the billboards throughout the country were plastered with posters signalling "renaissance" of the German labor unions. The next day the papers carried an official announcement to the effect that Dr. Ley had been appointed as chief commissar over all labor unions in Germany.

For days the wives of the imprisoned union leaders were unable to ascertain the whereabouts of their unhappy spouses. In their despair they could not even turn for help to the legal advisers of the union, because the legal advisers had also been arrested along with the other officials as "enemies of the Third Reich." The unhappy wives ran from one police station to another beseeching aid, seeking information, but to no avail. Everywhere they were met with the same information that their "scoundrelly husbands would never leave the prisons alive." They were given to understand that their husbands had been charged with embezzlement of trade union funds.

In a majority of cases the arrested union officials were brought not to the regular police station but to the Nazi barracks and placed in dingy cells. Among those who received such treatment were the aforementioned Leipart and Grassman, the latter of whom is fairly well known in this country. Several years ago it will be recalled, Grassman was a fraternal delegate of the German unions to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Both Leipart and Grassman are elderly men; Leipart past 66, Grassman is 62. The two old men were forced to sing Nazi hymns. They were also compelled to spend hours in gymnastics. Leipart, who had been in an automobile accident and was not yet fully recovered, fainted time and again. Among the other prisoners was a trade unionist named Arons who was forced at the point of a gun to act as drill master for the two elderly union leaders, marching them around the courtyard for hours on end.

The "National Labour Day" of May 1, when hundreds of thousands of workers were driven to participate in the official demonstration by the threat of instant dismissal served as a preparatory step to the occupation of all trade union offices by the Nazis on May 2. The dissolution of the trade unions in the form in which they had hitherto existed was proclaimed in the name of a "Committee for the Protection of German Labour" which no one had heard of until that moment.

It did not help the German General Trade Union Federation that it had called on the workers to participate in the Hitler demonstration of May 1. The trade union officers were occupied, and the trade union leaders maltreated. The "German Labour Front" took over the whole trade union apparatus. We give below a few documents showing the methods that were used in these attacks on the trade unions:

The National Socialists take over the trade unions; the leaders arrested; action through the Reich." (Headlines in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 2, 1933.)

Yes, we have power, but we have not yet won the whole nation. We have not yet won you workers a hundred per cent. . . ." (From the manifesto issued by Dr. Ley, May 2, 1933.)

Cleansing of the free trade unions and creation of a labour organization; storm troops occupy all trade union buildings; 50 trade union leaders arrested; the second stage of the National Socialist Revolution." (Headlines in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 3, 1933.)

Who is Dr. Ley, placed in charge of that splendid organization, builded through more than half a century, yes, a century, by the trade unionists of Germany? Well, here he is:

It may be remarked in passing that Dr. Ley was never a worker, but in his seven years of employment with the I. G. Farbenindustrie, A. G.

(the chemical trust) was a highly paid official of the company, and received a large sum when he left.

Then from the reports of the International Labour Office we find these words:

The Leiparts and the Grassmans may hypocritically declare their devotion to Hitler as much as they like, but it is better that they should be in prison.

Those are the actual words of Dr. Ley. (Reports of the International Labor Office, May 29, page 272.)

Confiscation of the Social Democratic Party's Property. The next step was the confiscation of all property belonging to the Social Democratic Party and the Reichsbanner:

Berlin, May 10, 1933. An order has been issued for the confiscation of all the property of the Social Democratic Party and of its newspapers, as well as of the Reichsbanner and its press. The ground for confiscation is the great number of cases of dishonesty which have been discovered as a result of the taking over of the trade unions and the labour banks by the National Socialist Factory Organization. In addition to the confiscation of the property of the Social Democratic Party, it must be stated that the property of all the organizations connected with the party is also confiscated.

On the same date all money belonging to the Social Democratic Party in post office accounts, party publishing concerns and in the labour bank was confiscated. The officers of the Social Democratic organizations, of the Reichsbanner and of the party press were closed. The official Preussische Pressedienst announced that Leipart the trade union leader and Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, was to be prosecuted for "breach of trust and fraud" on the ground that "specific contributions of trade union money had been used for purposes other than those for which they had been provided."

This persecution and destruction of the bona fide German trade union movement was only equalled, and perhaps exceeded by the persecution of the Jewish people residing in Germany, merely because they were Jews. This action on the part of the Hitler regime in Germany has shocked the conscience of the entire world. It is particularly revolting to trade unionists, because the officers and members of organized labor hold as sacred the principle "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor holds that there shall be no discrimination against men because of creed or nationality. Labor protests vigorously against the oppression of the Jewish people, or any other nationality, merely because of race, creed or nationality.

I ask the officers and members of organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor to take such steps as may seem necessary in order to make the boycott on German goods and German service as ordered by the convention effective. I suggest that committees be appointed to deal with the problem in accordance with the economic, social and business requirements of each com-

munity. Let these committees unite with other committees created for the same purpose representing other groups of people whose opinions are in harmony with the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

If the boycott ordered by the convention can be made effective, the interests of the German workers, the protection of German Trade Unions, and the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which the Jewish people are entitled in Germany, may be safeguarded.

Fraternally yours,

WM. GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

Under the authority thus conferred by the October, 1933 convention, President Green appointed a committee of three to cooperate with other organizations in the furtherance of the boycott of German manufactured goods and German service. The personnel of the committee is:

John J. Fitzpatrick, President, Chicago Federation of Labor, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

Miss Selma Borchardt, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, R-413 1413 F St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

Joseph P. Ryan, President, Central Trades and Labor Council, Room 1210, County Trust Building, 265 West 14th Street, New York City.

This committee will submit its report to the San Francisco convention.

The feeling which was created in the minds of the working people throughout the world against the treatment accorded the Jewish citizens of Germany and the bona fide trade unionists of all creeds was reflected in the action taken by the British Trades Union Congress, the trade union organizations of Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Spain, France, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labor, representing the working people of Canada as well as the United States.

The hope of an oppressed people lies in the development of an aroused, keen, sensitive international conscience. When public opinion of mankind becomes aroused in opposition to intolerance and injustice, the victims of misrule become encouraged to fight for the enjoyment of their individual rights and the recognition of the broad principles of human brotherhood.

Events which have transpired in Germany, and in Austria particularly, fully justify the position assumed by the American Federation of Labor at the Washington convention. The so-called blood-purging carried out by the Hitler government shocked the conscience of the people of the entire world.

So long as the German government continues its present policies against its own people, just so long will the freedom-loving and practical men and women of Labor of this country, and we believe of all free countries, continue their protest against the German government by continuing the boycott against German-made goods and German service. By moral and economic force we must fight military brutality imposed upon our fellow-men.

CONCLUSION

During the past year we have lost by death an unprecedented number of union executives and experienced labor officials. This loss is a serious handicap in our period of expansion. It devolves upon our present ranks to carry high the torch that has lead the way for many and is temporarily in our keeping.

Upon us rests the responsibility for advancing the cause of Labor while maintaining its purposes and spirit free from commercialism and devoted to human betterment.

Just ahead lie greater opportunities for organizing. The decisions of labor boards reassure the rights written into the National Recovery Act. Now is the time to move forward with assurance and swiftness.

Faternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK DUFFY,
First Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT,
Second Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Third Vice-President.

JOHN COEFIELD,
Fourth Vice-President.

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,
Fifth Vice-President.

JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Sixth Vice-President.

G. M. BUGNIAZET,
Seventh Vice-President.

GEO. M. HARRISON,
Eighth Vice-President.

MARTIN FRANCIS RYAN,
Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt, who is held in high esteem by labor, will meet with us and deliver an address to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention on next Friday morning at 10:30 o'clock. He accepted the invitation to attend and address the convention at that time.

At 11:00 o'clock Friday morning Secretary of Labor Perkins will attend the convention and address the delegates and officers in attendance.

At some date yet to be announced, Senator James J. Davis, a former Secretary of Labor, will address the convention.

Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labor Office, located at Geneva, Switzerland, will deliver an address to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and the Secretary of the British Labor Congress, Mr. Walter Citrine, will also address the convention at some date in the future.

We have some rare treats in store for us, and I am sure you will be delighted to know that these distinguished people will come to this city to attend the convention and address us.

The Chair wishes to announce also that the sessions of our convention are open to the public. Visitors interested in our work are welcome. Only in the event the convention decides to go into executive session for the transaction of business will visitors be excluded. At all other sessions they are welcome, and we will be glad to have them come and sit with us.

Now it appears that we have finished the work of the convention. We will have to await now the convenience of the committees for reports before we are prepared to take action on resolutions and the report of the Executive Council.

RESOLUTIONS

Proposed Constitutional Amendment to Enlarge Executive Council

Resolution No. 1—By United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article V, Section 1, on page 9, of the Constitution of the

American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight" appearing on the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Advocating Increase in Maximum of Relief per Family

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The steady increase in the price of commodities has increased the cost of living, due to the fact that such increase has not been followed by increased wages to meet the situation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request of the Honorable H. L. Hopkins, Administrator of the FERA, also all State Administrators, to take immediate action to have the maximum of relief per family raised to meet the requirements made necessary by the above mentioned increase in the cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Agricultural and Cannery Workers' Unions

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate J. B. Nathan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 18893, Oakland, California.

WHEREAS, Because of the increasing industrialization of agriculture and the canning and packing industries dependent on it, and the growth of large corporations and decrease of small individual owners, it has become quite important to the American Trade Union Movement that the workers in these industries be encouraged and aided in organizing labor unions that will be adapted to seasonal employment and the migratory worker; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union with its jurisdiction confined to a limited territorial area is not adapted and will not function effectively with migratory workers; and

WHEREAS, Because of the low wages paid and the long periods of unemployment, these unskilled, seasonal workers find it a hardship to pay high dues and impossible to pay dues while unemployed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the organization of Agricultural and Packing and Cannery Workers in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any union composed of migratory, seasonal workers should have jurisdiction over an entire State, or larger agricultural area, with branches established at convenient points; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the initiation dues be not less than One Dollar (\$1.00) per member and membership dues not less than Fifty Cents (50c) per month, and that not more than half of the above amounts shall be payable to the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council be given authority to waive the payment of initiation dues when it deems it necessary in order to stimulate organization, and that whenever members are unemployed they shall be carried in good standing without the payment of monthly dues; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President shall call a conference of delegates of Federal Labor Unions composed of workers in the agricultural, canning and packing industries for the purpose of drawing up plans for the reorganization of these Unions to be submitted to this Convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Federal Legislation to Prohibit Enlisted Men Doing Building Construction Work

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Owing to the depression that has swept this country of ours in the last four years, and has been more noticeable in the Building Trades than others; and

WHEREAS, It has come to our attention that enlisted soldiers of the United States Army are doing civilian work at the military posts over the country; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this work should be given to the tradesmen of the community where the military post is situated; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative branch of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce a bill in the Congress of the United States prohibiting enlisted men doing work that comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Unions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Wages of Women Workers

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate E. G. Bunting, Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

WHEREAS, We realize that the women of this nation are thrifty and ambitious by nature and that they have proven since the World War that they are useful in many fields of endeavor outside the home and that they so easily adapt themselves to certain jobs in office and industry that their usefulness is not excelled by men; and

WHEREAS, The women of this nation have been given the opportunity of equal suffrage with men to work outside the home but have not been granted equal suffrage with men in wages; and

WHEREAS, There are approximately 10,000,000 women workers at present in these United States who receive a much smaller wage than would be paid to 10,000,000 men working on the same jobs—which fact greatly reduces the buying power of the masses of this nation; and

WHEREAS, There are a great number of working women who have greater financial obligations than do some men, such as widows with children, wives whose husbands are out of work, daughters who have mother, father, sister or brother to support; and

WHEREAS, We believe that "sweat shop" employers have forced fair employers through unfair competition to set up these lower standards of wages for women, thus forcing the women of this nation into a wild riot of unfair competition with their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers; and

WHEREAS, We believe that raising the standard of wages of 10,000,000 working women would be a great material help in leading us back to prosperity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That immediate action by our National Government be taken to enact a law or laws which will make it impossible for any employer to create and maintain a double standard of wages for men and women doing the same work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Gold Recovery

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate J. L. R. Marsh, Sacramento Federated Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The most effective organization of workers in the Gold Recovery Industry, including both gold dredging operations and hardrock gold mining operations, has been blocked by a refusal of employers to deal with or consider legitimate organized labor groups; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the United States Government definitely fixing the price of gold and in guaranteeing a market for all of that commodity produced has led to the conclusion that the Gold Recovery Industry is non-competitive; and

WHEREAS, The National Industry Recovery Act and the Federal Labor Relations policies set up thereunder are applicable only to competitive industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the incoming Executive Council of the Federation to institute Federal legislation tending to bring the so-called non-competitive industries under the same Labor Relations policies applicable to all other American industries.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 7—By Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The great and paramount issue facing the American labor movement today is the struggle of genuine unionism against company unionism; and

WHEREAS, Under the protection of the NRA, company unionism has been making startling headway within the last year, growing over five times as fast as genuine unionism, so that in November, 1933, over 40 per cent of the workers in manufacturing and mining industries were to be found in company unions, as against only 10 per cent in genuine unions; and

WHEREAS, The major line of strategy of the big trusts and powerful industrial combines in their offensive against labor is to fasten the yoke of company unionism upon the necks of the workers, either directly or indirectly, as is the case in the recent automobile agreement according to which company unions in the auto plants are officially legalized and given a recognized place in the so-called collective bargaining machinery; and

WHEREAS, Company unionism is a menace facing the entire working class, the unorganized workers as well as the organized—but especially the trade union movement—a menace against which all labor must unite before it is too late; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in San Francisco, take its stand as being unalterably opposed to company unionism; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention likewise take its stand as being unalterably opposed to any plan or arrangement whereby the company union is given any sort of official standing or recognition on a par with genuine unions, or is in any way regarded as a representative of the workers; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor

take the initiative in launching a powerful, nation-wide movement against company unionism, a movement embracing all tendencies and organizations of workers ready to unite to fight company unionism; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of a Federal law banning company unions, provided that no restrictions of any sort whatever be placed on the right of labor to strike and to picket, and provided, also, that such law does not involve, directly or indirectly, any provision for compulsory arbitration.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Industrial Organization

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate E. G. Bunting, Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The General Electric Federal Labor Union No. 18529 being the largest Labor union in the City of Fort Wayne and also in the State of Indiana, and therefore entitled to be heard on any question affecting the working man or woman; and

WHEREAS, The time is near when delegates from the Fort Wayne Federation of Labor to the national Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at San Francisco, California, will be elected; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That these delegates be instructed to request necessary changes in present by-laws of the American Federation of Labor to permit greater flexibility and to conform more to present day industrial organization; and be it therefore further

RESOLVED, That questions of jurisdiction shall be settled according to the particular "Code of Fair Competition" under which the man or woman is working rather than any particular craft or profession.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Government Ownership of Banking Institutions

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention go on record as favoring Government ownership of our banking institutions so that the people may have a safe place to deposit their money and to get loans at a reasonable rate of interest for the purchase of homes and other legitimate needs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention go on record as favoring the creation of a National Unemployment Insurance Law to pay unemployed a sum not less than \$12 a week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a tax be placed on any additional labor saving machinery that may be installed, to pay for this unemployment insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Organizations Establish Funds to Finance Home Building for Members

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The working people and National and International unions are at a great disadvantage when they are under obligations to landlords or companies whom they work for; and

WHEREAS, The fear prevails of having their families set out in the streets in case of any industrial disputes; this fear is the cause of demoralizing the ranks of labor and their sympathizers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, The following program be followed out: Each local be assessed five (\$5) dollars semi-annually; this to go into the building fund for the building or buying only. Each home to consist of one dwelling and one garage. Each home to cost six thousand dollars (\$6,000); this must include the price of a lot. There will be no interest charges above one per cent; this will be for handling the mortgage. Mortgage to be held by the American Federation of Labor. There will be a drawing by the Federation of Labor to see who gets the loans. The winner of each home must keep his or her dues paid to the sub-lodge and the sub-lodge must keep in good standing with the international lodge or the loans will be called; this is to be part of the mortgage. Each party who has a loan must pay all taxes above the rent and forward a duplicate of receipted payment of taxes to the Building Department of the American Federation of Labor. There will be no money borrowed for this building fund. The money that is paid by assessment and the rent will be used to build these homes. The winners of these loans will be drawn by districts; Central Bodies to be the clearing house. The American Federation of Labor will have charge of all drawings. At each drawing the full quota of loans will be drawn; drawings to be held semi-annually.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Program to Make NRA Principles Effective

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The working men and women of America, through forced oppression and certain forms of practical slavery throughout a great number of years, have had instilled in them a great fear of their employer, and therefore have a reluctance toward opposing said employer in any wish or will, and have not answered the call of the New Deal as they may have desired; and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Administration, said workers have been given the legal right, by labor legislation, to self-organization into bona fide trade unions; they have, however, only their own meager wages whereby they can create a fund to fight for that which the law has guaranteed, as compared with the gigantic financial institutions erected by the thoroughly organized corporations; and

WHEREAS, Said corporations through their financial backing (which amounts to millions) have hired highly learned and talented attorneys to aid them in evading the absolute letter of the aforesaid labor legislation, and in some instances have almost defied any rulings contrary to their own wishes; and

WHEREAS, Though the working people have organized, in answer to the call to provide means of creating more employment, to help relieve the suffering in our great country, there are so many cases of unjustness throughout our country, that because of lack of finance to hire talented representatives they do not possess the national acclaim or prominence to require immediate inspection of said cases, which results in untold suffering forced upon the working people of this great nation by the heartless and sometimes seemingly inhuman employer; and

WHEREAS, Through machinations of said employers they are forcing their employees into practical starvation, to gain their ends and frustrate the possibility of equitable bargaining between the producer and owner, to such an extent as to threaten extinction of the entire purpose of the National Recovery Act as intended by the Administration; and

WHEREAS, Through the gigantic and moneyed efforts of said corporations and employers, they have instilled into the minds of countless thousands of workers, who represent a majority of the Government and have patriotically tried to follow and back the wishes of the Administration, a wonder, as to the real wishes and intentions of said Administration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, a group of true-spirited and patriotic citizens of this great

country, self-organized into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, a bona fide Trade Union, do hereby respectfully request the Honorable Administration of the United States of America to consider the following points, as stated, for the reasons submitted above and the reasons accompanying each point:

1. Enforce the Blue Eagle, as a means to determine who is favorable to a true democratic government of the people, for the people and by the people.

2. Withdraw said Blue Eagle from all who, through their own actions or as proven by outside forces, have violated the rulings accompanying the display of the Blue Eagle, and publicize said corporations, industries, or firms throughout the entire United States, in order that all may know them by their deeds.

3. Publicize throughout the nation the necessity of the great masses to take notice of said actions, to enable the Administration to carry on efficiently their program of recovery, to insure plenty for all in this great land of plenty.

4. Restrict all Government orders, either direct or indirect, for any and all types of material for the Navy, Army, Federal buildings, or any other Federal contracts, large or small, from all corporations, industries, or firms proven to be against the great masses, who represent approximately seventy-five per cent of the government but have been kept under a greedy, self-interested few by the above-mentioned methods. This means being used to help that grand army of working people fight a more equal battle against the gigantic financial institutions of the aforesaid corporations, industries and firms, in order to restore our country to a sound economic basis, with food, clothing and decency for all.

5. All Labor Boards created through the recent legislation passed by Congress, be instructed to use every bit of power granted them by said legislation, and use same as quickly as possible on cases now confronting them, in an effective manner, especially where Labor has proven its charges, in order to more quickly solve the enigma now facing this country, give new hope to the masses in the Administration, relieve untold cases of dire and unnecessary suffering and set a precedent for other nations to lift the drastic situation throughout the entire world.

6. If necessary, to establish all this machinery, pick the most prominent case in each industry and carry it through to the finish, imposing all the stipulated fines for violation of the law upon the employer, where such violations are justly proven in the minds of the members of the aforesaid Boards. However, during the settlement of such picked cases, authorized investigators should be appointed to see that the hundreds who might suffer through this necessarily extended action shall not want for the proper nour-

ishment until said cases are ended, not forgetting the hundreds of little children (future citizens) who are always involved.

7. We are submitting a copy of this program to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Administrator General Hugh S. Johnson, the National Labor Relations Board, the Steel Labor Relations Board, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and President Michael F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America. We respectfully present this seven-point program for consideration to all parties and hope that if merit is found in same all groups of our Brother and Sister workers throughout the United States will submit a duplicate of this program in order that the Honorable Administration may know the true sentiments of the majority of our great Government; therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the aforementioned group of citizens undersigned, as duly elected representatives of some 5,000 steel workers, in the above named organization, do hereby pray that we have thought of a solution to the problems now facing this, our country, and, as citizens of such, do offer our staunchest backing to this program, which we feel to be truly aligned with the policies by our Government officials for a New Deal, as outlined by the National Recovery Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate John A. Phillips, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industry today is organizing along industrial lines, and

WHEREAS, Codes under the NRA are being written for industrial sections, and

WHEREAS, Both employers and the Government recognize that the industrial set-up is most in keeping with the modern tempo of industrial organization; and

WHEREAS, Due to increasing mechanization, craft divisions are being broken up and workers are losing craft consciousness and accepting industrial consciousness in its place; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has shown its recognition of these facts by chartering Federal Industrial Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record as advocating the industrial vertical form of labor organization as being the only form capable of coping with industry as it is at present organized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instructs its delegate to the next American Federation of Labor Convention to work and vote for this type of organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment requiring Union Members to Be Registered Voters

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Vernon S. Gornito, Central Labor Union, Norfolk, Virginia.

WHEREAS, We fully realize that the organized labor movement in America will never reach its just place of importance in the nation until our members do more generally exercise the right of franchise; and

WHEREAS, We are cognizant of the fact that a relatively small percentage of union men are qualified and registered voters; and

WHEREAS, We know that with a 100 per cent voting membership we could defeat any and all the enemies of organized labor, and elect to public office only men of outstanding ability known to be progressive and friendly to the interests of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, There are today laws on our statute books harmful to our cause that can only be changed at the polls; and

WHEREAS, Under the existing conditions today the employers of labor and the huge vested money interests control nearly all our elections, and the employees have very little say in who is elected to fill our public offices or in what laws are passed—all because of the apathy of our membership; all because such a small percentage of our members are registered and qualified voters; and

WHEREAS, With approximately 5,000,000 members, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there is no reason why organized labor cannot exercise the controlling influence in any election, if our members will only exercise their constitutional given right; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to make it mandatory that each person carrying a union card in any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be a registered and qualified voter, provided he is eligible to qualify.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organizer for Timber Workers

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Tie and Timber Workers of Fox Park, Wyoming, have organized into a bona fide labor union and have secured recognition and working agreements with all of the Timber Operators of the State of Wyoming; and

WHEREAS, They have through conferences with the Timber Operators secured a wage rate for their work that is in excess of that of the workers in this industry in surrounding States which at this time are unorganized; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor send an organizer to the States of Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Oregon and Washington to organize the workers in the timber industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Tailors vs. Amalgamated Clothing Workers

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate William Reznicek, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

WHEREAS, At the 1933 Washington (D. C.) Convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Green, submitting a supplementary report of the Executive Council to the Convention, stated:

"In issuing the charter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, it defines and limits the jurisdiction of this organization to the jurisdiction conceded to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by the United Garment Workers of America, in an agreement entered into between both organizations on August 18, 1933, and in an Addenda Agreement entered into on October 5, 1933"; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, addressing himself to the Executive Council on October 5, 1933, stated:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither accept nor retain in its membership teamsters, machinists, engineers, firemen, electrical workers, or any other workers who come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any and all workers herein referred to who may now be members of locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be immediately transferred to the different organizations granted jurisdiction over them by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, President Green, in reply to a question put to him by Gust. Soderberg, late Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, stated in part that the jurisdiction of the

Journeyman Tailors' Union was not involved because the agreement, as well as the letters, stated that the office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither retain nor accept to membership those who come under the jurisdiction of any other International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers does now have in its membership custom tailors and bushmen that come under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers be directed by this Convention to turn over any and all custom tailors and bushmen that come under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and are now members of the Amalgamated, to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers be directed by this Convention to desist from any further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Organizing Culinary Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the unorganized condition of the hotel, restaurant and cafe employes employed in establishments receiving the patronage of the trades unionists; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to advise all of its affiliated International and National Locals and Federal Unions of the existence of an organization which has jurisdiction over culinary workers, bartenders and beverage dispensers employed in hotels, restaurants and cafes, i. e., the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That their co-operation be requested to bring about the organization of these employes in the establishments in their particular localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Liquor Import Tax

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The import tax on spirituous liquor is \$5 per gallon; and

WHEREAS, As this exorbitant tax tends to play into the hands of the Whiskey Trust, which apparently controls the available supply; and

WHEREAS, This exorbitant tax reflects on the price that the consumer must pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemn this exorbitant tax as being against the best interests of the consuming public, and that the Incoming General Executive Board is hereby directed to use all honorable means to the end that this tax shall be eliminated or materially reduced.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Federal Legislation to Enforce Shorter Workday Without Pay Reduction

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It is a well established fact that the only real remedy for unemployment is continuous purchasing power of the people; and

WHEREAS, The continuous purchasing power of the people cannot be maintained without continuous employment; and

WHEREAS, It is also a reasonably established fact that continuous employment of the workers cannot be maintained under our present form of machine production and distribution. Therefore, as before said, the real solution is the maintenance of the steady employment and purchasing power of the workers; at the same time it is absolutely necessary to reduce hours without reducing wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the enactment of Federal legislation reducing working hours without reducing wages; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything possible to

bring about the adoption of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Old Age Pensions—Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, Many men and women whose work, brains and action have helped in building the great food industry, with its billions of dollars of wealth, are now old and poor and are depending for support upon charitable institutions, municipal poor houses, and soup kitchens, despite the fact that they by their toil contributed to the building of all modern industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to bring about the enactment by the Congress of the United States of America of old-age pensions and out-of-work insurance to take the place of existing charities and doles.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Education to Avert War

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The danger of a new world war, more devastating than any before, is daily growing; and

WHEREAS, The workers of all countries have nothing to gain and everything to lose from any war; and

WHEREAS, All wars are made for the interest of the ruling classes who are making huge profits by the manufacture and sale of ammunition and other war materials; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take the necessary steps to educate the American worker to the danger of coming wars, and use every means at our disposal to prevent them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to elect its friends and defeat its enemies in the two major political parties in America; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this policy the workers comprising our American Federation of Labor are compelled to listen to the bunk propounded by the politicians of both major political parties; and

WHEREAS, Past experience has shown the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to be sound and as having often helped to elect to office men not in sympathy with the principles of trade unionism, thereby setting back the clock of progress and bringing about confusion and chaos within the ranks of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor here assembled approve the formation of a Labor party in America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Legislation to Abolish Private Employment Agencies

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act has been enacted into law as an emergency measure and to relieve widespread unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are now yet unemployed and have no means of support and in many instances are forced to borrow money from loan sharks in order to buy information as to where a job may be procured in the private employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are now functioning in competition with city, state and federal free employment agencies, victimizing the poorest of the poor, especially in the catering industry, thereby hindering the progress of recovery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That every effort be made that the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor sponsor

legislation to abolish private employment agencies as an emergency measure to aid recovery.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Barring All Commuting of Workers from Countries Bordering the United States for Purposes of Employment

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The greatest problem confronting the people of the United States at the present time is the question of unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The present depression, attended with widespread unemployment, has resulted in great hardships upon the American people, which prompted the last session of Congress to pass emergency legislation designed to correct these conditions; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have declared, through their Congress, that an emergency exists and that it is the purpose of the Government to correct this emergency; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of our fellow citizens and others legally domiciled in this country are being deprived of the opportunity of employment because of the privilege extended to the commuters from foreign countries bordering on the United States to come to this country daily for employment; and

WHEREAS, It is the first duty of our government to look after our own people in preference to others; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual session, respectfully petition the United States Congress for the immediate passage of a law that will bar all commuting for purposes of employment or seeking employment, and that this privilege of employment in the United States be extended only to those who have signified their intentions of making a permanent entry into the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Survey on Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has by law provided for the establishment of Central Bodies in every city in the United States and Canada where there are seven or more local

unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are, at the present time, some 800 of such Central Bodies, which are regarded as valuable agencies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor looks to these Central Bodies in a large degree to make effective its program and policies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that all Local Unions, affiliated with International or National Unions which are a part of the American Federation of Labor, should attach themselves to the nearest Central Body in their jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to make a survey of all Local Unions that are a part of the American Federation of Labor to determine whether or not they are in affiliation with their Central Bodies and that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor make a report to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor giving to such convention the following information:

The number of Local Unions affiliated;

The number of Local Unions not affiliated with their proper Central Bodies;

The number of Local Unions affiliated with International Unions that are not properly affiliated with their Central Bodies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as soon as this information is compiled the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call the facts therein to the attention of those International Unions whose Local Unions are not affiliated, with a request that they urge upon them to do so, to the end that the report made to the Convention by the Secretary next year will show to the delegates of that Convention just what Local Unions, and what International or National Unions, are not participating in the support and management of Central Bodies in their jurisdiction, in accord with the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Proposed Formation of American Federation of Labor Department of Food Industry Workers

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of training or intelligence on their part, but for the reason that they are working at cross-purposes, thus creating conflicting interests which, with the complete lack of co-ordination, causes organization work to suffer; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the uniting of various workers employed in the food industry in what could be termed a Food Department is really one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing millions who are now employed in those industries, who are in the main in an unorganized state; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, by instruction of this Convention, call a conference of representatives of the various International and National Unions concerned, for the purpose of bringing about the establishment of such a Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Registration of Aliens

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present laws and conditions the Government of the United States is unable to cope with the growing evil of illegal entry of foreigners, including the riff-raff of half the world; and

WHEREAS, These undesirable aliens displace American working men and women, contributing in large measure to the unemployment situation and the menace of impending revolution; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States is yearly confronted with increasing difficulties in the maintenance of the inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" under the reign of terror by, of and for the smuggler, the dope peddler, the gangster, the grafter, the highwayman, the murderer and the kidnaper; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the seventeenth biennial convention of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor do, and hereby does, give its unqualified indorsement to the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a universal registration law, providing for the registration and identification of every person, male and female, that shall now be, or hereafter become, either temporary or permanent residents of the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wyoming delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor be, and they are hereby, instructed to present to

that body this resolution, and to endeavor by all honorable means to secure its adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Enlarge American Federation of Labor Executive Council

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In view of the recent tremendous growth in membership of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council has become too small and unrepresentative; and

WHEREAS, Some of the largest and most important unions in the American Federation of Labor are not represented on the Council; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor take necessary steps to enlarge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor so that more organizations can be represented thereon, and a better representation of all crafts can be a part thereof.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement in America has always opposed any form of discrimination because of race, color, nationality or religion; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, instruct the Executive Council to confer with the executive boards of affiliated National and International Unions with the object of securing the eradication of all practices, whether sanctioned by law or custom, tending to bar colored workers from the unions, or to discriminate against colored members within the unions, or to abridge their rights.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Advocating Formation of American Federation of Labor Needle Trades Department

Resolution No. 30—By David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris

Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The needle trades unions have, in the past two years, shown remarkable growth and expansion; and

WHEREAS, A Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor, along the lines of the other industrial departments already functioning within the Federation, would, in our belief, be of material aid to all the garment and clothing workers' Unions; and

WHEREAS, Such a Department would help to co-ordinate the strength of these unions and to present, whenever the occasion arises, a solid line-up in defense of work standards throughout the needle trades industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, approve the formation of such a Needle Trades Department and instruct the Executive Council to take concrete steps in that direction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating American Federation of Labor Affiliation with International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis, E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg, Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at one time was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions; and

WHEREAS, Whatever the reason for its withdrawal from that body may have been, shortly after the World War, these reasons are not, in our belief, valid now; and

WHEREAS, The international trade union movement, weakened by the practical destruction of the trade unions in Germany, Austria, Italy and other lands, would become immensely strengthened by the affiliation of the American trade unions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, instruct the Executive Council to take steps for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Federal Unemployment Insurance Law

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record in favor of unemployment insurance for all workers as an instrumentality of major relief for periodic and chronic unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The need for such legislation today is greater than ever in view of the undiminished number of millions of unemployed in industry in every section of the country; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, continue unremittingly its drive for the passage of a compulsory Federal unemployment insurance law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the administration of the insurance funds created by this law be left to each and every industry, and that the workers in each industry have a paramount voice in its administration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Sheep Shearers vs. Wool Growers Associations

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years past the various western State Wool Growers Associations, and individual members of these associations, have pursued the policy of employing non-union sheep shearers to shear their sheep, which has resulted in reducing the amounts paid for shearing sheep to a point where sheep shearers cannot earn a living wage; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that should the various western Wool Growers Associations and individual members of those associations fail or refuse to recognize the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America No. 1, and fail or refuse to pay the union scale as fixed by that union, or refuse to employ union sheep shearers and union contractors exclusively for the shearing of their sheep—

That in such event the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated bodies, will, beginning on February 1, 1935, and continuing thereafter, put into

effect a holiday on the consumption of lamb and mutton until such time as the various western Wool Growers Associations, and individual members thereof, shall recognize and comply with the demands of the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America No. 1, and that during the term of such holiday no member of organized labor, or his family, shall purchase or consume any lamb or mutton.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Federal Legislation to Promote Housing Program

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate John A. Phillips, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing conditions for families of average income or less in the United States are in general below any acceptable standard of decency, amenity or safety, and are incompatible with the needs of workers and consumers and with the wealth and resources of this nation; and

WHEREAS, One of the most critical issues confronting us today is the need of raising per capita consuming power of the products of American Labor; and

WHEREAS, About 75 per cent of the building trades workers in this country are entirely without employment, and with little visible chance of receiving future employment through the old private profit agencies; and

WHEREAS, Only the Federal, State and City governments can better physical housing conditions, provide employment for building trades workers, and revive the dormant capital goods industry of this country, by financing large-scale, planned housing developments on a non-profit basis, designed, constructed and administered in direct collaboration with bona fide groups of workers and consumers; and

WHEREAS, The President, in his message to Congress of June 8 outlining a long-time program of social security, planning of physical resources and housing, said "we are working toward the ultimate objective of making it possible for American families to live as Americans should"; and

WHEREAS, The tentative efforts of the Federal Government to initiate modern, planned, low-cost housing construction via "disinterested" agencies have so far been limited, compromised, and obstructed by the organized opposition of the real estate and allied interests; and

WHEREAS, The only force which can put teeth in the Administration's promises and initiate a real national housing movement, in spite of the organized opposition, is the irresistible force of a

active, unified, informed demand on the part of all workers and consumers; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor, being the only effective representative of both workers and consumers, must be prepared to lead the housing movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall petition the President of the United States to prepare legislation and take all necessary steps at once for the unification of all Governmental agencies dealing with any form of shelter, and the establishment of a permanent Department of Housing and Public Welfare, under a new Cabinet officer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an immediate budget appropriation of not less than \$500,000,000 be allocated for this purpose, as part of a planned, long-time program to rebuild America; and that for effectiveness, the annual appropriation should be sharply increased; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the financing costs of this program shall be kept down to a minimum, interest charges on Government funds to be no higher than the price paid by the Government plus a small administration charge, and that, where necessary in order to provide housing within reach of low-wage earners, interest charges shall be cut out below the cost of money to the Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That bona fide groups of workers and consumers shall be recognized as "responsible public bodies" capable of acting as trustees for Government housing funds and of collaborating directly with Federal or State authorities in the provision of housing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor representation on every State or Municipal housing authority, local housing committee or other housing agency; and that the various State Federations and Central Labor Unions shall make it their business to see that this is done, and also to investigate and publicize the stand on housing of all candidates for office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the first housing appropriations be so allocated that they will provide at least one demonstration of modern planned housing in every industrial center, small or large, in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That company owned housing and the feudal conditions existing in mill villages must be abolished, and immediate steps taken to end this form of industrial slavery; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there should be created at this Convention a National Labor Housing Board, with an appropriation for a permanent research department, as

a check on governmental housing activities. This board shall undertake immediately to investigate such matters as:

(a) Conditions in company towns; (b) Relation between minimum wages, codes, social insurance legislation and necessary housing measures; (c) Housing standards below which no new construction shall be allowed to fall; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the essential relation between a housing program and other measures to promote social and economic security be kept actively in mind both by the Federal authorities and by Labor. Social insurance funds should be earmarked for investment in low-cost public utility housing. Unemployment insurance and minimum wage legislation should be carefully geared to housing legislation, so that every worker may be assured reasonable security in the tenure of a decent dwelling; and be it further

RESOLVED, The Federal funds earmarked for low-cost housing and the provision of employment in the building trades must not be spent for high-priced land; suitable legislation for the condemnation and appropriation of land needed for low-cost housing, at a price compatible with that purpose, should be enacted as soon as possible; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Government-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions. This precludes any "work-relief" scheme on housing construction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Provide for the Employment of American Citizens on All Contract Construction, Maintenance, and Repair Work on the Canal Zone

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operation and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose will be expended in benefiting, through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States except in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions should be filled by American citizens, by the Army and Navy, in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: artisan, baggage-master, baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Committee to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no persons other than citizens of the United States shall be employed in the positions outlined above by the United States Army or the United States Navy or their contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Government Provision for Representation at Washington of Organized Labor on Canal Zone

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present Administration has adopted a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal have found it necessary, because of their geographical location, a long ways from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor make every effort, through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of Organized Labor on the Canal Zone be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions, regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Twenty-five Year Retirement for
Panama Canal Employees**

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal are very rigorous, due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children, are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service in the Canal Zone for military personnel from three to two years because of climatic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62 years; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Central Labor Union is desirous of presenting a bill to Congress which will provide for retirement with 25 years of service at 55 years of age; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing such a law when conditions render it advisable to warrant such action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Old Age Pensions

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Edward Stubbe, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18463.

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced despite the stagger plan of the NRA, the CCC camps and the PWA programs and there are still substantially 12,000,000 jobless men and women in our country who can only be provided for when adequate unemployment and social insurance laws are enacted; and

WHEREAS, Untold thousands of old men and women after a lifetime of hard work and struggle are forced to spend their last years in poverty and want; and

WHEREAS, This deplorable condition must in the nature of our economic and social system become worse instead of better; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Lewis unemployment insurance bill is pitifully inadequate to cope with this condition; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an adequate unemployment insurance law, wherein all unemployed men and women shall receive not less than ten dollars (\$10) per week during period of unemployment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the enactment of an old age insurance plan for all men and women of sixty (60) years of age and over, who shall have no other income, such persons to be paid the sum of ten dollars (\$10) per week for as long as they shall live.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Formation of International
Industrial Union of Automobile
Workers**

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Edward Stubbe, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18463.

WHEREAS, Thousands of unorganized workers in the automobile industry, beset by the danger of company unionism and the continued attack on their living standards joined the American Federation of Labor to fight for their rights and improvement in their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Many of our local unions are declining in membership, large numbers of members having dropped out, with a loss of confidence in the National Council; and

WHEREAS, The company unions, are growing in power and are increasing their attack on our workers' unions, and are adopting new forms in order to trick the worker into accepting them; and

WHEREAS, New wage cuts are being introduced and discrimination continues against the union men; and

WHEREAS, There is a widespread desire on the part of the membership in the Federal automobile locals for the immediate formation of an International Industrial Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the immediate formation of one industrial union in the automobile and parts and accessories industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call a National Constitutional Convention of all Federal locals in the automobile industry not later than December 1, 1934, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, to com-

plete the formation of said Industrial Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A large number of so-called company unions were organized after the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The organizing of such so-called company unions was in open violation of Section 7-a of the Act; and

WHEREAS, A number of individuals and corporations hold contracts with the Federal Government and its Departments for the delivery of materials, for construction, and for other services, who are maintaining company unions in violation of the law; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers and other employer agencies advised employers to organize such so-called company unions, and issued circulars explaining how such so-called company unions could be organized; and

WHEREAS, There has been an evident determination on the part of many employers to ignore and to violate Section 7-a; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to prepare legislation for introduction in the Congress of the United States which will more definitely make it an illegal action for any employer, directly or indirectly, or through his agents, to in any manner interfere with the form of organization his employees may choose, or affiliate with, or in any manner to influence the employees in the selection of their representatives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such legislative measure provide for the cancellation of all contracts between the Federal Government and any of its departments with individuals, partnerships, or corporations who maintain company unions for their employees in violation of the Federal law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Advocating Extension of Panama Canal Employees Retirement Act to Widows

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced in past sessions of Congress to extend retirement benefits to widows of annuitants; and

WHEREAS, The women of the Canal Zone, after long periods in the tropics, with the possibility of being left widows shortly after their husbands retire, must certainly become objects of charity or else try to compete in the open market for unsuitable work; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of the employees involved are not sufficient to leave any surplus to make these widows independent of the necessity for asking employment or asking aid from others; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal employees have a special Retirement Act because of the unusual climatic and adverse conditions in the tropics; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the coming session of Congress support legislation which will extend to widows or annuitants retirement benefits of two-thirds of the annuity received by the employee before his death.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Advocating Appointment of Local Agent for Panama Canal Zone to Enforce PWA Wage Regulations

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Eight million dollars of public works funds have been allotted to the Army and Navy for the erection of necessary defense works and buildings on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, A good portion of this money is being spent on alien labor, and some white labor, with no regard to wage regulations prescribed by the Public Works Administration; and

WHEREAS, The distance between the Canal Zone and Washington is so great that complaints of violations of these regulations do not reach Washington and receive proper investigation by the Board of Labor Review for a decision before the work is almost completed; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Labor Review to date has not deemed it necessary to appoint a local investigator with authority to force alien contractors and others to live up to the prescribed public working and wage regulations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor interview the officials of the Public Works Administration with a view to having assigned to the Panama Canal an agent with power to make such investigations as may be necessary and report direct to the Board of Labor Review.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Condemning Order Prohibiting Organization of Fire Fighters, Norfolk, Virginia

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said International Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire departments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect written by such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the Safety Director of Norfolk, Virginia, on February 10, 1934, issued orders Numbers 19, 20 and 21, which read as follows:

"19. No member of the Fire Division will be permitted to join or retain membership in any firemen's organization affiliated or in any way connected with any organization outside of the Division of Fire of the City of Norfolk.

"20. No firemen's organization will be permitted in the Division of Fire except 'Norfolk Firemen's Relief and Social Association,' and members of the Division of Fire are prohibited from joining or retaining membership in any other firemen's organization within the Division of Fire of this City.

"21. Any member of the Fire Division violating either of these rules or regulations shall be subject to suspension by the Fire Chief and subject to reprimand, fine, suspension, reduction in rank, or dismissal by the City Manager in accordance with Section 63 of the Charter;" and

WHEREAS, Workers in industry are protected by Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act, which Act was passed and such Section 7-a incorporated therein through the efforts of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, by the International Association of Fire Fighters to have fire fighters included under the provisions of Section 7-a of said National Recovery Act, to the end that they might be enabled to organize locals and become affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, without the danger of jeopardizing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of fire fighters throughout the United States strongly desire to affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor, and would do so except for the fact that they know that by so doing they would place their jobs in extreme jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Administration of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, in causing the aforementioned orders, Orders No. 19, No. 20 and No. 21, to be issued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to have Orders No. 19, No. 20 and No. 21 of the City of Norfolk, hereinbefore referred to, rescinded or withdrawn, in order that the members of the Norfolk Fire Department may be affiliated with the International Association, in accordance with their wish expressed in their application to said Association for a charter, without jeopardizing their jobs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and Safety Director of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Condemning Order Prohibiting Organization of Fire Fighters, Atlantic City, New Jersey

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said International Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire departments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect, written by

such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the Mayor of Atlantic City, New Jersey, on July 19, 1934, caused to be issued an order, namely Order No. 288, which was signed by the Chief of the Fire Department of that city, stating, in part:

"I do hereby direct and order that any member who has joined any so-called Union immediately resign and cease any activities in connection therewith, and that any member of the Fire Department who has filed an application for membership in any so-called Union shall immediately withdraw his application and cease any further activities in connection therewith. We will consider a refusal to obey this order to be a violation of the Rules and Regulations of the Fire Department of Atlantic City, and action will be taken accordingly"; and

WHEREAS, Workers in industry are protected by Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act, which Act was passed and such Section 7-a incorporated therein through the efforts of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, by the International Association of Fire Fighters to have fire fighters included under the provisions of Section 7-a of said National Recovery Act, to the end that they might be enabled to organize locals and become affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, without the danger of jeopardizing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of fire fighters throughout the United States strongly desire to affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor, and would do so except for the fact that they know that by so doing they would place their jobs in extreme jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of Mayor Bacharach, of Atlantic City, in causing the aforementioned order, Order No. 288, to be issued by the Chief of the Atlantic City Fire Department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reason-

able means to have Order No. 288 of the Atlantic City Fire Department rescinded, in order that the members of the Atlantic City Fire Department may become regularly affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, in accordance with their wish expressed in their application to said Association for a charter; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and Chief of the Fire Department of Atlantic City be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Eight-Hour Day for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, It is now universally recognized and admitted that, in order to maintain the normal status of workers in this "Machine Age," to help restore jobs to millions who are unemployed, and to prevent future wholesale stripping of jobs from workers, it is essential that hours of labor be reduced in all lines of work; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the fire fighters of the United States and Canada are still working eighty-four hours per week, or an average of twelve hours per day, seven days a week; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the fire departments of all cities of the United States and Canada will help to relieve the distress of unemployment by creating jobs for many thousands of additional fire fighters; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in its convention held in August of this year went on record as favoring an eight-hour day, with one day off in seven, for all members of fire departments in the United States and Canada; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-fourth Convention, in the City of San Francisco, does hereby endorse the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its endeavor to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters of the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member Local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central

Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when a campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trade unionists are hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as in keeping with Labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Retention of the Panama Railroad Steamship Service for the Benefit of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Shannon Committee in 1932 recommended the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship service; and

WHEREAS, This service is of vital importance to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, as it provides reduced rates for transportation, enabling these employees to take much needed vacations in the United States, in order to recuperate from the effects of a tropical climate; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of American citizens, employees, and dependents, of the United States Government, as well as personnel of the United States Army and Navy and their dependents, who are in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama, 2,000 miles away from home, are dependent on this steamship line for transportation; and

WHEREAS, Living costs on the Canal Zone are slightly reduced because of low freight rates allowed the Supply Department and the employees on freight shipments; and

WHEREAS, Private steamship companies would undoubtedly raise the tariff rates on both freight and passenger traffic if the Panama Railroad Steamship Line was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, The private steamship lines operating between the Canal Zone and the United States ports are not equipped to handle peak loads of employees going on recuperative leave; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship line, and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to continue the operation of this line so

that the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees will be assured reasonable and reliable passenger and freight transportation to and from the Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Associated Press

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Percy Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Associated Press continues the operation of its telegraph system on an anti-union basis and fails even to acknowledge communications from the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America demanding collective bargaining, in defiance of Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, upon receipt of said demands, proceeded to coerce its telegraphers to state in writing and over their signatures whether or not they desired to be represented in collective bargaining by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press ignored Resolution No. 7 of the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations thereon except to deny the contents of said resolution and report; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union now represents a very substantial majority of these telegraphers who desire collective bargaining through the medium of that organization; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press is engaged in the gathering and distribution of news in competition with three unionized press services, namely, International News Service, United Press, and Universal Service; and

WHEREAS, The commodity in which these organizations deal is news; and

WHEREAS, Under present industrial conditions labor organizations, the American Federation of Labor, National and International Unions, State and City Labor bodies have been the source of a very considerable and important proportion of the news; and

WHEREAS, Such news has been furnished or made available to the Associated Press on equal terms with the aforementioned three union press services despite its unfair treatment of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press shows no sign of receding from its granite-faced opposition to the rights of its workers to organize; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its condemnation of the labor policy of the Associated Press; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is requested to study the advisability of recommending to the American Federation of Labor, National and International Unions, State Federations and City Central Bodies that they refrain from furnishing to the Associated Press news items or other information and to refrain from co-operating with that service in any manner calculated to enable it to continue in unfair competition with its unionized competitors until such time as the Executive Council feels that a more civilized attitude to its telegraphers entitles it to equal consideration with the fair press services.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing a Resident Commissioner for Canal Zone

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone), Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Territories of Alaska and Hawaii are represented in the House of Representatives by delegates; and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are represented in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone has no Legislature but is governed directly by laws enacted by Congress and the executive orders of the President; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no official representation which will enable their wishes to be properly represented to the President and the Congress of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, approve the policy of establishing a resident commissioners for the Canal Zone similar to such positions now in effect in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor will endeavor to have an Act creating such a resident commissioners approved by Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Providing for Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1934, employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad totaled 11,552, and of this total 2,937 were citizens of the United States and 8,615 were aliens—subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now ten millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has already been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That within five years from the effective date of this Act all positions of artisan, baggage-master, baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 2. The term 'artisan' as used in this Act shall include all skilled mechanics not otherwise specified in this Act; and the term 'office helper' as used in this Act shall include all clerks not otherwise specified in this Act.

"Sec. 3. That replacement of aliens by American citizens as provided in Section 1 of this Act shall be effected at a rate of not less than 20 per centum per

annum, until the policy established in this Act shall be consummated.

"Sec. 4. That no American citizen employed by the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad Company, on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be separated from the service by reduction of force, if it is practicable to assign him or her to work now performed by aliens, and that upon such assignment the position shall be transferred to the gold roll and compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 5. That American citizens only be employed in the positions stipulated in Section 1 of this Act by contractors performing work for the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama: Provided, that this restriction shall not apply to any contracts existing and in force on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 6. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit the rights of Panamanian citizens to employment on the gold or silver roll of the Panama Canal or Panama Railroad Company as defined in the order of the Acting Secretary of War under date of December 23, 1908, as interpreted by the Governor of the Panama Canal in official circulars issued by him subsequent to that date.

"Sec. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such additional sums as may be necessary to pay the compensation of employees in the positions referred to in this Act, at the Panama Canal rates of pay for American citizens employed in the Canal Zone, and provide the additional housing facilities for such employees, made necessary by the enactment of this Act"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Advocating Disability Retirement for Canal Zone Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Retirement Act provides that an employee leaving the service on account of physical disability shall not receive annuities under the terms of that Act if the physical disability is due to vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct on the part of the employee at any time; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement Act provides that an employee must merely prove freedom from such vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to

receive annuities on account of physical disability; and

WHEREAS, In equity, the more liberal provisions in connection with this matter contained in the Civil Service Retirement Act should be incorporated in the Canal Zone Retirement Act; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use every effort to secure an amendment to the Canal Zone Retirement Act providing that employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad subject to the provisions of the Canal Zone Retirement Act shall only be required to establish proof of freedom from vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to be eligible for retirement under the physical disability clause of the Canal Zone Retirement Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, D. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg, Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is the unanimous opinion of the entire labor movement and of all enlightened elements in American public life that the company unions fostered and encouraged by anti-union employers everywhere are fraudulent instruments in the hands of these employers aiming to defeat the purpose of bona fide trade unionism and to mislead and subjugate the workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, demand the modification of the National Recovery Act and Section 7-a of it, specifically, so as to make the company union practice illegal as a fraud and a misrepresentation of the principle of collective bargaining which the Act purports to uphold.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Retail Clerks' Union Shop Card

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates W. G. Desepte and C. C. Coulter, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Recognizing that the welfare of all wage earners depends upon their organized unity, by means of which, through concurrent effort, the principles of collective bargaining may be most effectively promoted and sustained; and

WHEREAS, No better way is known for the realization of this objective than

for all members of organized labor to consistently patronize all trade union labels; and

WHEREAS, It is self-evident that while striving to strengthen the power and influence of one label, it is equally important to strongly encourage and uphold all other union labels; and

WHEREAS, The union store card is the official label of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, issued only to stores where union clerks are employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge a more united and emphatic demand for the union store card on the part of the members of all affiliated organizations; and be it

RESOLVED, That an appeal be issued to all organizers and central bodies stressing the urgent need of patronage of those stores where the union store card is on display, and to insist upon the services of union clerks, who can be further identified by a monthly working button; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediate aid be given in the present campaign to thoroughly organize the salespeople in all branches of retailing by an insistent demand on the part of every union man and woman for the services of union salespeople in order that the time may soon arrive when all union dollars may be spent in union stores with union clerks.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Application of United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512,
for Remission of Back Dues**

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

The members and officers of Federal Labor Unions, United Automobile Workers of America, Flint, Mich., having first been approved in regular business meeting on their respective meeting nights, do hereby appeal to this convention of the American Federation of Labor now convened to declare a moratorium on back dues for a period of one year from October 1, 1934.

The members of these Federal Labor Unions, United Automobile Workers of America, having seasonal employment and for the past three years having just a few months work per year make this appeal for the good and welfare of all concerned and for the purpose of bringing back into the organization, without too much hardship, these members who are delinquent and no longer in good standing. Feeling that our strength de-

pends upon our membership and the support of these members as well as those in good standing and still being in a stage of organization, we do appeal to this assembly to give this matter serious consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Discrimination Against Older Workers
Under Workmen's Compensation
Laws**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, It has been forcibly brought to the attention of our membership that the laws of many States give an advantage to business and industry in the way of settling their own claims and in the fixing of rates paid by industry to the State in accordance with the amount paid out by the industry as compensation; and said industries, assuming that men of 40 or 45 years and over are susceptible to occupational disease and injury, are discharging men who have given many years—the best years of their lives—to those industries solely for the purpose of cutting down the cost to them of operating under intended humanitarian law; and

WHEREAS, In other States private insurance companies operating under workmen's compensation acts are offering cheaper rates for protection if the mass of the workers are under 40 to 45 years of age; and

WHEREAS, Such laws have a direct tendency to cause the discharge of men at the age of forty years or over, when they should be reaping the just reward from an employer whom they have served faithfully for many years; and

WHEREAS, Many American industries are demanding the last ounce of energy from their workers at an early age, only to relegate them to the human industrial scrap heap as they approach middle age; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we of Federal Labor Union No. 18536, of the United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, pray of you the delegates to this convention assembled, to pledge your support to the modification of workmen's compensation laws in such states where the aforesaid evils exist; and that it shall be the will of the American Federation of Labor that the various State Federations, City Central Bodies, National and International unions and Federal labor unions of those States where such laws are being administered, exercise every influence to change and modify said laws, so that no advantage is gained by the employer in discharging a law-abiding

citizen of forty years or over, who desires to work and to exchange an honest, faithful effort for a saving wage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Radio Educational Program

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Robert Franklin, Taft (California) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is a crying need for a more thorough exposition of the true meaning of the American Federation of Labor movement in American life; and

WHEREAS, Union periodicals, union speakers and union organizers are unable to reach a very large percentage of the individuals who make up the general public; and

WHEREAS, A large number of this general public must rely on papers, community leaders and employers hostile to the labor movement for their impressions of the American Union movement; and

WHEREAS, Various State Federations and other affiliated bodies have effectively influenced public opinion, in favor of the Labor movement, by the presentation of radio programs in the interest of Organized Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention adopt a fuller use of radio broadcasting, as a means of influencing the opinion of farmers, unorganized workers, members of company unions and the general public to a more favorable consideration of the American Federation of Labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend that the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor undertake the preparation of at least thirty programs each year, such as dramatization of Labor history, organization speeches, and speeches to convince the American public of the true importance of the American Labor movement in the upbuilding and maintenance of the American standard of living, and that the Executive Board make these programs available for presentation by electric transcription to the general public, through the various available broadcasting stations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Request That International Unions Relinquish Jurisdiction Over Workers in the Automobile Industry

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The work in the auto industry is of such nature that the em-

ployes in said industry specialize in the various trades involved, and inasmuch as all trades are affected and as segregation of each trade would mean a division of our membership to such an extent that it would prove detrimental to the unionization of the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Buick Federal Labor Union No. 18512, Flint, Michigan, go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to ask all International trade unions to relinquish jurisdiction claims over the entire automobile industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The general sentiment in the American Federation of Labor unions is in favor of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill as is evident from the endorsement of this bill by over 2,000 American Federation of Labor locals, four International unions, 30 Central Labor Bodies, four State Federations of Labor, and innumerable fraternal organizations to which American Federation of Labor members belong; and

WHEREAS, This pressure of the workers forced the introduction into Congress of the Workers' Bill, known as H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced despite the stagger plan of the NRA, the CCC camps, and the Public Works program, and there are still substantially 16,000,000 jobless men and women in this country, and this number is still growing by tens of thousands, as evidenced in the City of Flint, and

WHEREAS, This large number of unemployed and destitute people is, through no fault of their own, and the welfare of these people can only be safeguarded by enactment of the Bill, H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, The leading officials of the American Federation of Labor, aware of the sentiment of the rank and file, are nevertheless backing the Wagner Bill which will not provide for the millions now unemployed, and this is a scheme designed by the employers and the government to sidetrack a real unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), is the only bill which will force a

system of unemployment insurance for every unemployed worker out of the funds of the Government and the employers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Local Union No. 18512 go on record as endorsing the bill, and pledging to put pressure on Congress for its enactment into law and that a national drive for endorsement of the bill in every Local shall immediately be started to bring greater mass pressure for adoption of this measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the bill's enactment into law that the American Federation of Labor demand adequate relief for the unemployed from State and city authorities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Out-of-Work Stamps for Members of Automobile Workers Union

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The auto industry is a seasonal occupation and the members of the Federal unions lose about three months' employment per year, due to the change of models in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Buick Federal Labor Union No. 18512, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of Flint, Michigan, go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to give consideration to the possibility of arrangement to issue out-of-work dues stamps to above mentioned membership; be it further

RESOLVED, That out-of-work dues stamps be furnished to members for all the time they are laid off during the season; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Washington sacrifice the 35 cents per capita tax per month; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not exempt from dues payments and

assessments members that have become unemployed through no fault of their own, or that may have become victimized or blacklisted for union activity; and

WHEREAS, Due to the breakdown of the present economic system, these periods of unemployment are long, and threaten to become of longer duration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the affiliated National and International unions to provide a clause in their constitutions, exempting their unemployed and partially unemployed members from payment of dues and assessments for the entire period of such unemployment, or where the period of partial unemployment exceeds one-half the standard union monthly hours.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Prohibit Employment of Enlisted Personnel on Repair Work on Naval Vessels

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, There has been an extension of the use of enlisted personnel in the navy yards in the making of alterations and doing of repair work on naval vessels, although this is prohibited by the law of August, 1912, and by the Naval Regulations; and

WHEREAS, The use of enlisted personnel to do work which the law provides shall be done by civilians has prevented idle workmen from securing employment; and

WHEREAS, This practice continues despite the efforts which have been made to have the law fully observed; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to prepare a measure for introduction in the Congress of the United States which will definitely prohibit the employment of enlisted personnel in the making of alterations and the doing of repair work on naval vessels when these are in port or in a navy yard.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Boulder Dam

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress of the United States enacted H. R. 9002 to provide relief to Government contractors whose costs of performance are increased because of compliance with the Act approved June 16, 1933, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, It is understood that Congress enacted this measure for the purpose of giving government contractors relief from conditions arising from the application of the labor provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Wages of employment on the Boulder Dam project are lower than those for similar employment on like projects in progress of construction in other portions of the United States, and these low wages were established at Boulder Dam because contractors took advantage of the widespread unemployment which existed; and

WHEREAS, Wages of employees on the Boulder Dam project while extremely low are paid for labor in a locality where the costs of living are as high or considerably higher than those existing in other communities; and

WHEREAS, The climatic conditions and physical hazards are such as to bring casualties among the workers far above the normal; and

WHEREAS, The letting of the Boulder Dam contract previous to the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act leaves the contractors unregulated by any code or any agreements; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use their influence with the Secretary of the Department of the Interior and such other administrative agencies as have authority in the situation so that wages being paid on the Boulder Dam project will be increased and the hours of labor be reduced; and be it further

RESOLVED, That should it appear that additional legislation is required to accomplish this purpose that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have such legislation prepared and introduced into the Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Industrial Recovery Act Supports Principles of Freedom

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In 1933 the Congress of the United States in dealing with the political and economic problems forced upon the nation by the practical collapse of industry and finance in 1929, enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Their action was a "method" of saving the nation from the economic problems which had overwhelmed the people; and

WHEREAS, This "method" is now being challenged by many of the leaders in industry and finance whose incapacity for the responsibilities they had assumed were the principal causes for the collapse of 1929; and

WHEREAS, Other countries in dealing with their national, political and economic problems adopted other "methods" such as communism, in Russia; fascism, in Italy; nazism, in Germany, and their equivalent in Hungary and other countries in Europe; and

WHEREAS, These "methods" were accompanied by the establishment of dictatorships and the destruction of free speech, free press, free political institutions, and also by the immediate destruction of free and voluntary national trade union organizations; and

WHEREAS, The "method" adopted by the Congress of the United States upon the recommendations of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was based upon the maintenance and exercise of the institutions of freedom which, from the beginning, have been the cornerstone of our American form of government; and

WHEREAS, Under this American "method" of free speech, free press, and free political institutions have been protected, and in addition the American wage earners have been guaranteed the right to free trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made in several quarters to modify and revise the "method" which has been established, and to substitute controls which would modify or destroy the free institutions to which American workmen are entitled; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its approval of the principles of freedom contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act, and pledge itself to support these free institutions at all hazards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The organizing campaign of the American trade union movement is making wide-spread progress and

WHEREAS, During the past year there has been confusion in some instances as to the appropriate organization with which wage earners should affiliate; and

WHEREAS, This confusion has materially interfered with the organizing campaign of the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction granted to a National or International Union in the charter it receives from the American Federation of Labor is a contract entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the International Union which defines and guarantees its jurisdiction; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue instructions to all general and local organizers of the American Federation of Labor, to all State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Councils, informing them that under the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor wage earners cannot be organized except into the respective National or International Unions whose jurisdiction has been established by the charters which have been issued by the American Federation of Labor, or in Federal Labor Unions whose membership shall not include those over whom jurisdiction has been given in the charters which have been issued to National or International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Employment of Union Accountants

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Walter M. Cook of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 of New York.

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 has accountants as members who are both certified and not certified, and whose office force must also be members of our union; and

WHEREAS, A number of unions also affiliated with the American Federation of Labor employ these union accountants who give satisfactory service, and we appeal to the trades unions who need accounting work to employ only union accountants; and

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the cardinal principles of organized labor is co-operation and the determination to help and assist each other; and

WHEREAS, The union accountant members are held responsible by our union for the efficient and honest discharge of their duty in the premises; be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, October 1, 1934, to endorse this request and urge all affiliated unions when employing accountants, to only employ union accountants.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Office Workers' Codes

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Walter M. Cook for the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City, N. Y.

WHEREAS, In line with other labor organizations the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, did present a Code covering the demands of office workers throughout the United States on July 29, 1933, to the National Recovery Administration urging a hearing on our proposition for the thirty-hour week, increased salaries and other improved working conditions for the 4,000,000 office workers in our country; and

WHEREAS, We proposed \$13 as a minimum weekly salary for office workers, and minimums for various classifications, as follows: Experienced typists (2 years or more), \$21; experienced comptometer and other calculating machine operators, \$25; experienced file clerks, \$25; supervisory file clerks, \$30; beginning stenographers or dictaphone operators, \$21; experienced, \$30; switchboard operators, \$25; mimeograph, multigraph and addressograph operators, \$25 when employed in offices only; bookkeepers, \$35; head bookkeepers, \$75; bank tellers, \$35; junior accountants, \$25; semi-senior accountants, \$50; and senior accountants, \$100; and

WHEREAS, Besides the thirty-hour week (six hours a day), five days a week, we asked for time and one-half for overtime, double time on Sundays and holidays, two weeks' notice upon discharge and only for just and sufficient cause, two weeks' vacation with pay; and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 was represented at some of these Industrial hearings at Washington, D. C., by its President, Vice-President and Executive Board members and was advised and supported by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of our union were informed by the chairman at these hearings that they were for industries only and they would be heard when the code presented by the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 would come up for a hearing; and

WHEREAS, The codes adopted are of no benefit to the office workers as the standard weekly hours of thirty-nine have been increased to forty hours. The minimum salary of \$15 will help office boys and workers in extremely low categories. It grants the rights to organize. This is of paramount importance, as only through organization can office workers receiving more than \$15 have their salaries increased to meet the rising cost of living and to secure "the wages of decent living."

to use President Roosevelt's expression; and

WHEREAS, We were waiting for the National Recovery Administration to make good its promise of a hearing on our Code, we were surprised to receive the following letter.

"Washington,
"September 15th, 1934.

"Mr. Ernest Bohm, President,
"Bookkeepers, Stenographers and
"Accountants' Union,
"3 West 16th Street
"New York City, New York

"Dear Mr. Bohm:

"The code which you submitted on July 29, 1933, for the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, New York City, has been carefully considered by the Administration.

"In view of the fact that there are various approved codes which cover the proposals set forth in your submitted code, members of your organization will be governed by the provisions of that Code of Fair Competition under which the employer is operating. Due to this fact, further action on your code has been suspended.

"We thank you for your co-operation in the work of the National Recovery Administration."

"Yours very truly,
"(Signed) H. ROSE,
"H. Rose,

"Chief, Code Record Section

"HR/EW

and

WHEREAS, None of our demands have been met in any of the codes adopted; be it

RESOLVED, By the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 to register a protest against this procedure as a component part of the American Labor Movement and demand a hearing on our code as presented and promised and request the support of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Issuance of International Charter to Office Workers

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Walter M. Cook, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, of New York.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement must progress to succeed in its avowed purpose to advance the interest of its membership; and

WHEREAS, While the Federal Labor Unions, otherwise known under different names as Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Accountants, Assistants etc., by numbers are individually engaged in organizing in their

own locality, naturally using their only limited means to succeed; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that these Federal Labor Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor could extend their agitation, influence and power by combining into an International Union of Office Workers, organizing all workers employed in any clerical work throughout the United States; we are sure that being thus chartered by the American Federation of Labor our profession will be strengthened, and through co-operative method by these Federal Labor Unions as one, will be able to inaugurate a country-wide organizing campaign which will bring into the American labor movement thousands of office workers who under present conditions cannot be aroused; be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, October 1, 1934, to instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the granting of an International charter to the Office Workers as at present organized in Federal Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
Proposing American Federation of Labor Strategy Board to Co-ordinate Organizing Policies

Resolution No. 67—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The impetus to trade union organization is now widespread, and the organized workers are now challenged to deal with industry-wide problems for which the existing structure and methods of organization were not originally designed; be it

RESOLVED, That to study and advise on the united action of the trade unions and on the growth of organization in industries not hitherto fully organized, a strategy board of seven men and women representative of the main groups of industries be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor, in order to map out general plans and policies for strengthening the united action of the regular craft unions and at the same time for extending organization into those industries in which the present form of organization has obviously not been successful; and in other ways to adapt the national labor policy to the rapidly changing conditions now confronting labor, thus also carrying out the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention on national economic planning.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Needle Trades Department

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of organized labor in its efforts to obtain better conditions and improved standards can be materially strengthened by the unions operating in kindred industries acting in concert in such matters affecting labor as may be common to all of those industries; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, recognizing the benefits that may be derived by the workers through the co-operation of such unions in related fields whenever problems touching all of them require consideration and adjustment, has established within and as part of the Federation a number of National Departments designed to promote such co-operation within such industries; and

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the apparel industries have problems the solution of which could be facilitated if a federation of needle trade unions could be established along lines that have been followed in the creation of the existing National Departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their good offices in inviting the representatives of the various needle trade unions to confer with a view of setting up in the American Federation of Labor a Needle Trades Department, with such rights and powers as may be agreed upon as a result of such conferences and negotiations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing S. 1870 to Restore Provisions of Seamen's Act

Resolution No. 69—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, The main purpose in passing the Seamen's Act in 1915 was to bring the American boy to sea, to induce the American man to remain there for a livelihood, and to equalize the wage-cost in foreign and domestic vessels coming to and departing from ports of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The rulings by the Departments, sustained by the Courts, have resulted in the loss of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris" and many other vessels, and by application to American ships, the loss of the "Morro Castle"; and

WHEREAS, These rulings have liberated foreign vessels from the operation of Sections 13 and 14 of the Seamen's Act, and are thereby restoring the wage differential between domestic and foreign vessels trading from and to ports of the United States, to the great advantage of foreign vessels and their owners, and to the detriment of any development of real seapower for the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That S. 1870, to amend certain laws relating to American sea-

men and for other purposes, introduced into the Seventy-third Congress by the Hon. Robert M. La Follette Jr., of Wisconsin, be re-indorsed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor now meeting at San Francisco, California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to give careful consideration to this bill, and to pass it, in order that the beneficent purposes of the Seamen's Act may be restored.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Treaty on Safety of Life at Sea

Resolution No. 70—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, The treaty of so-called "Safety of Life At Sea" is still being seriously urged by foreign and American shipowners, and has not yet been passed upon by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and

WHEREAS, This treaty, agreed to in London in May, 1929, will, if enacted by the Senate, repeal all laws of the United States inconsistent with such treaty; and

WHEREAS, This treaty distinctly reduces our existing standards of safety of life at sea as embodied in our legislation and construed by the courts to such an extent that the obligations now resting upon the owner will be absorbed by the United States, against whom no suits for damages can lie; and

WHEREAS, The burning of the "Morro Castle" following upon the loss of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris," and innumerable other vessels grew out of inefficient and insufficient crews; and

WHEREAS, The standard set by the treaty, especially in men employed, is so ineffective and so alike to the crews of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris," and the "Morro Castle" that the result must necessarily be the same; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at San Francisco, California, do most seriously urge upon the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to report against the treaty, and do recommend that the treaty be withdrawn; further

RESOLVED, That the United States, no matter how much money it cares to spend, cannot develop seapower under such treaty sufficient for safety of passengers in peace, or for the safety of the United States in war.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing King-Dies Bill for Application of Exclusion Laws to Seamen

Resolution No. 71—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, There can be no national seapower to be ready for use in any serious difficulty or war unless the nation in question has such seamen of its own; and

WHEREAS, The United States exclusion laws and contract labor laws have no application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, This fact is the cause of bringing into the United States an unknown but very large number of persons who are racially or otherwise excluded; and

WHEREAS, The King-Dies Bill has passed the Senate twice, and the House of Representatives once, but has so far failed to become law; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at San Francisco, California, seriously urges that the King-Dies Bill be passed by the coming Congress; further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Department of Labor and to the Senate and House Committees on Immigration.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing American Federation of Labor Board of Planning and Co-operation

Resolution No. 72—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor,

WHEREAS, In industries hitherto practically unorganized there is obvious and sincere desire, because of the great diversity of occupations, to adopt a functional organization for the employees therein in preference to craft organization;

WHEREAS, The problems and issues incident to such a change in philosophy and technique of organization structure may require adjustment between conflicting jurisdictional and other claims of organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, The values of organization of employees along craft lines must be conserved and co-ordinated with the increasingly obvious need to make use of the functional principle in the organization of workers, especially in the public utility and mass production industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor set up a Board of Planning and Co-operation—the membership of which shall be representative of the various interests having a stake in the situation—to the end that by continuous study new general policies and plans may be determined and, with the aid of affiliated organizations, executed for the better and more unified action of all concerned.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 73—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Negro is a fully pledged citizen of the United States, and as such entitled to the full rights of citizenship, social, political, and economic; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always maintained a fraternal attitude as against local labor unions which tend to keep the Negro from the benefits of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to agitate for a cessation of all types of discrimination, and also to continue to disseminate such propaganda as will bring about complete equality of opportunity for American citizens without regard to the accident of race or creed.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Advocating Legislation to Prevent Lynching

Resolution No. 74—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Lynching undermines the moral standards of a community and substitutes a state of anarchy for orderly procedure; and

WHEREAS, The social degradation of any community caused by lynching is of grave national concern; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to work for legislation which, like the Wagner-Costigan Bill, seeks to lend the aid of the Federal Government in preventing lynching.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Industrial Unionism

Resolution No. 75—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In the upsurge of union organization within the last year, the craft structure of many unions in the American Federation of Labor not only weakens labor by jurisdictional disputes, but also proves an obstacle in the way of effective organization, especially of the large-scale mass production industries, such as auto, steel, rubber, etc.; and

WHEREAS, It seems clear that the most effective way in which the great

masses of the workers in the basic industries can be organized is on the basis of industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council has already taken some steps towards a more industrial form of organization in the form of Federal Labor Unions, joint councils of craft unions, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The reorganization of the unions in the American Federation of Labor has now become a vital and urgent necessity if unionism is to make progress in organizing the industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, 1. That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record in favor of industrial unionism as the most appropriate and effective form of organization of the trade union movement today; and

2. That in order to carry this policy into effect, the American Federation of Labor convention instruct the Executive Council immediately to call a conference of international union executive boards to consider ways and means of transferring the craft unions in the American Federation of Labor into industrial unions; and

3. That the further organization of the workers in the large-scale mass production industries shall take place along the industrial lines in industrial unions specially chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Legislation

Resolution No. 76—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The richest country in the world finds itself unable to cope adequately with the industrial problems produced by our technological civilization—notably unemployment, old age, sickness and injury; and

WHEREAS, Even the most powerful unions of skilled workers, despite their herculean efforts to protect their members against these industrial hazards, find their treasures depleted and themselves impotent to cope with these problems; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief in the need for the establishment of government unemployment insurance for the benefit of workers, including teachers and other public employees, expense not to fall on the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate a campaign for Federal Social Legislation including un-

employment, old age, sickness, injury, and maternity insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 77—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The present dearth of positions has placed the children in industry more directly in competition with adults than ever before; and

WHEREAS, The inevitable result of this competition is to lower wages and standards of living of all; and

WHEREAS, Early forced labor is destructive to the health, education, and happiness of children; and

WHEREAS, No civilized nation can tolerate the spectacle of wealth created for the few by the labor of children; and

WHEREAS, Twenty States have already ratified the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the NRA relative to child labor are but temporary; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically favors the adoption of Child Labor Amendment and calls upon its members to work for its ratification in their respective States, and for the passage and enforcement of more adequate child labor laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Banking Reform

Resolution No. 78—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The bankers, by their control of credit and banking, have sought to control industry and to dictate wage and labor policies; and

WHEREAS, They have capitalized the esteem in which they were held by a too trusting public and the influence they possessed—

a. To sell stocks and bonds they knew to be largely worthless;

b. To float highly speculative real estate ventures;

c. To curtail industrial loans so as to have more funds for speculative purposes;

d. To use money of depositors for bolstering stock speculations of their own;

e. To undermine the devotion of public officers to their trust by issuance of stocks to them at less than their real value;

f. To secure unwarranted tax refunds or vast sums in the form of subsidies;

g. To make false entries in books to escape the provisions of the banking laws; and

WHEREAS, Departure from sound banking practices and the sacrifices of productive business for speculative financing caused the failure of many banks and the loss of two billions to depositors, and helped to precipitate as well as to intensify the depression; and

WHEREAS, The bankers used their credit power to force elected Government officials to make undue and unnecessary budget cuts, to lower salaries, instead of levying additional taxes to secure the revenue deemed necessary to balance the budget; and

WHEREAS, These acts and their consequences not only undermine the faith of the general public in private banks and their owners but also raise the vital question whether it is wise to permit such vast power and control over both government and business to remain in the hands of persons who have so clearly demonstrated their unfitness, their lack of social idealism, their selfishness and greed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the Government to nationalize banking and credit and, pending the enactment of such legislation, to remove all legal disabilities upon Postal Savings Banks to the end that they may function on a basis of equality with both State and National banks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Aid to Schools

Resolution No. 79—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Tax delinquency, unsound financing, waste and inefficiency, laws limiting taxation of real estate, and undue reliance on real estate taxes for the support of education have played a significant part in bringing about a sharp curtailment of educational facilities and a serious limitation of educational opportunities for children as well as adults; and

WHEREAS, In many communities there has been a retrogression in the matter of provision of sufficient teachers and adequate curricula, length of school term, provision of medical care of children in the schools, and provision of text books and supplies; and

WHEREAS, The democratic principles upon which our society is founded call for equal educational opportunities for all children, regardless of location of domicile; and

WHEREAS, Effective education and adequate training of the nation's children is necessary to the survival of our American democracy; and

WHEREAS, The preservation of our American democracy is the first duty of our Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, The Federal government has expended with a lavish hand billions to subsidize banks, railroads, shipping, aeroplanes, insurance companies, and for war preparation, but voted only \$75,000,000 for educational relief, thus making impossible what is basic in a democracy—equal educational opportunity for the children of the nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the Federal government to work out and finance a program for equalizing educational opportunity throughout the nation at a desirable level. Conditions for the granting of such funds should include provisions for a minimum school year, equal standards of education for all children within a given state, the employment of regularly licensed and qualified teachers, the expenditure of these funds solely for instruction, supervision, educational supplies, and plant operation and maintenance.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training

Resolution No. 80—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President has by Executive Order of June 27, 1934, authorized modification of conflicting Code provisions to enable employers to engage apprentices in accordance with terms approved by the Secretary of Labor; the Secretary of Labor has appointed a Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training to recommend basic standards for use in the development of training programs for apprentices; the minimum standards already adopted by the Committee give evidence of a desire to promote genuine apprenticeship for skilled jobs on a limited scale, in contrast to the rapid and inadequate training of large numbers of semi-skilled jobs;

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor movement has been assured representation through the State Federation of Labor on each of the State agencies which are to administer and supervise the program, and on the Joint Advisory Committees to be set up in communities to determine the need for apprentices, the type of training, where they are to be trained, and the wages to be paid;

WHEREAS, This program will not interfere with existing agreements covering apprenticeship where these have been incorporated in NRA codes or craft agreements, but on the contrary will give Organized Labor an opportunity to promote the type of training which it has always favored as a method of inducting youth into skilled jobs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges its member organizations to take advantage of this opportunity to support and actively co-operate with the Federal Committee and the State agencies in furthering the adoption of plans calculated to insure all-around training for young people entering occupations requiring skill and responsibility.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The growth of American industry, with its organization for mass production, requires that effective organization of the workers employed in those industries be based on industrial, as distinguished from craft, lines, to the same extent and in the same manner that the employers in those industries are organized; and

WHEREAS, The tendency of industry, including such industries as have in the past been capable of organization along craft lines, is towards the elimination of skill, thereby removing the basis upon which many of the existing craft unions have been built; and

WHEREAS, The power of labor to bargain collectively is continually impaired by jurisdictional disputes and friction which have the effect of dissipating the energies of the workers and their leaders and of creating adverse public sentiment where such disputes interfere with the completion of projects; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to devise ways and means of bringing about the formation of industrial unions in all of the large, mass production industries, and to encourage the amalgamation of existing unions operating in kindred industries, with a view of increasing their effectiveness in their struggles for better conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hatters, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Amalgamation

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, After many years of jurisdictional conflict, the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, two international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, agreed, on January 19, 1934, at a joint convention of the two unions held in New York City under the chairmanship of President William Green, to amalgamate into one international union, to be known as the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid agreement of amalgamation, now in effect, has given to the new international union jurisdiction over 50,000 workers employed in the men's hat and cap, and women's millinery industries, and has eliminated the friction which for years had been a source of endless controversy, replacing it with one international union devoted to protecting the rights and advancing the standards of headgear workers, no matter what branch of the industry they are engaged in; and

WHEREAS, The negotiations which led to the amalgamation were conducted by President William Green, whose patience, industry and superb leadership during every stage of the negotiations, as well as during its most critical moments, made possible the amalgamation of which we are all proud; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of San Francisco, State of California, expresses its gratitude to President Green for his successful efforts in bringing about the amalgamation of the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Arbitrary Retrenchment of Public Education

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Organized wealth as represented by citizens budget commissions, which are financed and controlled by the bankers, insurance companies, and owners of utilities and large realtors, have capitalized the depression, and especially in public education; and

WHEREAS, With the exception of certain outstanding newspapers which are favorable to a high standard of public education, a menacing newspaper campaign attacking our free public school system under the guise of retrenchment appears to be spreading through the nation; and

WHEREAS, The resulting retrenchment has taken the form of curtailing

educational opportunity by establishing overlarge classes, by early school closing, by the elimination or excessive curtailment of the so-called frills, by the limitation of supplies and capital outlays; by a policy of non-appointment of regular teachers or by salary reductions in the form of cuts, furloughs, voluntary contributions, or suspension of annual increments, etc., therefore be it

RESOLVED, That while we recognize the need for honest economy and the need for the fullest utilization of existing facilities, we are unalterably opposed to arbitrary educational retrenchment which means the limitation of educational opportunity, the lowering of educational standards, the reduction of salaries and living standards, in whatever guise they may appear; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, together with the State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Local Unions co-operate in campaigns for the full restoration of salaries that have been reduced, and that they use the fullest resources of publicity to enlighten the general public to the dangers involved in educational retrenchment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Right of Public Employees to Organize

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; M. I. Thompson, Utah State Federation of Labor; Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There have recently been a number of cases of dismissal of public employees, especially of teachers in public schools, because of membership in organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such dismissal is in direct conflict with the rights of these employees as American citizens and is in opposition to the spirit of the National Recovery Act, which guarantees to workers the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to have certain of these cases of dismissal investigated by Regional Labor Boards have failed on the ground that public employees have no code, although Regional Labor Boards have acted in cases of other groups having no codes; and

WHEREAS, Public employees are thus deprived of rights guaranteed other workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the officers of this Federation take whatever action may be necessary to correct the above-mentioned abuse; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all National and International Unions, Local Unions, State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Unions concern themselves in this matter and endeavor to secure for public employees the same right to organize as is guaranteed to other workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of practically every National and International Union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor requires that a member who is in arrears for three months or six months (in exceptional cases a year's grace is given) shall be stricken from the benefit membership list, and is furthermore deprived of all rights and privileges; this procedure operates against the delinquent member without a vote being taken in the local union of which he is a member; as a result of this procedure during the five years of the depression hundreds of thousands of unemployed union members, as well as many local unions in which the majority of the membership are unemployed, have been suspended or expelled; and

WHEREAS, With only a few exceptions the International, National and Federal Labor Union organizations have not taken steps to retain the loyalty of these former members to union labor. In failing to do this they have played into the hands of the employers and seriously weakened the organized labor movement; at the same time these officials have not curtailed their expenditures to any great extent; they have not reduced substantially the high salaries of officers, general organizers, etc.; in many cases in order that they might continue to receive their unduly high salaries they have tapped the sick, disability and death benefit funds of the unions, and in this way have brought discredit upon the financial responsibility of the entire trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The high salaries of union officials, compared to the average income of the dues-paying membership, place these officials in a superior social rating far above that of the membership, and therefore are a fertile field for the growth of corruption and the consequent neglect of the interests of the membership; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring expulsion for non-payment of dues cease at once. That this Convention recommend to its affiliated unions that all suspensions and expulsions for non-payment of dues by rea-

son of unemployment or part-time work cease immediately; it is further the sense of this recommendation that all members unemployed for a determined major part of each month shall be exempt from payment of dues but shall remain in good standing in their local union with full rights; that a local union when a majority of its members is unemployed shall be exempt from paying the usual per capita tax to the National or International Union, and the Central Labor Bodies and State Federation, but shall remain in good standing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record that all expenditures of the headquarters of the National and International Unions, except those which produce immediate results through efforts expended in field organizing and in resulting increase in membership of the respective unions, shall be cut to accord with any decrease in revenue by reason of the enforcement of the measures detailed in the above resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation Requiring Naval Work Be Done in Government Plants

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present productive capacity of the United States navy yards and arsenals are not used to the greatest advantage, due to lack of work; and

WHEREAS, The naval vessels, ordnance work and military equipment are manufactured in private yards and establishments while the facilities of the Government plants are allowed to remain idle; and

WHEREAS, The taxpayers are entitled to a more productive use of expensive machinery installed; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular Convention assembled, do approve and recommend that legislation be introduced in the Congress of the United States, providing: That no naval vessels, ordnance work or military equipment be manufactured in private establishments until the present capacity of Government plants shall have been fully utilized.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Emergency Federal Appropriation for Education

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The nation is now confronted with a national emergency in which decisions of governments and of the people have become of critical importance; and

WHEREAS, A national emergency requires an emergency program of education so that wise decisions may have proper support and unwise decisions may have proper criticism; and

WHEREAS, At the present time mass reactions to controversial issues are often based upon insufficient and one-sided information; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the public schools are financially unable to give and pupils unable to procure adequate training concerning present-day controversial issues; and

WHEREAS, Millions of unemployed people might be making constructive use of their forced leisure by studying the causes of unemployment and other social questions; and

WHEREAS, The market is flooded with thousands of unemployed teachers; and

WHEREAS, Were an educational program included in a program to give idle people work it would not only effectively reduce unemployment and spread purchasing power but also develop a popular understanding of ways and means of preventing future depressions and unemployment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby recommend and request an adequate emergency Federal appropriation for education (including adult education) concerning the social, economic and political problems of the day, with effective safeguards to secure fair presentation of all sides of controversial issues, such appropriation to be partly allotted to the States on some appropriate basis and spent by the States for projects and purposes approved by the Federal Government, and partly retained by the Federal Government to supervise, co-ordinate, and promote the State expenditures; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we commend efforts of the National Administration to start a program of adult social education and that we recommend the program herein proposed to widen and amplify the administration's program.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Government Operation of Telegraph and Telephone

Resolution No. 88—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its forty-ninth annual convention, held in August, 1934, in

Boston, Massachusetts, adopted as Resolution No. 68 of its proceedings the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts Federation of Labor instruct its delegate to the National Convention of the Federation to renew agitation for operation by the United States Government of a telegraph and telephone system as part of its postal service, and that a bill be introduced in the United States Congress of 1934-1935 making provision for such a system which has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, numerous civic bodies, postmaster - generals and leading publicists."

WHEREAS, Telephone and telegraph utility companies are abusing their franchises by violation of Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, by the illegal diversion of public moneys to the subsidizing of company unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that the American Federation of Labor comply with the request of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, to the end that such utilities be compelled to comply with the law of the United States and to assure to the consumers more reasonable rates and improvement in service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Code for Telegraph Communications Industry

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Percy Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, One year ago the Washington convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 8, which demanded that the Telegraph Communications industry be placed under a permanent code of fair competition at the earliest possible date.

WHEREAS, Despite numerous hearings and promises, the Telegraph Communications industry has not yet been placed under a code of fair competition;

WHEREAS, Employees of commercial companies continue to suffer loss of earnings, deplorable working conditions and unemployment under the President's Re-employment Agreement, which was declared by General Johnson on August 30, 1933, as "wholly unsatisfactory"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to urge on the National Recovery Administration speedy action in connection with the imposition of a code of fair competition on the Telegraph Communications industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Change of Title for Post Office Laborers

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate William Nickols of the Post Office Laborers Union No. 17831, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, We have been confronted with a dual organization, namely the National Association of Post Office Laborers, for many years:

(a) This association first competed with us by monthly dues being but half the amount we were receiving;

(b) By propaganda they maintained, to get in the American Federation of Labor, as a National Organization paying one cent per capita.

We claim this unfair competition. If they wish to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, they should be admitted in the locals now organized under the American Federation of Labor, as individual members, to include Post Office Laborers, Railway Mail Service Laborers, and Watchmen;

RESOLVED, That Post Office Laborers Union No. 17831 be recognized as the only union of Post Office Laborers, Railway Mail Service Laborers and Watchmen in San Francisco. Having been organized for the past ten years, and being in the majority, we claim this right, and our control should be final;

WHEREAS, Misconstruction now exists by the title of Laborer in the Postal Service, as it does not define actual work performed;

RESOLVED, That all employees of the Post Office Department that are now designated Post Office Laborers, and Railway Mail Service Laborers, have their title changed to read Post Office Mail Handlers and Railway Mail Handlers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In its report to the Cincinnati Convention in 1932 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in urging the adoption of unemployment insurance, did not deem it advisable to take a stand as between unemployment reserves and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, Discussions and studies since 1932 have clarified the issue and established the fact that company reserves, even if administered by the State, cannot meet the problems of the unemployed, since such a plan is in the nature of savings rather than insurance, while industries such as the building trades, tex-

tile industry, clothing industry, et cetera, which are constantly confronted with unemployment, cannot possibly build up funds for the workers in those industries; and

WHEREAS, It has become evident that any system which would compel wage earners to depend upon their own employers for unemployment benefits will result in the creation of another company welfare scheme, which will tend to establish another company union device and prevent the effective organization of true trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is this realization of what it will do against unionism that has caused hostile employers' organizations in several States to sponsor nefarious bills aimed to set up privately controlled systems of unemployment reserves; and

WHEREAS, It is the State Federations of Labor which are responsible for the enactment of Labor's legislative program in their respective States, and many of the State Federations after studying the facts have definitely declared themselves in unalterable opposition to unemployment reserves; and

WHEREAS, The members of Organized Labor look to the American Federation of Labor for a definite decision which shall eliminate the misunderstandings and misrepresentations resulting from the decision of the 1932 convention at Cincinnati, which voted to await further consideration of the basic choice between unemployment reserves and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The history of the past decade has shown clearly that the recurrent rise and fall of business activity creates in periods of dullness extreme unemployment and human distress, which in time accentuate the depression of trade and industry; and

WHEREAS, The individual worker at the present time cannot set aside from meager and uncertain earnings any sufficient reserves for his own protection; and

WHEREAS, Public necessity and social justice demand that industry rather than public welfare should assume the responsibility for maintaining the employees periodically thrown out of work; and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy and dangers of maladministration of individual company reserves are plainly obvious upon any consideration of the recent experiences of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby declare itself as unalterably opposed to any plan of unemployment insurance, State or Federal, which is based on the principle of separate company reserves, and demands that only such plans be considered as include one pooled fund for the State or Nation as a whole, to

which all employers in the State or Nation should contribute, and to which workers in all industries should look for compensation; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare itself vigorously in favor of a system of compulsory unemployment insurance for the Nation and the respective States on the basis of pooled funds for each as a whole.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation for Use of National Guard and Army Troops in Strikes and Lockouts

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John Barte, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, Looking over the industrial horizon and viewing the loss of life and physical suffering caused by Labor having to go into warfare in case of strikes, and wishing to remove this needless loss of life and in some cases property damage; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its National and State legislative lobbies, and other methods known to Labor, work for the enactment of National and State laws where, because of disputes or differences between employer and employee a strike or lockout results that the National Guard or Regular Army troops are to be posted about the factory or factories involved, and that these guards shall remove all persons from the premises that are so guarded, causing all who might remain on the job to leave and remain away until the dispute is settled satisfactorily; that no one be allowed to enter the factory or factories except officials above the rank of superintendent and those necessary for proper fire protection.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting PWA Designating Employment of Non-Union Workers

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been obtained from the Los Angeles office of the National Re-employment Service, 1123 South Hill Street (W. J. Willis, director), an excerpt from a bulletin, purportedly issued from Washington, D. C., by the Public Works Administration, entitled "P. W. A. 12427, Manual of Instructions—State Engineers and Field Inspectors," which excerpt is purportedly taken from Page No. 44, last paragraph, and reads: "If the applicant so desires, an additional condition may be added to the terms of paragraph 3 (a), Revised Bulletin No. 2,

to the effect that the preponderance of labor to be employed must be employed from the political subdivision in which the project is located and the remainder from the County, provided such labor is available and qualified. Therefore, if there is a non-union community which is constructing the project, and it desires to employ a preponderance of its own residents, it may require the contractor to do so, regardless of any agreements between the contractor and labor organizations. Residents of the County in which the town is situated may not then be supplied as workers until the number permitted the town are employed. If the contractor, because of his union agreements, cannot comply with this, he is not a qualified contractor"; and

WHEREAS, The subject matter of this paragraph, if allowed to prevail and become a permanent rule of the PWA, will have a grievous effect upon the employment of Union members of the various crafts involved by disqualifying their employers to bid on and construct such public works projects as may be built in the aforementioned districts; and

WHEREAS, If this paragraph is allowed to apply, it will have a depressing effect upon any and all organizing campaigns waged; and

WHEREAS, The application of this paragraph would be in direct violation of Section 7-a of the NRA, which clearly allows employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers, besides discriminating against those employers who wish to abide by the said laws by maintaining contractual relationship with their employers by disqualifying these employers from bidding on or constructing such public works projects which may be constructed in such districts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, protests the application of this or similar rules upon any and all public works projects as discriminatory against Union Labor members, against employers who maintain contractual relations with Union organizations, and is contrary to the intent and purpose of the National Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of the resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Public Works Administration at Washington, D. C., the two Senators and all the Members of Congress from the State of California and O. C. Carr, State Engineer Inspector for Public Works Administrations of California.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing National Union of Automobile Workers

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John Bartee, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has set up Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, For the first time in the history of the Labor movement certain industries have become in a large degree organized; and

WHEREAS, It is impractical to dismember these unions into crafts because of the complications involved; and

WHEREAS, It is the desire and firm belief of the Automobile Workers that only in a more firmly knit unit of Federal unions throughout the automotive industry can results be accomplished; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered by the delegates of this Convention to authorize to be formed and cause to be in effect a Union comprising all Federal unions formed or to be formed in the automotive industry and known, as the Federated Automotive Workers of America, or some like name; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this union shall be as the several Federal Labor unions now are, a direct part of the American Federation of Labor, but officered and directed by men selected from the automotive ranks with the advice and assistance of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers, organizers, clerical, legal, statistical, fact-finding and other necessary directing forces be paid directly from the funds of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these unions be coordinated, that definite basic wage rates be set for each class of work throughout the industry, that workers above the average in ability shall receive graduated scales according to their ability and that uniform hours of work, rates for overtime, and policies throughout the automobile, automotive parts and accessory industries for the benefit of the organized workers of these industries be established; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these Federal Unions have jurisdiction over every craft or class of workers engaged in the manufacture of parts of and including the finished automobile, with these exceptions: Where lumber workers, steel workers, rubber workers, knitting workers and allied lines make a product, it would not come under automotive parts until delivered for manufacture into parts used in an automobile or its accessories; and be it further

RESOLVED, That craft unions unless they have signed agreements within the automobile industry prior to the date of assembling of this Convention relinquish all claims to workers within the industry

and relinquish their organizing efforts, which if carried on will disintegrate a vital unit of workers in the American Federation of Labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention here assembled take a definite clear-cut course of action, that hindrances and differences be eliminated for the future welfare of the American Federation of Labor and its members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Labor Policy of Hughes-Mitchell Processing Company, Chicago, Illinois

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Hughes-Mitchell Processing Company, with local offices located at 1465 Griffith Avenue, and headquarters in Chicago, is now conducting a chemical plant located in Torrance, California, for the purpose of making various chemical products to be distributed by large concerns such as Sears Roebuck Company and other agents; and

WHEREAS, This company refuses to recognize Union Labor or pay the union wage scale to mechanics in this district; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor proceed to get adjustment with this concern at the earliest possible date, and failing to get said adjustment be instructed to place this firm on the unfair list through the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor when it convenes in annual convention in 1934; and, further, that a boycott be placed on all products manufactured and handled by this concern.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials, and from whose judgment the employes have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of

tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare, and have introduced in the Congress, legislation to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing government agency to which employes may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases, and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Attitude of Department of California, American Legion, in Maritime Strike

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the conclusion of the World War, the Veterans of the United States Army, Navy and Marines who took part in that conflict have formed a national organization known as the American Legion; and

WHEREAS, At the time of its inception a bond of friendship was made between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor, developments of which have shown that the aims of both in many respects are alike; and

WHEREAS, This tie of friendship between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion has been increased by the exchange of courtesies and the seating of fraternal delegates, one by the other, at their national conventions; and

WHEREAS, In the preamble of the Constitution of the American Legion there is a declaration that the Legion itself shall maintain a neutral attitude upon industrial matters, which has been accepted in good faith by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This calls to mind a circumstance that occurred during the administration of the late President Grover Cleveland, in which a similar organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of union veterans of the Civil War, were used extensively for the purpose of breaking strikes and herding scabs, and otherwise acting on the side of the employers; and

WHEREAS, In a recent maritime strike in San Francisco, the Commander and other officers of the American Legion, Department of California, were responsible for starting a publicity campaign that, in the judgment of many members of Organized Labor and of the American Legion, had for its purpose the beginning of laying the foundation of a program to turn over to the employers the organized veterans of this country as they were in 1893; and

WHEREAS, This appears to be a breach of faith on the part of the then Commander and other Officers of the Department of California of the American Legion that may disrupt the friendly relationships that have existed between these two organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that this entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of entering into an exhaustive investigation of the actions of the just retired Commander and other Officers of the Department of California, American Legion, with special regard to the publication of certain advertisements in San Francisco papers relative to the maritime strike recently concluded there, to determine, first, whether or not there is a conspiracy upon the part of certain officials and members of the American Legion to betray the pact of friendship between that organization and the organized labor movement, and to bring in a report of their findings to the next convention of this Federation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Board for Vocational Education

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Federal Board for vocational Education was organized in 1917 to assist the several States in promoting an educational program for our working people, both youth and adult, farmers, homemakers, and the physically handicapped; and

WHEREAS, Many persons in these several groups, because of economic and social changes, and because of the world's greatest economic depression, are now unemployed, and are in need of occupational readjustment; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Board for Vocational Education has furnished to all of the States in the Union, the Territory of Hawaii, and the Island of Porto Rico, valuable leadership and assistance, without assuming either administrative

control or domination, in carrying out a worthwhile vocational educational program for groups of our people not otherwise provided with educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, There is now and will continue to be in the future greater need than ever before for the Federal Board for Vocational Education to promote an adequate and comprehensive program of vocational education and constant individual readjustment and to provide for civilian rehabilitation; to maintain high standards for carrying out the objectives enumerated; and for the equitable distribution of federal funds for vocational education and for civilian rehabilitation of physically handicapped people; and

WHEREAS, Labor, the farmer, and the business man who have knowledge of occupations and their needs and demands vital to any public program of vocational education, are vitally and directly concerned with the results of such a program, and have interests and points of view that can only be adjusted through their representatives on an administrative board for such education; and

WHEREAS, The elimination of the Federal Board for Vocational Education was one item in a contemplated program of gradual withdrawal of federal aid for vocational education, a program which has been abandoned with the restoration of full federal aid, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirms its belief in the principle of a representative Federal Board for Vocational Education as provided in the Federal Act of 1917, creating this Board and urges the President to restore the Federal Board to full activity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization re-affirms its belief in the permanent principle of Federal aids for vocational education and Federal co-operation with the several States and Territories as a means of assisting the millions of men and women now out of work to adjust and train themselves for early re-employment, as well as to furnish educational training for those now at work in the cities, on the farms, and in the homes; and that it heartily commends the President for the restoration of the Federal funds provided by Congress for this purpose; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby memorialize President Franklin D. Roosevelt to revoke, at the earliest possible time, Section 15 of his Executive Order of June 10, 1933, thereby restoring the functioning power of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in accordance with the original intent of the 1917 Federal Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act promulgated as a permanent

policy under the Woodrow Wilson administration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Roosevelt be urged to appoint to the Federal Board for Vocational Education active representatives of the employing, labor, and farmer groups, respectively, in accordance with the intent and purposes of the 1917 Federal Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Endorsing President Roosevelt's Recovery Program

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For a series of national administrations preceding that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the United States successively has suffered from a failure to realize the vital place in the Nation's well-being held by the workers of this country, and the fact that no part of the Nation may prosper and succeed unless labor also may maintain its fair share in the prosperity and success; and

WHEREAS, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the progressive social, industrial and economic legislation he has sponsored and has proposed for the future has given unmistakable proof of his realization of labor's important integral part in national development and progress, and has expressed a sympathetic understanding of the desirability of carrying this program into immediate effect; and

WHEREAS, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his most recent pronouncements, and in the face of frequent attacks by a powerful though short-sighted opposition, has again given proof of possession of the requisite energy and courage to continue his efforts to make such social, industrial and economic legislation effective in the future; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, wholeheartedly and enthusiastically endorses the program as heretofore outlined by the President of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention express implicit confidence and full faith in the personal integrity and courage of our Chief Executive which enables him steadfastly to pursue his program towards consummation, without faltering under an opposition of a strength which would dismay an official of less integrity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Franklin

D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not exempt from dues payments and assessments members that have become unemployed through no fault of their own, or that may have become victimized or blacklisted for Union activity, and

WHEREAS, Due to the breakdown of the present economic system, these periods of unemployment are long, and threaten to become of longer duration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the affiliated National and International unions to provide a clause in their constitution exempting their unemployed and partially unemployed members from payment of dues and assessments for the entire period of such unemployment or where the period of partial unemployment exceeds one-half the standard union monthly hours.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Vallejo Central Labor Council in regular session has endorsed all the provisions of the Lundeen Bill, known as H. R. 7598 (73d Congress, second session), and commonly known by the title "The Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Act"; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention approve all the provisions of H. R. 7598 and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to actively support this measure in the coming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Abrogation of Building Trades Agreement Covering PWA Work Relating to Employment Agencies

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress an Act was passed entitled the "National Industrial Recovery Act," for the purpose of creating a public works program to spread employment and increase wages, thereby increasing purchasing power, which, in turn, if carried out as outlined by the supporters and makers of this act, would build up and strengthen the whole economic structure of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The above-entitled Act was so worded as to provide for designated agencies to be set up by the Federal Government for the registration of all labor, both skilled and unskilled; and

WHEREAS, Because a further clause was written into said Act pertaining to Union Labor, wherein representatives of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor submitted evidence that 80 per cent of the class of work contemplated under said Act had been done in the past by contractors who have contractual relations with Union Labor; therefore, it is very necessary to provide for the protection of union mechanics as well as union employers wherein the following clause was drawn up and made a part of said Act. (This clause as published in Bulletin No. 2 was agreed upon by the International representatives of the Labor Unions, and involved J. M. McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department, and Secretary of the Interior Harold I. Ickes, appointed by the President of the United States to carry out the interpretations of the said Act), the two pertinent sections of which agreement read as follows:

"11. Be it further resolved, that in the event that the prevailing hourly rate prescribed under collective agreements or understandings between Organized Labor and employers on April 30, 1933, shall be above the minimum set for any district within that zone; that agreed wage rate shall be the rate to be paid for employees on construction projects financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

"11. Highly skilled or organized labor shall not be required to register for work at such local employment agencies, but shall be secured in the customary ways through recognized trade union locals. In the event such highly skilled or organized labor is not secured by such locals within forty-eight hours after request is filed with them, then such work-

ers shall be obtained through local employment agencies designated by the United States Employment Service."

WHEREAS, In the State of California said re-employment offices were designated and set up by the United States Government and had just commenced to function properly during the last sixty-day period, when undue pressure was brought about by certain people supposed to be representing the general contractors and influenced and governed by the Chambers of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations, whose attitude toward Union Labor organizations is well known (to disrupt the entire set-up in so far as Union Labor is concerned); and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned influence has caused a change to be made which is detrimental to the highly skilled men of the carpenter and kindred building trade crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the effect that contractors have been released from under this act to secure all foremen, subforemen and keymen from the designated agencies, which is being abused by unscrupulous contractors; and, furthermore, all foremen and keymen have been permitted to use tools at the rate of journeymen's pay, and in many instances, contractors have been allowed to use tools themselves. These instances and others not mentioned are examples of the subterfuges and illegitimate practices being allowed to creep into the building program under the PWA administration, to nullify the intent of the Act; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco, the week of October 1, 1934, go on record as bitterly protesting this procedure and instruct its officers to immediately take up with the proper authorities in Washington to have these violations stopped at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employee, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned. The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

At 4:45 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, October 2.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Calif.
October 2, 1934.

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Alteire, Ames, Anderson, Baer, Bailey, Bale, Bellanca, Berry, Bertucci, Billet, Birthright, Bower, Bowles, Boylan, Brennan, Beardall, Burr, Campbell (Geo. C.), Conway, Garibaldi, Covert, Cuthbert, Dahlager, Davison, Dellums, Dent, Doane, Doll, DeLong, Draper, Ellis, Evans (E. Louis), Fagan, Fay, Feeney, Flores, Freng, Fry, Gavlak, Geraghty, Gorman (Francis J.), Gornto, Graham, Gresty, Graham (Fred J.), Hampton, Harlineady, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Hillman, Holland, Horan, Horn, Hull, Hirschfeldt, Iglesias, Jackson, Jenkins, Joel, Johnson (Frank), Kelly (Horace), Kennedy (Thomas), Kennedy (James G.), Lauder, Lewis (J. C.), Lewis (John L.), Lowe, Lufrano, Lowry, Lucchi, Graham (James P.), McElligott, McInroy, McKeown, McMahon, Manash, Mastriani, Matlin, Meany, Meyers, Mitchell (Humphrey), Mitchell (Richard A.), Money, Murray, Nelson, O'Brien (Paul), Olander, Phillips (John) A., Porter, Potofsky, Quinn, Rice, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwarz (Harry), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Walsh, Watson (Spencer), Webster, Wolfe, Yarnett, Yetta.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report the receipt of a communication from Max Zaritsky, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, advising that on account of illness he will be unable to attend the Convention, and requesting that Max Goldman, who was elected as Alternate Delegate to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to serve in his stead, be seated as a delegate.

Your committee recommends the seating of Delegate-elect Max Goldman, in place of Max Zaritsky, with 50 votes.

We have examined the following additional credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Tucson, Arizona, Central Trades Council—Sam Kontas, 1 vote.

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Geo. W. Townshend (Alternate) as the regular delegate from the Reno, Nevada, Central Trades and Labor Council, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.,
September 29, 1934.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Whitcomb Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

In the name of the Hebrew Actors Union, permit us to extend to you our sincerest congratulations and through you to the officers of the American Federation of Labor as well as the delegates assembled for the splendid achievements of American Labor in these troublesome times. We know that you direct the American Labor Movement towards the progress of mankind, towards the freedom of all oppressed peoples and races and towards a true democratic life all over the world. We salute you, Brother Green.

(Signed) JEAN GREENFIELD,
President,
Hebrew Actors Union.

Los Angeles, California,
October 1, 1934.

Hon. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Civic Auditorium.

The Industrial Welfare Commission of California welcome you and your members to our State. May your Convention be harmonious and successful.

(Signed) MABEL E. KENNEY,
Chief, Division of
Industrial Welfare.

PRESENTATION OF BADGES TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: It has been the unbroken custom of the convention of the American Federation of Labor to present early in the sessions of each convention, official badges to the fraternal delegates in attendance at the convention. We have these badges especially prepared for our fraternal delegates so that we may distinguish them and know them and meet and greet them on every occasion which presents itself.

I take the liberty now of presenting these badges to our fraternal delegates this morning and introducing them to you. Later on, perhaps tomorrow or Friday, these fraternal delegates will present their messages of greeting and deliver their addresses to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

First, I want to introduce to you Brother J. Stokes, Secretary of the London Glass Bottle Workers' Trade Society. He comes from 20 Amhurst Road, Hackney, London. I know we are all glad to welcome him, and I am presenting him with this specially designed badge, which he can take with him back to his home in London as a reminder of what I hope will be a delightful visit with us.

We also have a specially designed badge for the colleague of Brother Stokes, Brother Walkden. You will recall I advised you yesterday that Brother Walkden was called home because of the death of his dear wife, but I am presenting this badge, which I would have presented to Brother Walkden had he been here, to Brother Stokes, with the request that he take it back to England with him and present it to Brother Walkden upon his return. It is the same kind of a badge that was just presented to Brother Stokes.

Fraternal Delegate Stokes: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—You no doubt quite understand the emotion one would feel of not having with him a colleague that one has known, as Walkden and I have known one another for forty years. It is a pretty good stand in the life of two men, and I can hardly express all I feel in taking this badge. It would have delighted me much more had my

colleague been here to have taken it himself.

But I do want to say this to you, that I will endeavor to convey to him the great sympathy which I know you feel, and in saying what I am saying now it is what he has asked me to do in a letter which I received this morning.

In taking this badge I will endeavor to pin it on his coat with the great sympathy and feeling which has been expressed by your president and convey to him the fraternal greetings which are conveyed in this medallion which you honor me by conveying to him.

I thank you.

President Green: Now it affords me additional pleasure to present this other beautiful badge to Fraternal Delegate Dunn, who comes to us with the fraternal greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother William Dunn is the president of the Toronto Labor Council and a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Brother Dunn, I present to you this badge. As you well know, these badges are specially designed for presentation to our fraternal delegates. They are suitably engraved so that they can always be held as a beautiful souvenir, and as a kindly reminder of a delightful visit to our convention. I am glad to present this to you, Brother Dunn, and I take the greatest pleasure in pinning it on.

Fraternal Delegate Dunn: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I was told this morning by one of the former Canadian delegates that the Canadian delegate to this Congress was generally looked upon as being the young member of the family, and as such, one who should sometimes be seen and not heard. And so I think it would be in keeping with my position this morning if I were to defer any remarks that I might have to make until the regular time comes for hearing the fraternal delegates.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for this splendid memento that you have pinned on me this morning. I have had many things pinned on me in my lifetime, some that I did not appreciate, but I want to assure you that this is one time I do appreciate having it tagged on me.

Again, Mr. President, I thank you for this memento.

President Green: We are planning for the fraternal delegates to transmit their messages to the convention on tomorrow, Wednesday afternoon.

Now I am pleased to present to you a lady who has been actively engaged in auxiliary organization work. She comes to us from St. Louis. She is president of the National Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries. She is also a member of the International Typographical Union, President of the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries at St. Louis. She has been working on a plan to co-ordinate all auxiliary life in all trades. The group now is asking merely for fraternal recognition to give impetus to this program.

I know you are anticipating with feelings of pleasure this address which Mrs. Ryder will deliver to the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. Mrs. Ryder addressed the convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in this city a few days ago. She came here from St. Louis to bring to us a message of greeting.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mrs. Mary E. Ryder.

MRS. MARY E. RYDER

(President, National Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished visitors and members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends—I bring to you the greetings of the National Federation of Trade Union Women's Auxiliaries. We want to say at the outset that we deem it an honor and a privilege to be able to bring that greeting as well as to have an opportunity of telling you a few things about ourselves and what we are hoping to do for this great American institution of the American Federation of Labor.

First, I want to thank Mr. Green, who gave us the inspiration at the Vancouver convention when he told us to form a national body if we hoped to secure fraternal recognition. We started out to do that thing, but we found that we were confronted with a very arduous and tedious task. Cradled in the lap of depression, hearing stories on all sides of unemployment and distress, it was not an easy task to perform. But we are very happy to tell you that this dauntless, courageous, resolute group of women went out

to do the task, and we are happy to tell you this morning just what we have accomplished thus far.

First I want to correct an erroneous impression given in one of the papers by one of the reporters, who said we hoped to become a dominating power. We women realize that not by the widest stretch of the imagination will we ever become a dominating power in the affairs of the American labor movement. We know that we can become valuable allies under your supervision and control, but we know the only power that we possess is the economic power, and that if we are recognized it is merely without a voice or a vote in your affairs. So please feel a little bit comforted by the fact that it was a misstatement. In fact, some of the statements I never heard in my life before, statements that came out in the papers, such as the one about the male sitting on his perch.

I am reminded of the story of the little girl and boy who were told by their teacher to write a short composition on Adam and Eve. The little boy, true to his masculine instincts, wrote something like this: The Lord made Adam and rested nine days and then He made Eve and he has not had any rest since.

But just listen to what the little girl had to say. The little girl said: The Lord made Adam and He looked at him for nine days and said, "H-mph, my goodness, I ought to be able to do better than that." And He made Eve.

Perhaps the women think, although we are considered as your spare rib, that we would like to have a little bit of your backbone and make a fight for you, such as we believe you are entitled to. First, may I say that this group of women had nothing in mind other than serving you. We realize as intelligent women that with the granting of suffrage women were clothed with a very new and a very important and significant power, in addition to the great power that you yourselves have already conferred upon women by placing in their hands the force and the power you boast of as your greatest economic weapon, the purchasing power.

We realized that with the granting of this new power all forms of organized life would seize these women. It has come to pass and we are now witnessing just one great patriotic organization that sprung up shortly after the war composed of some six or seven hundred thousand women organized into auxiliaries, carrying out social programs for the benefit of that particular organization. I refer to none other than the great American Legion. It has organized its women into these strong phalanxes that reach from coast to coast.

Perhaps you would like to know what we have accomplished in our short span

of organized life, which started right after the Vancouver convention. We are happy to tell you that thus far we represent two International Women's Auxiliaries, one of them the Machinists and the other the Maintenance of Way, three Joint Councils of Women in St. Louis, Denver and Wichita, Kansas; forty-nine individual auxiliaries having no international auxiliaries, representing eighteen different crafts and located in Alabama, California, Illinois, Colorado, Iowa, Georgia, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. These groups represent forty-seven individual unions, as follows: Bakers, Boot and Shoe Workers, Carpenters, Film Exchange Employees, Glaziers, Hosiery Workers, Machinists, Maintenance of Way, Meatcutters, Milk Wagon Drivers, Painters, Photo Engravers, Printing Trades, Sheet Metal Workers, Steel Workers, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Street Car Men, also the Colorado Labor Advocate Auxiliary of Denver, Colorado.

Our only objective in co-ordinating this strength was because we believed the time had arrived in the American labor movement when this great body that has before it possibly the most perplexing problems that ever the American Federation of Labor was forced to meet—and we are not apologizing or criticizing for the fact that the great task of organizing your women into some co-ordinated plan has been rather overlooked.

I like to refer to you as a great piece of God's handiwork, Niagara Falls. That great thing has roared out its power for many, many hundreds of years. There was no particular use made of the generative force that it possessed, and suddenly they made a scientific study of that great generative force, and you know what has happened. If you go there now you will see at the foot of the falls a powerhouse containing a giant turbine, in a comparatively small wheel furnishing light, heat and power to all of those nearby cities. That is the same generative force that you have placed in the hands of your women in the purchasing power. I don't know whether the men are inclined to feel that they spend their own money, but I want to tell you the advertising clubs of this country say that 85 per cent of all of the money that is spent in these United States is spent exclusively by women. I believe if you would analyze that you would find it due to lack of time and inclination on the part of the average working man, and that perhaps the wives of the workers may go you just about 10 per cent better.

The result is that this great force, this generative force of the purchasing power is in the hands of practically unorganized women, unorganized at least to the extent that they do not know or understand its great force in your behalf.

The auxiliary movement is not a new one, and I could not stand here and say

that it is something that sprang up recently. It has occupied a long chapter in your affairs. Several of the organizations represented in this great assembly today have had auxiliaries for many, many years and have not only organized their women into local auxiliaries but have granted and conferred upon them the honor of an international auxiliary. So you see the movement is started. All it needs is some impetus, some plan of co-ordination to bring these women together, to give to them that encouragement and recognition that they will have to have if they are to carry on the great scheme that they have to organize these women into sort of shock troops, as it were, for you.

We understand that perhaps there will be many of the weighty subjects that will come before you that will never enter into our discussions. We realize the danger, too, of women joining auxiliary life and trying to take part in any of the union's affairs. And may I say this to you, that as a member of a union I have always tried to carry out this idea to the women, that it is the rock upon which they shall perish if they at any time attempt to discuss any of your affairs, that they are a separate and distinct entity, merely organized under your supervision and control, and for one primary object, and that is to learn how to spend union made money for union made goods.

In addition to that, I think there is another force and resource that you have not tapped and that is the spiritual side of the labor movement. What greater emissaries could you have than the women, the mothers of little children, to go out and tell the story to the children of the effects of the spiritual side, of the great blessings of the trade union movement in their lives and the lives of the little children. Who is better fitted to instill reverence into the minds of the children? I hope to see the day when every trade union man's child will include in its prayers at night the words, "God bless my daddy's union."

We believe that the women can and will do this for you. We understand that perhaps with the traditions and customs that have surrounded women they will never be able to solve these problems you have so ably done throughout the years.

We realize, too, that the profound economists of this country as well as those who hold high positions of governmental trust are now recommending the thing that you have tried for years and years to establish, the shorter work day and the increased pay envelope. We realize that there is a great question at stake now, that it is not merely a question of hours and wages, it is a question of patriotism, it is a question of whether or not only our trade union movement is challenged, but even Christianity itself and many other great forms of our American life.

We realize that these women can and will serve you if you will give them an opportunity to do it. We want to do it because we believe that America, as well as the trade union movement, needs us. Our first allegiance is to you. I care not how many organizations women may join, the first organization to which she owes something from within is the trade union movement. It is the organization that makes it possible for her to take up all of those other forms of civic and political and fraternal and patriotic life. That is why we want to get these women to co-ordinate their strength. You will find there are hundreds of these auxiliaries. The Carpenters alone have two hundred or more groups of women co-ordinated, but with no particular plan.

We believe we can help you not only spiritually but economically. We believe that through your guidance and through the guidance of the Union Label Trades Department, under whose supervision we believe these women should be directed, these women can render a distinct service to you.

May I say in closing that there is sometimes a question whether women belong here or there and if there are duties in the home that should not be interfered with. In that connection may I recite to you a poem which I think carries out the thought we have in mind:

They talk about a woman's sphere
As though it had a limit,
Why, there isn't a place on earth or
heaven,
And there isn't a task to mankind
given,
There isn't a blessing or a woe,
There isn't a whisper yes or no,
There isn't a life or a birth
That has one feather's weight on earth
Without a woman in it.

So we say we bring to you the loyal devotion of these women. We lay at your feet whatever little efforts and whatever success we have had in bringing together these forces. We have done this without any per capita. We have done this without any paid organizers. It has been a remarkable experience accomplished. I might say, without the almost necessary evil of money, but we have at least got the nucleus of something now that needs your approval, that needs your encouragement. We stand before you not as a group of women expecting to dominate, but expecting to serve you as we believe we should.

Thank you.

President Green: In behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention, I wish to thank Mrs. Ryder for her message and for her address here this morning.

Now we have another speaker I wish to present to you. He comes all the way from Vienna, Austria. That is a good long journey. He is here to visit our Convention and he can tell us something of what has been happening in the distressed country from which he came.

We have with us this morning, Brother Max Winter. He is a writer and an editor. He was Vice-Mayor of Vienna from 1919 to 1922 and Senator of the Austrian Parliament from 1922 to 1933. He is now in exile from his country simply because he was connected with the organization of the masses of the people, and as a member of that organization he fought for the recognition of the rights of the masses of the people in Austria.

I am pleased to present to you Brother Max Winter, who will now address you.

MR. MAX WINTER

(Former Senator of the Austrian Parliament)

Mr. President and fellow workers—First of all, excuse my poor English. I have learned your mother tongue as a reader in my sixties, and only my seven months' stay in your wonderful country has given me a small practice in speaking.

Second, my heartiest thanks to your President and to you for giving me the opportunity to address you, so that I can tell you the story of my now so unhappy Fatherland and my dear city of Vienna.

To understand the Austrian situation it is necessary to make at first a little geographical and historical excursion. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy had before the war a population of 54,000,000, and now Austria has 6,500,000. The old monarchy had many fertile parts. The small Austria after the war has more mountains than agricultural land. Only a third of the needed bread grows in Austria itself. That is one of the main causes that we have since the war never possessed independence. Since the Peace Treaty of St. Germain Austria is too small. In the narrowest crossing from Germany to Italy an American express train could cross Austria in an hour. Our mountain regions are not densely populated. That is the reason that nearly one-third of the Austrian population is living in the Capital, in Vienna. The farmers are more conservative, the city people are for liberty and progress.

Ever since, Vienna has been the industrial and commercial capital. In the Re-

public Vienna attained the right to take in taxes. Now could Vienna initiate its social politic. After the war Vienna was a heap of ruins. The streets were in ruins, the houses were in ruins, and the men were ruins. Our children, born in the misery of the war, have been wrecks. In that most difficult time I have been Vice-Mayor of Vienna and the leader of the public welfare. From the end of 1919 until the beginning of 1921 we had sent more than 100,000 children alone out of Vienna into many European countries. We have sent seven thousand to Italian mothers and a lot to the French and English.

Under the leadership of your past President, Mr. Hoover, America has initiated the American relief work. In hundreds and hundreds of kitchens the children of Austria and Vienna have been saved from starving. All that manifold misery, to change into a flourishing condition has been the nearly superhuman task for the Vienna Board after the war. The old Christian Social Party, which had ruled more than thirty years in the Vienna Hall, has now lost its position. It has only one-third of all the votes it had, but the Social Democrats have two-thirds, and, with it, the leadership and the responsibility.

Ten years later we had changed Vienna once more into a flourishing city, into the capital not only of Austria, but once more the capital of culture, into a city of peace and wonderful progress, admired by the whole world. We had saved the bodies and brains of the little ones, and we had also led all working men to higher culture. We brought about 260,000 inhabitants out of the Vienna slums into apartments full of sun and light, modern institutions where the labor of the wife could be saved. Vienna was full also of institutions for better community life, the real folk palaces, kindergartens, baths, playgrounds, reception halls, recreation courts for the elder people, mechanical laundries, libraries, and so on. The working class began to live in beauty, and all that for a rent of \$2 a month for a family of four.

Under such circumstances the Social Democratic Party of Vienna grew up. We had alone in Vienna 420,000 paying members of the Party, out of a population of 1,900,000. Each fifth inhabitant of Vienna was a member of the Social Democratic Party. In the whole of Austria we had 700,000 members. In the Austrian Federation of Labor we had in the best time 800,000 members. Each eighth Austrian had been a member of the Unions. In the same proportion the mighty American Federation of Labor would have 15,000,000 members.

Of all votes by the Parliament election we had 43 per cent, for Vienna alone 66 per cent.

But instead of bringing together the city and the farmland, the men behind the

anvil and behind the plough, the Christian Social leader, Dr. Seipel, stirs the contrasts and formed in 1927, with all conservative elements, the United Anti-Marxistic front. Together with the Hitler Fascists of today and the Austrian Heimwehr Fascists of today, the child of the United Anti-Marxistic front is now the Austrian variety of Fascism.

From this little beginning had the political fighting in Austria and Vienna taken its sharp forms. The first outbreak of ill humor was on July 15, 1927, seven years ago. Nearly one hundred were killed. Men, women and children lay in the streets of Vienna, shot by the policemen.

The answer of the Unions was a general strike for three days. We hoped to bring Dr. Seipel to reason, but after the strike Dr. Seipel organized all bourgeois and farmer parties against the Federation of the Austrian Unions and against the Social Democratic Party. The proposal we made to Dr. Seipel in those days of civil war was to constitute a government of all parties. Dr. Seipel did not accept.

So we have had in Austria during the last seven years an underground civil war. The workers have been fighting against it, but the conditions have been unequal. We had the working classes, two-fifths of all votes, 43 per cent, but the others had 57 per cent, many citizens and the farmers in a big majority. We had old rifles and no occasion to exercise. The others had modern arms and not only the soldiers, but also the private army of Herr Narhenberg, the "home guard," the Heimwehr had occasion to exercise and to open maneuvers. The government has protected the maneuvers of the mercenaries, but forbidden the maneuvers of the Republican Schutzband of the working class.

Austria had in this time, like all countries, many unemployed. The crisis had the effect of a slow poisoning. Prince Narhenberg could pay in the beginning a dollar to all Heimwehren. So he could buy many unemployed. They have been hungry.

The Socialist leadership of Austria knew that the time of a crisis, the time of many unemployed is not the time for successful fighting. Therefore, the Socialist leaders of Austria have made a holdout politic. They put off the masses always, hoping the crisis would be finished or hoping to win time. But the crisis grew, the hunger of the masses grew. Fascism in the other countries grew also, and with it the courage of the reactionary people of Austria, of the United Anti-Marxistic Front got stronger and stronger.

For years we had in the body of the Austrian state also the slowing poison

of a crisis. The reactionary government ruined, step by step, the Socialist progress of the last ten years, but not with the effect to bring help to the other people, only with the effect of destroying the Socialist acquisitions, the good laws for the working people and the cultural institutions, like the new school system.

And so were the conditions in the days of March, 1933, as Hitler became Dictator of Germany. On March 5 we Austrian Socialists have been feeling our fighting against the slowing poison of Fascism may also be not successful. Germany has a population of 65,000,000, Austria only 6,500,000, or one-tenth. Can we win a fight against two Fascist fronts, against the Austrian Nazis and the Heimwehr Fascism?

The situation of the Austrian Unions and the Socialist Party has been a very bad one. The only thing we could do was to find an agreement with Herr Dollfuss, but Herr Dollfuss has been no more master of things at this time. At first Herr Nahremberg and Dollfuss have tried to become partners of Herr Hitler, and then they became tools of Signor Mussolini.

Mussolini has been the spiritual cannon man who shot the big guns against the wonderful Vienna buildings, against the apartment houses. Mussolini has been the spiritual cannon man, according to the official reports, who killed three hundred men, women and children who defended their homes, who defended the legal form of state, the Austrian Republic, against a coup d'état of Herr Dollfuss. But the old experience has been made once more. Big guns are stronger than old rifles.

And the future? Of course it is hard to say. We know nothing and I am not a prophet, but the universal history and human experience teaches us that a government resting only upon bayonets cannot be a government for a long time. Also the present rulers of Austria are men, and men have not learned to sit upon the points of bayonets.

The crisis of Austria is a small part of the crisis in the whole world, but the example given from the heroic Austrian workers may be a warning for workers in the whole world. Blood is a precious sap and especially the blood of our best men. It could be possible we all must once fight with iron arms, but ordinarily the arms of the fighting working class must be arms of brain. Only enlightenment will free the workers and with them mankind.

All is evolution, and evolution is the only revolution. In a battle against machine guns and tear gas, to cast stones is perhaps a revolt, a sad spectacle for the moving pictures. You can see such a one each week, but that is not the revolution. We could win all battles for liberty if we had had the cannon men.

But we have them not. In the first years of the republic a prominent Socialist leader has been the State Secretary of the Army. In that time we had 90 per cent of all soldiers as members in the Socialist party. No one cannon man could have fired a shot against the masses in that time. We had the brains, the souls of the cannon men. But with the United Front of the Anti-Marxists came the power over the army in the hands of the Christian Social party, and one hundred and twenty suicides of soldiers in the last ten years tell us the cruel story of desperate young men and the bad treatment they have received. Most of those soldiers and non-commissioned officers have been Socialists.

So we had behind the big guns political enemies as cannon men, no friends, but also proletarian. All fightings from today, the fightings in the civil war and in the economic war are fightings of proletarian against proletarian. Here is the rule we must learn. We cannot win the battle for freedom, for a real human life so long as we have two camps of proletarians, the first fighting for liberty, for peace, for a better life, for culture, for a just distribution of all goods; the other, the mercenaries of all grades fighting against their brothers to perpetuate the disorders of our time. And the whole Fascist people of Europe are such mercenaries, from Mussolini to Hitler.

Your task, my dear labor delegates, is for the working class of America to lead out of that trouble. We all must drive forward the evolution. Not the hands with stones, only the brains with science and better knowledge will win. Only the united masses of workers will win the last battle for liberty, for peace, for humanity, for justice, and culture for all men.

Your very important convention may be a visible step forward to that great aim. If you could help me for the children of the Vienna victims, these poor starving Austrian children like you have been helping the European workers, that would also be a good beginning for your work. There are nearly 7,000 families of fighters, in all nearly thirty thousand men, women and children, starving in Austria, and my holy duty is to find help for them. The fathers and mothers of my starving children have been fighting not alone for Vienna or for Austria, the battle for liberty of Vienna has been a battle for the liberty of the working man in the whole world, also for the American workers.

So I join with my greeting and best wishes for your convention this petition: Help the starving children in Austria. May your convention be a convention against Fascism, the beginning of the universal war against Fascism. If the important words of your President would be incorporated as a means to progress

for mankind, as a new step to prosperity in America, but also the first step in the world war against Fascism, then would your convention be the most important historical event of our days. The eyes of all the workers of the whole world are looking at you.

Not a single country, not a single party can win the war against misery and its misbred son, Fascism. The slowing poison of Fascism destroys first the souls of the hungry unemployed, but later it infects the air of the whole world.

All workers of the world, all upright characters, all thinking brains, all brave hearts must go to the front.

Long live the American Federation of Labor!

Long live the solidarity of all the workers of the world!

I thank you.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the visit of Brother Max Winter this morning, and we are highly pleased with his highly educational and inspiring address. The masses of people in the United States and the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have been deeply touched by the reports of persecution inflicted upon the working people of Austria. They have been going through and are now going through a terrible experience. The persecution of the Nazis and the Fascists has been inflicted upon the liberty-loving masses of the people of Austria. These men and women have committed no crime other than to unite politically and economically for the purpose of realizing the enjoyment of a better day and a better life. As a result of their determined efforts to achieve in that direction, they have been murdered, they have been persecuted, their rights have been denied, their privileges have been taken from them, and they now stand as the persecuted victims of a most vicious dictatorship.

I have had reports from men in whose judgment I have the greatest confidence, men whose word is law with me and is as good as their bond, and these men have told me that there is no spot on the face of the earth where poverty is so great as in the city of Vienna and in the country of Austria. As a result of that condition, children are pinched and they are suffering. The morale of the people

has been lowered. Spiritual values are being destroyed and for the moment the outlook for the masses of the people in Austria is most pathetic indeed.

I know the great heart of labor goes out in sympathy to those people, and I know that individually every man and woman identified with the American Federation of Labor protests against this persecution inflicted upon our brothers and our sisters, the masses of the people in Austria.

But we believe that right will eventually prevail. We cannot believe that injustice will be forever enthroned, and some time those who are assuming the position of dictators, the tyrants of Europe, will pay and answer to the people of the world.

So I want to say to Brother Winter that he is speaking to friends. He is in the home of those who are sympathetic towards the hopes and aspirations of the Austrian people. I know that we want to do all we can to be helpful to them in their great hour of need.

I thank you.

I am shaking hands just now with our dear friend, Congressman Welch, of San Francisco. The Congressman is one of us, a champion of labor, one who speaks for labor, along with other friends in the Congress of the United States. I want him to say a word to you just now.

HONORABLE RICHARD WELCH

(United States Congressman)

President Green, I dropped in to pay my respects to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. I came in more especially to shake hands with my esteemed friend, your wonderful president, William Green. I heard his speech yesterday. I was glad of the stand that he had taken, and that the American Federation of Labor has taken, with reference to the six-hour day and the thirty-hour week. As a ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor, and as former chairman, may I say to you that I am absolutely in favor of the six-hour day and the five-day week. Gentlemen, I must not take up your time. I am glad to have had this opportunity to come in and say a word of welcome to you, as a Representative from San Francisco. I know very well you will do great work, work that will

redound to the great credit of organized labor and labor generally in the United States.

President Green: We are assured that our good friend, Congressman Welch, will be back in Washington at the next session of Congress, and he will champion the cause of labor. His election is assured, because he won, out in the primaries and, like some of our Southern Congressmen, when he wins out in the primaries he has won in the election. He has been nominated by all parties, so they like him pretty well.

Now I want to present to you one of our beloved members, one who occupies a prominent place in the hearts and the affections of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. He is one of the old pioneers who, along with former Vice-President James Duncan, our late lamented Samuel Gompers, Brother McGuire and other leaders, held aloft the banner of the American Federation of Labor when the army was small.

There is only one Andrew Furuseth in the entire world. There is no other face like his anywhere or any place. He is an orthodox trade unionist, a fighter all the time, an old seamen, a Viking, a beloved member of the American Federation of Labor, held by all of us in reverential regard.

I present him to you this morning.

MR. ANDREW FURSETH

(International Seamen's Union of America)

Mr. President, officers, and fellow delegates—I wish I was a little stronger than I am, but I expect to be able to say what I have to say today in such a way that you will hear me, and I hope that you will think of it, because what I am saying now is the result of more than forty years of study. I think it is timely that it should be said now, because we are in the thick of a fight, in the thick of the great evolution from slavery to freedom—not freedom only for a few to do what they like with the many, but the freedom of all.

The attacks upon the trade union movement by the Civic Federation, by the Better American Federation, by the

great employers has been vehement, serious and mixed with such a pack of lies that it is necessary that some specific statement should be made. In the statements that I am about to make I challenge the leaders of the other side, I care not whether they come from big business, or from the professions, or from the universities.

The American labor movement is American by essence. Its origin is in the organization of free white men that organized in colonial times for the purpose of mutual aid and protection. That organization sent delegates, and in their convention they drafted the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence is the first Constitution of the United States, and where the Constitution is in doubt as to the meaning, all the great jurists of the country agree that it is to the Declaration of Independence that we are to go for clarity. The great jurists also say that we are free. That is why we have a Constitution. That Constitution was drafted to protect the weak and the defenseless. We are ahead of Europe in fundamentals, because with us in America the sovereignty is at the bottom. In Europe the sovereignty is at the top. There is nothing that we cannot do in America that we want to do and can agree upon. We cannot interfere with the equal right to life. We cannot interfere with the equal right to freedom, and we cannot interfere with the equal right to the pursuit of happiness.

The labor movement, based as it is on the Declaration of Independence, cradled as it is in the original organizations for mutual aid and protection, and placed as it is in the original, primal Christian religion, is a part of the great evolution from slavery to freedom. It is from that point of view that I am going to talk.

In 1927 I delivered an address to the University of California, which I am going to repeat to you today. There were some seven thousand students there. At one time they felt like booing, but, when I got through, the bulk of the students and the professors were with me. Others were at cross purposes. I am going on to that statement and then I am going to make the application of it to the present day.

In Genesis we are told that "God created man in His image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." We are further told that man was to take dominion over the earth and that its products were to be to him for meat. Thus we are told that man is the child of God, that men were created equal, with equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And God rested and saw that all was well. Creation was, so some teachers have told us, finished. When God made man in his own image—

like himself—it must mean that he gave creative powers to man and that henceforth man was to continue creation—and in freely working—creating—he is obeying the fundamental law of his being. Whatever we may think of the narrative in the Bible, we can not doubt that man has creative powers and that creation has continued. Such historical and archeological information as we have been able to gather proves first, that from the earliest times man has been occupied in creating tools, weapons, foods, shelters, customs, laws, religions and states; second, that while opportunities were equal and man was free to use his creative powers there were improvements in physical and mental qualities, and that where the free use of the creative powers had been hindered by bondage or prevented by slavery, there has been decay and death. Whether such bondage or slavery was imposed on a group or on the individual the results have been the same, as we find from the history of India and the history of the nations that have passed away. Bondage has been the Nemesis of Nations and of necessity it could not be otherwise, because bondage results in direct negation of the purpose of man's being and is the violation of the fundamental law of life. The bondman can feel no responsibility; he can have no sense of morality, of self-respect or of honor; he can have no individual will and for these reasons he can not exercise his creative power. He—the slave—is alone. Association for mutual aid is unthinkable. Deprived of human estate he is degraded below the animal or vegetable kingdoms. In having thoughts that he can not utter to men he is like an animal, in having impulses that he can not follow he is less. In his lack of mobility he is like a tree, in his inability to obey the laws of his being he is less. His imagination is corrupted, his thoughts darkened. He is dominated by fear—the mother of hate and treachery. He hates his work; because it is compelled from without, not an impulse from within. The feeling of his bondage expresses itself in hatred of his master or masters and in a selfishness that knows naught of moderation or restraint, except as it arises from fear. Fear removed, his passions become like a rush of mighty waters with barriers destroyed. Any man compelled to labor against his will be it by an individual or by society, is a bondman. Let the American people beware of bondage being imposed upon any class. Toleration of it by workers in any field of endeavor is, as we shall see, treason to American ideals. To resist it is the highest duty though the result may be prison or death.

Historically we know the fate of India, Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome. These nations, if such they may be called, had at least one excuse. Their religion—their ethical concept—call it what we like, gave full sanction to slavery in some form—either in groups or individually, but whether it was group-

slavery as in India or individual slavery as in the Mediterranean world the consciousness of it destroyed or so deadened the creative power in the bondman and in society generally, that the people as a whole became more and more mere slavish imitators in place of being creators of such new forms of life as were essential to continuous national or racial life. There were strong efforts to get away from the deadening influence of the bondage—in India through the teachings of Buddha and in the Mediterranean basin through the Collegias, the organizations of which seems to have begun in Egypt. That these organizations of freed men working co-operatively, each one giving of his best to the work and the common life, were responsible for the health and the growing greatness of Rome can not be seriously doubted, but the Collegias were destroyed and their membership became slaves, who doubly felt their bondage. Insurrections and very serious civil wars shook the very foundation of the Roman state. But, after all, those who fought did so for power and not for freedom. It was a case of trying to turn the tub upside down in order that the slaves might be the masters. It was not an effort to abolish slavery, and of course it could not change conditions even if successful. There would still be master and slave. The creative power in the individuals which make up the people would not be released and made active, so even in success there would be no regeneration.

Into this world dedicated to slavery and ruled by force came the Teacher, who said that He had come to fulfill the law. He insisted that men were created in the image of God the Father of all, who treated all His children alike, to whom there were no slaves, before whom all men were equal, and this Teacher taught men to say "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

From such sources as I have been able to consult it seems that at the coming of the Nazarene the free men were about ten per cent of the population, and slavery being based upon the religious belief there could be no real change until men again should be made to believe that the power which gave them life also gave them the right to equality and freedom. The free men's belief was that the slave had no soul to be saved or damned. The slave was to the free men—the masters—what the cattle is to us. To the thousands of slaves that had been born in freedom and to the former members of the Collegias, the tidings that all men are created equal was like the sound of running water in the burning desert. They believed; again they had hope; again they felt their divine origin and they could bear all things, suffer all things and yet be glad. Death, no matter how it came, was a release and thus began that spiritual rebirth and independence which kept growing until Constantine poured the new wine into the

old bottles, destroying the bottles and spoiling the wine. It took some 1600 years of struggle, suffering and death, before it could be officially recognized that men were equal before God or on the religious field. Well had the Master said: "I bring not peace but a sword." What else could he bring into such a world, a world that had to be transformed in order that it might live. The struggle was carried on by religious organizations based upon religious discontent—discontent over the lie under which they were living and which crippled their creative power, even though they did but faintly realize it, and they were willing to give their all to see it ended. It ended at last and then the divine idea promptly moved onward to the political field. Men reasoned that since men are equal before God why not in the state and before the law. And so the struggle began again. It was now carried on by political organizations based upon political discontent. Again men and women had to die that others might live, and live in harmony with the fundamental truth, which they felt as part of their being. Again the struggle was long and fierce. It was mostly on the mental plane with sputterings of insurrections or incipient revolutions resulting in imprisonment, confiscations and death.

Our own America was the first nation to recognize and place in a political document the fundamental truth that men are born equal and are by their Creator endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which is the right of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. In this declaration issued in decent respect to the opinions of mankind we adopted a covenant with ourselves under which and by which we are to live and to be judged. While we were reasonably true to it it was well with us. When we realized that we were untrue and then delayed the correction through sordid considerations, it became ill, and we had to pay penalties which are not fully paid as yet.

The period which we call the French revolution brought the question of equality and freedom to the physical battle fields—domestic and foreign—and while the question was not definitely settled it had to be acknowledged that men are and of right ought to be equal in the State and before the law.

The idea of equality and freedom having been officially recognized in the political field it entered upon the industrial field for the purpose of transforming it into its own image.

As the struggle had in the religious field been conducted by organizations based upon religious discontent and the struggle in the political field had been conducted by organizations based upon political discontent, so we find the struggle on the industrial field carried on by unions based upon industrial discontent—that is,

by trade unions. The discontent is natural and comes as a consequence of the condition of the worker in modern life. The organizations of monster corporations—supermen—capable of action at once over an indeterminate area, of being present in many cities and states at the same time, and endowed with practical immortality, are grinding the faces of the workers. They control wages and this means the control of the clothing, that wife and children shall wear, of the food they shall eat, of the shelter they shall enjoy and of the education the children shall be able to obtain. They control the hours of labor, which means that they determine when the father shall be permitted to be with his family. The worker feels himself controlled at his work and often fears to straighten his back. Kingly power touched man in spots and at times. The industrial master controls him at his work, blanketing his creative powers, he watches over him at his home, he follows him to his church and to his benevolent society and finally forbids him to join with his fellows in any trade union to consult about his grievances with the view of having them redressed. As the king punished or rewarded, so does the industrial master; as the king cajoled or bribed, so the industrial master; as the king sent unyielding men to prison or drove them into exile, so the industrial master, by the use of the blacklist, drives men from their homes and compels them to become wanderers, often under assumed names. And yet those laborers will organize and like Parliament submit petitions for redress of grievances, and when that fails they, like the people's representatives in Parliament, will endeavor to compel favorable consideration by withholding the supply of labor which the industrial master needs to continue his business. The road to freedom and equality on the industrial field is the same as was the road on the political field. The resistance on the part of the Third Estate will, however, be fierce and long. The Third Estate has come into power, it has overcome the opposition of the old governing class, and it feels itself to be "the heir of the castle and the guild." Their power is immense. Some of them control the lives of more men, women and children than did many a monarch in earlier times. They have seized upon and are using the state. They either control or endeavor to control the churches through the pew, the press through advertising patronage or ownership, the colleges and universities through endowments, the legal profession through employments, the schools through the school boards and they use the great publishing houses to suppress or rewrite the poets of the past.

They are seeking through the use of equity power and direct or indirect legislation to deprive the workers of the freedom to quit work and the right to practice mutual aid. They are seeking to compel political obedience through use of their in-

dustrial power, and finally they appeal to the young to join in suppressing strikes by a temporary use of even the students at colleges and universities. That these could be used seemed to me to be impossible. Universities are cultural centers. Here the inheritance of past ages are studied, classified and digested; here we are to find through study of the past some guide for the future; here are stored the traditions of the people; here the evolution of man and institutions as found in history and in religion should be understood; here the real status of labor should be appreciated; here the *labore est orare* of the old monks should be realized as true; here the Declaration of Independence should find its defenders; here is the temple for the keeping of the covenant, and yet from these places come young men who think it their duty to assist the employers—the just or the unjust—to beat their workers into submission, when they have gone on strike to obtain some redress of grievance. The thing seemed monstrous. I was born in Europe where the fight was between the old governing class and the Third Estate, and I had never heard of students participating in such struggles except on the side of the workers and the thing hurt. Some thinking, of course, made me understand that there was no such fight here, that while in Europe as now here the vast majority of students were from families connected with the Third Estate, and that while in Europe they felt themselves part of a struggle to obtain power, the same class of young men here felt themselves on the defensive to preserve the power which was being attacked. Then I read the report of a distinguished professor describing the strike-breaker as a hero and I began to understand better, but not to excuse the student strike-breaker. The best that we can do for the strike-breaker is to pity his ignorance or his lack of character; but with this pity will, if he comes from a college or a university, be a mixture of contempt. It is for the man who seabs, because of necessity, that there may be unmixed pity. The man who knows, as students at a college or university must know, and who out of sport of class consciousness goes as a strike-breaker, is a traitor to himself and, of course, to fundamental Americanism. When in our hour of trial and communing with "the laws of nature and of nature's god" we agreed that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; we entered into a covenant with "nature and nature's god" by which as a people we are to live and be judged, and we should realize that if there be a sin against the Holy Ghost, then the failure to keep this covenant sacred is such sin, and the last place out of which desecration might be expected to come ought to be a college or a university—the cultural centers

of our people. Work is worship—to labor is to pray, because that is to exercise the highest, the divine faculties implanted in us as the sons of God. It matters not if the labor be the writing of a thesis or the digging of a ditch, it is the use of the same divine faculty to labor—to create—and upon its proper and free use depends the life of individuals, nations and races. Those that have been untrue have shared the fate of the tree without fruit. They have passed away because they encumbered the earth. Those that have been true have lived, and according to history and to religious belief they are to live. Let us try to profit by this lesson and so live that labor shall be free, that it shall come into its own.

That concludes the address which I gave at the University of California in 1927.

The Pursuit of Happiness

These powers claimed and exercised by the Third Estate—big business—are, however, distinctly contrary to the Declaration of Independence, the most important part of which reads as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The large employer has no hesitation in claiming the same right over his industrial workers that the king claimed over the subject. The equal right to life as was understood in the first Congress was taken care of by that Congress. The equal right to liberty in the political field—that is equality before the law as it became understood—was taken care of by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, as a result of the Civil War.

During the Lincoln Administration Congress endeavored to provide to some extent for the equal right to the pursuit of happiness. The United States had an unlimited area of land to which those in the older settled communities could go if they found themselves seriously oppressed where they were living. The homestead laws made this easy. The great existence of wild life made it possible to settle on such land and live by hunting and fishing together with such patches of corn as could be readily cultivated while the

other land was being cleared and prepared for cultivation.

As we have moved along from 1864, the lands have been absorbed into private ownership so that the remedies furnished by the Lincoln Administration have vanished. There is now no new place to go. There is no means of living for the worker unless he can find employment working for somebody else. The claim of being the heirs to the castle and the guild which has been at the foundation of the policy carried on by big business—Third Estate—left the worker subject to the interest, whims and caprices of the employer. To meet this the workmen organized into unions for mutual aid and protection.

During the present administration, the Industrial Recovery Act was passed. It gave to big business substantially the same powers exercised by the old master guild. It endeavored to protect the worker in his right to organize, but restrictions pleaded for and accepted, have left us face to face with company unions.

Company unions are based on:

First—The force of the employer to deny or cancel employment.

Second—On the fear of want as the result of unemployment by the worker who cannot get away from the drawn, troubled face of the wife and the pale faces of the children.

These company unions are in direct violation of the equal right to the pursuit of happiness. There can be no pursuit of happiness for the worker in a company union, which being based on force and fear results in hate of the employer, in questioning the sincerity of government and in looking towards strange means outside of our own Constitution for redress.

There is no doubt that the President and the coming Congress will so amend Section 7-a of the Industrial Recovery Act so that it will be possible for the workers to organize what might well be called "journeymen guilds" that may be made effective in the struggle of the American people to find an open road to the pursuit of happiness.

For the forty millions of people living by charity there is no such road. The policies so far developed, and we feel sure later on strengthened—made effective the means of restoring the three great purposes of the Declaration of Independence, so that we shall again be on the road mapped out by the Christian ideal, the historical evolution, and the Declaration of Independence.

The struggle to bring these ideals in on the industrial plane is now on in Europe and here. We must learn to understand and we must get together in the understanding and the purposes outlined in the

Declaration of Independence in order to observe the American system of government and develop the ideal system of Americanism as laid down in the Declaration.

President Green: Brother Furuseth has delivered a wonderful address. If I had the power to confer a degree upon him I would classify him as a doctor of humanity, the American Federation of Labor historian, and one of our greatest economists. We express the hope that he will long live to bring to us his educational and scholarly addresses. We thank you, Brother Furuseth.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I move that the full subject matter of the address of Mr. Furuseth delivered be incorporated in the proceedings.

President Green: All the addresses will be printed in the proceedings.

Now I wish to present to you the secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau. Most of you, I think practically all of you, are acquainted with Spencer Miller, Jr., the able, efficient and devoted secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau. For a number of years he has attended our conventions, bringing to us his report of the activities of the Bureau, transmitting to us an inspiring message upon each and every occasion.

The work of the Workers' Education Bureau has been carried on during the past year in a most aggressive way. A number of institutes have been held in different towns and states. I think the work of the Bureau this year outshines that of other years, so far as an educational program is concerned. He will tell you about it. The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the work of the Workers' Education Bureau. We work together and plan together, and we want to see this work carried on to greater success.

THE NEW DEAL AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

SPENCER MILLER, JR.

(Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau of America)

More than a half century ago Thomas Carlyle wrote "the test of the American Democracy will come when all the free

land is exhausted." All during the 19th century the open frontier with the abundance of free land made possible the rapid resolution of the problems of economic adjustment in our nation. When life pressed too hard, men gathered up their families and their possessions, got into the covered wagon and started west for the new land and a new start. It was the method of restoring economic balance that was at once drastic but effective.

Today as we meet here in California upon this last physical frontier in the western advance, we are confronted with two impressive facts: first, that free land has now long since been exhausted with its possibilities for escape and economic rehabilitation; and second, that the test of American Democracy has indeed come with the problem of unemployment that can no longer be resolved by the historic method of migration to the new land. Unemployment—pervasive, pressing and in some cases permanent, has become the supreme challenge of our day! Even after a year and a half of the most determined effort that the Government of the United States has ever made to carry out a planned attack on unemployment, we find the index of involuntary idleness where it was a year ago. After an expenditure of four billion dollars in excess of tax receipts, our effective demands for goods have been increased but five per cent. Surely the prophecy of the stormy old sage is being fulfilled.

But the true inwardness of the present persistence of the unemployment problem has escaped a good many people in positions of leadership in our land. We still persist in discussing the problem as if it were one which could be resolved by the mere re-distribution of work opportunities among those who are idle; it cannot be so resolved. Work-sharing, with prices and production cut in half, will not solve our predicament. Increasing America's capacity to produce, enlarging her effective demand for goods and services and not seeking to live within the circle of a national income which has shrunk to half the amount is the way of deliverance. In a notable volume just published by the Bookings Institution on "America's Capacity to Produce," it is pointed out that America was in fact producing but 81 per cent of capacity in 1929. Had this 19 per cent increase taken place we could have added fifteen billion dollars to our national product. This would have enlarged the budgets of fifteen million families to the extent of \$1000 each, or it would have made possible the increase in the income of all of the 16.4 million families below \$2000 a year up to that level.

Today we stand upon the threshold of a new age—the Age of Power. Under its influence we have emerged from the Age of Scarcity into the Age of Plenty. We

have increased our per capita production forty-fold since Carlyle uttered his prophetic warning. Yet this fact has escaped some of our leaders. Our confusion in fact arises out of our effort to live in a surplus economy and permit the concepts of a deficit economy to mold our thinking. The electric Power Age has wrought not only a revolution in our technique, but it has also profoundly altered the pattern of our institutional life. It has compelled us to reconstruct our mutual habits to conform to this new technique. Furthermore, experience has made abundantly clear the old observation that we live our way into our thinking rather than think our way into our living.

Now the resolution of this seeming paradox of unemployment in the presence of the need for labor is in the expansion of our social services. It marks a shift in emphasis from a production economy to a consumer economy. It gives a new direction to our thinking; and may afford a new approach to our unemployment problem. Among the foremost of our public service is public education. It is not a public works project but it is a public work of vast importance. The 258,000 public school buildings represent alone a capital investment of five and a half billion dollars. Over two billions of dollars are spent annually on its support; 450,000 teachers are employed in the instruction of twenty-six million of our children. Truly a colossal undertaking. And this does not include the vast endowments and expenditures for privately endowed schools and colleges.

During the past twelve months one of the least publicized devices of the New Deal to cope with the problem of economic maladjustments has been the program of Emergency Education under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This program was addressed at the outset to meet the tragic needs of American education, which faced a grave crisis in 1933-34. The closing of schools; the denial of educational opportunities to hundreds of thousands of children and the addition of tens of thousands of teachers to the relief rolls presented a situation of major proportions. It was the most subtle undermining of the foundations of our democracy, the full consequences of which would have been experienced in a generation. It also carried with it another serious implication which few people had realized. In our complex industrial order the keys to our complicated mechanisms lie increasingly in the hands of technician groups. As both business and government become more integrated, the dependence upon this group of technical workers becomes increasingly great. If their security is jeopardized and their opportunities to work is obliterated we run the inevitable risk of jeopardizing the efficient administration of our delicate mechanism. The perils to constitutional liberty and to the stability of the social order by the

insecurity of this group when ground between the upper and other mill stones, can be observed in the whole collapse of democratic processes in Nazi Germany.

Since the adjournment of the Washington Convention last October and up until now the Emergency Educational Program of the Government under the FERA has provided one of the most successful devices for building up the morale of some two million of our unemployed citizens. In addition, this emergency program has provided direct work relief of a most constructive character to 60,000 unemployed teachers and other white-collar workers at an expenditure of two million dollars a month from the Federal government. Under this program unemployed teachers, engineers and architects have been instructing unemployed adults in no less than 47 states of the union. In addition rural schools which would otherwise have been closed, have been kept open. A substantial percentage of the ten million illiterates in the land have been taught the three R's and 75,000 students in our colleges have been enabled to continue their education through these grants-in-aid.

But chief among all of these programs for emergency education which will be of special interest to organized labor is the provision which has been made under the general program of Adult Education for a specific service for workers' education. A specialist in workers' education has been appointed in the FERA; State Directors of Workers' Education have been selected in no less than 20 states, and local supervisors have been set up in as many more centers of the country. Furthermore, during this last summer there were 18 centers with 500 teachers in Workers' Education preliminary to serving as instructors for the rapidly expanding field of workers' education. Nothing in the entire history of American Workers' education can compare with the rapidity and the extent to which this movement has been developed in the past twelve months. This program has many assets as well as liabilities, so far as labor is concerned. In the first place it will be evident to anyone that the training of teachers for the increasing needs of workers' education will materially assist in the extension of the program; the designation of a 20-state director will also materially assist in securing recognition of this field of adult education. The availability of free instruction will furthermore aid Labor groups that are unable to pay for such instruction. All these are to be considered as definite assets.

The liabilities, on the other hand, are substantial and serious. The selection of state directors of workers' education has proceeded with such a wholesale disregard of the officials of the State Federations of

Labor in many states that President Green found it incumbent upon him to direct a letter to the United States Office of Education calling attention to labor's special interest in the subject of Workers' Education and inviting the authorities of the FERA not only to consult with the State Federations of Labor but also with the Workers' Education Bureau before making any further appointments. This request has brought forth a closer and much needed co-operation in this whole undertaking. Furthermore, in the selection of teachers for these training classes, political considerations rather than the qualification of the person to teach labor problems has prevailed in a number of centers. The consequence of such a lack of sound selection has been evident; it has represented a loss to the whole enterprise. There again, it should be said in partial justification that the delays and uncertainties in establishing the program and the haste with which it was set up is responsible for the conditions which have prevailed.

Labor, however, has a stake in this whole enterprise which cannot be safeguarded by any well-meaning, though inefficient program of emergency education. Workers' Education is an inseparable part of the Labor Movement. It exists because the Labor Movement first existed. It cannot exist separate and apart from the movement of labor, of which it is the cultural expression. There may be education of workers carried on by the Federal government. It may be sound education. It may number workers among its constituency. But unless labor controls the education of its own members in the sense that it has a commanding voice in the direction both of policy and program it is not Workers' Education. Workers' Education can no more be outside the Labor Movement than can the Trade Union itself.

The last twelve months has been one of unusual activity on the part of the Workers' Education Bureau itself. A no period in its entire history of the past thirteen and one-half years has the Bureau been called upon to provide a more extensive and a more intensive program of workers' education. It was early recognized in the fall of 1933 that the widespread demand upon the part of labor in this country for education both among the membership of the new unions as well as the older unions could not be met without a systematic and sustained program of education. It was imperative, furthermore, that it be under labor control. The unions naturally turned to the Bureau as the educational arm of the Federation. To meet this widespread demand for education service by labor and to provide for effective co-operation with the Emergency Education Program of the Federal Government, the Bureau added four regional directors to its staff, one on the Pacific Coast, a second in the West,

a third in New England, and a fourth as a liaison between the Bureau, the American Federation of Labor, and the Emergency Education Program in Washington.

On the Pacific Coast John Kerchen, for twelve years the director of Workers' Education of the California State Federation of Labor, was made Director for the Pacific Coast with the cordial co-operation of the Oregon and Washington Federations of Labor and the higher educational institutions of those two states. The increase in educational interest on the Pacific Coast has been evidenced—first in centers where labor classes have not previously been organized; second, by a renewed vitality in centers where educational programs already existed, and third, by the totally new interest exemplified in the workers' educational movement by educators throughout the public school system. In a word, the demand for workers' education has been five-fold that of any previous period on the Pacific Coast.

The education program in the western area under the direction of Doctor Vost reflects the same widespread demand on the part of labor to meet the increased responsibilities under the New Deal. Stress is being placed in this area on training the thousands of new recruits in labor organizations for membership based on the objectives of the Labor Movement. Institutes, Forums and Workers' Classes have been in real demand, with special emphasis on such subjects as labor history, labor economics, parliamentary practice, public speaking. In the fifteen states included in the western area the regional director of the Bureau has encouraged the formation of standing committees on education in each of the State Federations of Labor Central Bodies and Local Unions, where they did not already exist.

Special Labor Institutes have been held on the Recovery Act in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota and others are in prospect for Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska and Iowa. The western director is devoting a large portion of his time to bringing organized labor into an efficient relationship with the Workers' Education Programs now made available through Federal funds for unemployed teachers. Labor Councils have been urged to establish close contact with this Emergency Educational Program not only to take advantage of the opportunities offered, but to advise of the type of training which would be of interest to labor. Plans are also under consideration for the encouragement of the increased use of the radio and the public press in the larger centers in the West, where such agencies are available.

In New England under the leadership of Harry Russell the six states have enjoyed a revival of interest in Workers'

Education which is as heartening as it is impressive. The manner in which workers' education has been built into the new organizing program, and the extent to which it has been incorporated into the regular activities of the older organizations is a matter which any responsible official of that movement will gladly attest.

In Washington Doctor Mollie Carroll performed an invaluable service of integrating the work of the Bureau of Education with the Emergency Education Program. In more recent months she has been at work in planning for two demonstration centers of workers' education, one among the automobile workers in Michigan and the other with Organized Labor in the Chicago area. With the unqualified endorsement of the local organizers in the Michigan area and of President Green, the Bureau is planning two projects in these two areas, with the possibility of still a third demonstration center in the San Francisco area, provided the necessary funds can be secured for such experiments.

A year ago I reported to the Washington Convention the inauguration of a program of Labor Institutes, centering about the status of labor under the Recovery Act. This program, which was started with dispatch immediately following the enactment of this new law, was carried forward during the year in a manner to win the commendation not only of the leaders of labor but of educational authorities and governmental officials. The Bureau can point to the achievement of having set up 48 labor institutes in 27 states, or one institute every ten days since the NRA was established. To these institutes there have come representatives of our universities as well as technicians, public officials, and other leaders of thought to discuss with labor in the informal atmosphere of an educational conference the economic, political and legal implications of the New Deal. These institutes have been wholly educational in character; no attempt has been made to pass resolutions nor adopt policies which would in any wise bind labor to some particular point of view. In every case, however, these meetings have provided the substance of economic facts upon which labor has been able to take a more intelligent and effective part in industrial relationships.

But not the least important of the results of these labor institutes has been the opportunity which has been provided for presenting the position of labor to the community as a whole thru the medium of the press and the radio. In the most recent of these institutes to be held in the city of Pittsburgh under the direction of the Central Labor Council with the co-operation of the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Institute of Technology and Duquesne University, there was an average attendance of something in excess

of 200 of the local leaders of the Trade Union Movement that met together in the five successive sessions held on Friday, Saturday and Sunday. The reports of the sessions of this conference enabled Labor to reach between three and four hundred thousand readers within the environs of Alleghany County.

In addition to the method by which labor has successfully reached the public it has succeeded in securing the co-operation of over 300 representatives of our colleges and universities and has been enabled thereby to secure a more adequate presentation of the point of view of labor in the instruction of our youth.

Today the demand on the part of labor for the extension of these Institutes in other sections of the country has been a tribute to their success as an educational device for labor. A special request from the southern headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for an extension of these Institutes in the industrial centers of the southland is but typical of the interest which has been widely expressed.

This convention, if I mistake not, is one of the most important in labor's long history. Delegates here assembled will be called upon to formulate policies and make decisions more fraught with human destiny than any Convention since the close of the Great War. It is inconceivable that it will escape the attention of the delegates that in presenting to your constituency at home the results of your deliberations, that the education of your members will be of prime importance.

This, too, is bound to be an historic meeting. For the first time in the record of the American Federation of Labor there will appear on its program by special invitation the Director of the International Labor Office with which the life and labor of the late Samuel Gompers is inseparably linked. The recent affiliation of the United States with this noted instrumentality by which the nations of the world seek to effect social-economic adjustments which affect both domestic and international relations would alone mark this as a convention of importance. But at a moment when the President of the United States is calling for an Industrial Truce it is important for labor to recall those pregnant words from the Constitution of the International Labor Office that "permanent peace can be established and maintained only on the basis of social justice."

Similarly, the presence at this convention of the President of the International Federation of Labor, who happens also to be the efficient general secretary of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, is another evidence of the way in which American Labor is adding to the range of its International viewpoint.

In the field of domestic policy it will not suffice for labor in its opposition to the subversive forces in America to lose sight of the character of the Fascist challenge which appears to lurk in the very condition of unsettlement of our democratic life. Only the other day Dr. Charles A. Beer, our foremost American historian, writing in a symposium on this subject said: "The middle class material for Fascism are present in American society on a larger scale relatively than in Germany or Italy. That millions of Americans can be martialed under the banner of force and terror seems to be demonstrated by the extraordinary growth of the Ku Klux Klan a few years ago. How lightly many American communities regard the principles of democracy, free speech, and free press is demonstrated by the numerous labor and race controversies in various parts of the country. The tinder is here for the flame and it may be touched off in a deepening and spreading social crisis. The fact that Fascism represents a violation of American democratic conditions does not mean that in other times there may not be other manners."

The warning that is carried in these vigorous words cannot escape the attention of those charged with the responsibility for shaping labor's future policy in this land.

Another problem which still persists and for which labor must discover some adequate solution is the question of the training of the leadership of labor for their increasingly complicated and difficult work. No one can deny today that the demands made upon labor organizers are more far reaching and intricate than ever before. Yet it still remains true that the training of leaders for their task is a subject which is still left to chance and a kind of rule of thumb method. It is now ten years since Samuel Gompers concluded his last convention at El Paso, Texas. Within thirty days after the adjournment of that convention he died. Since his death there has been a terrific mortality in the older leadership of this movement. According to the official records there have been 76 vice-presidents, 53 secretaries, 47 presidents of State Federations of Labor, 36 Board and Council members, 26 organizers, 7 editors, 14 representatives and 25 local officials. There may be even more whose names are not on the roll. The younger leaders are in great need of the wealth of experience that the present leaders have gained through trouble, trials, mistakes and achievements. In the absence of any systematic program of training for the younger leaders, it will be seen that a wealth of seasoned understanding of labor's problems and methods has irrevocably passed with these 285 leaders.

Or consider if you will the vast problem of social security which is now uppermost in the minds of people from one

end of the country to another. In his great state paper of June 8, last, the President of the United States has enjoined all citizens to study this problem of providing social security for every man, woman and child in the United States. It is solemn duty on us all. For labor, the question of social security turns very largely on the question of security in his job, security against the hazards of accident and old age. To this list of normal hazards of employment has been added the hazard of illness and the necessity for the provision of adequate medical care for those in the low income group. It is of first importance for labor to inform its membership so that they may provide an adequate basis of inclusive social insurance.

In his eloquent opening address to this convention, President Green enumerated some of the great affirmations of labor as forming the enduring principles upon which the Federation has been built. I am bold to add to these which he set forth this affirmation of labor in behalf of free public education. It is one of the most distinguished in the whole list of the services of American labor to the public welfare. Labor early realized that if the democracy was to endure that it must be built upon the education of the whole citizenship. Today as America faces the tests to her social and political institutions, it is to these very processes of public education that it can look with certainty for the future. As the democracy has found the conditions of its permanence lies in the education of its citizens, so I predict that American labor will discover that the assurance of its future will depend upon the education of its present membership.

President Green: On behalf of the convention, Secretary Miller, I thank you for your educational and inspiring address.

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to announce that Brother Roy Horn, President of the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, left for St. Louis last night. Six members of his family and relatives have been injured, two of them, a son and a sister, seriously. They were injured in an automobile accident. This announcement is made at the request of R. A. Henning, of the Machinists.

Secretary O'Connell, of the Local Committee on Arrangements, announced that a tour of the city had been arranged for the delegates for the afternoon.

RESOLUTIONS

Requesting Investigation of Labor Policy of Procter & Gamble Co.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. C. Coulter, Central Labor Council, Long Beach, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Procter & Gamble Company have capitalized on their so-called "Employees Profit-Sharing Plan"; and

WHEREAS, The consuming public have been led to believe that the said Profit-Sharing Plan is all-embracing in so far as the workers are concerned; and

WHEREAS, The public is entitled to a clear picture of the practical application of the said plan, which can only be properly had through an impartial investigation; and

WHEREAS, Because of the widespread operations of the Procter & Gamble Company and other similar plant operations with its many plant units of operation, it appears proper that in order to obtain the maximum of results all plants must be organized; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President thereof to cause a complete investigation by the proper Governmental Agency of the so-called Employees Profit-Sharing Plan, together with the Pension and Benefit Plan, reporting same through the proper agency to the President of the American Federation of Labor and in turn to the consuming public; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor direct an organization campaign looking to the complete organization of all plants of the Procter & Gamble Company and other companies engaged in soap and edible oil products manufacturing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

C. F. Smith Grocery Company, Detroit, Michigan

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Congress of the United States in the passage of the NRA guaranteed to protect workers in their right to organize in labor organizations of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The NRA provides for prosecution and the assessment of fines and imprisonment upon conviction for the violation thereof; and

WHEREAS, The C. F. Smith Grocery Company, chain store grocery in the City of Detroit operating over five hundred grocery stores, has been found guilty of violating Section 7-a in the discharge of

several members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenen and Helpers, for their activity in organizing and joining a union of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Detroit Regional Labor Board was appealed to the National Labor Board at Washington, which Board upheld the decision of the Detroit Regional Labor Board in ordering these men be returned to work with back pay for lost time; and

WHEREAS, The Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Union Local No. 299 has made a demand upon the District Attorney at Detroit for the prosecution of the C. F. Smith Company; and

WHEREAS, No such prosecution has been instituted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor call the attention of this case to the President of the United States with a request that the C. F. Smith Company be proceeded against for violating the NIRA if it persists in its refusal to reinstate the men mentioned, together with back pay.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Investigation of "Labor Digest" and Activities of Norman Zollizi of Indianapolis, Ind.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union, and M. I. Thompson, Utah State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an alleged labor paper printed in the State of Indiana by a person by the name of Norman Zollizi; and

WHEREAS, This paper holds itself out as the official spokesman of organized labor and claims to be officially endorsed by organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This publication is praising company unionism and making direct appeals to the exploiters of labor for its support; and

WHEREAS, This publication has been used in certain localities, particularly recently in the State of Michigan, for the purpose of creating the impression that its policy was the policy of the organized wage workers as represented in the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Its continued masquerading will do irreparable damage to the trade union movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be asked to investigate the activities of the "Labor Digest" and Norman Zollizi, and acquaint the members of organized labor through the labor press of his findings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Out-of-Work Stamp for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In times of extraordinary unemployment, many members of Federal labor unions and of Local unions chartered by National and International unions, have no income and therefore find it impossible to meet their usual obligations, including the payment of union dues; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that workers placed in this position become discouraged when compelled to forego to any extent their rights and standing as members, and thus become estranged from the organized units of our movement through no fault of their own; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable and necessary to maintain effective the membership of every worker once organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor give consideration to the better protection of our unemployed membership through a system of out-of-work stamps; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby recommend to all National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to likewise give consideration to the purpose of security in the standing of their unemployed members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Kohler Mfg. Co., Kohler, Wisconsin

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and J. J. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18546, employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of bathtubs, plumbing supplies and oil heaters, were forced to go on strike on July 16, 1934, in order to enforce their rights for collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, On July 27, 1934, special police of the Village of Kohler, armed with tear gas, gas bombs, riot guns, pistols, rifles and machine guns, under orders of village officials, who are also officials of the Kohler Company, fired into a mass of people who had gathered for the purpose of a demonstration before the company's plant, killing two union men and seriously wounding 40 other men and women, besides gassing scores of men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, At the time the employees of this company started their movement to organize into a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, officials of the company, in an attempt to break up this movement, fostered the organization of a company union, known as the Kohler Workers' Association, and the company insisted that it would deal with this company union, regardless of the strength of the regular union; and

WHEREAS, After the strike of the regular union had been in progress for weeks, completely closing the plant, and the case having been taken before the National Labor Relations Board, the Board found that the company union had been organized in violation of Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but instead of ordering this illegal company union dissolved, it ordered that a vote be taken among the employees of the company to determine whether they wished to be represented by the regular labor union or by the illegitimate and illegal company union, and over the protest of the regular union allowed the name of the illegal company union to appear on the election ballot; and

WHEREAS, Just prior to the holding of this election the company union, with the aid of the company, circularized letters among the employees, intimating that the ending of the strike and resumption of work depended on the company union winning the vote and further intimating that the company would give preference in employment to members of the company union; and

WHEREAS, Because of the ruling of the National Labor Relations Board, allowing the name of the company union, which it itself had declared to be an illegal organization, to appear on the ballot, and because of the corrupt practices of the company and the company union, the regular union lost out in the election; and

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, conscious of the fact that they have been unfairly dealt with, and that there is a deep principle of genuine collective bargaining involved in this struggle are determined to continue their fight against this company; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record extending to these striking members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 its cordial greetings and appreciation for the fine battle they have put up for justice in the face of tremendous odds, and that it hereby direct the officers of the Federation to immediately make a most vigorous protest to the National Labor Relations Board for its ruling permitting the name of the company union, which it itself had declared illegal, to appear on the election ballot, and take this protest to the President of the United States if necessary to

remedy the great wrong done; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, as unfair to the organized labor movement and that it call upon all union members, friends and sympathizers to refrain from in any manner patronizing this firm or using its products; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to take such other means as it deems necessary and advisable to make the fight against this most unfair company effective.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Protesting Legislation Affecting Civil Service Status of Employees of Prohibition Bureau, United States Department of Justice

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock, and John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress passed as a rider on an Act (H. R. 9830) the "Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935," a provision which reads in part as follows:

"Provided that after December 1, 1934, no part of the appropriations made herein or heretofore made for the fiscal year 1935 shall be used to pay the salary of any person, formerly employed as investigator, special agent . . . , or any other position in the Prohibition Bureau or Alcoholic Beverage Unit, Department of Justice, who was separated from the service of such Bureau or Unit between June 10, 1933, and December 31, 1933, while in any such position in the Treasury Department unless and until such person shall be appointed thereto as a result of an open competitive examination to be hereafter held by the Civil Service Commission"; and

WHEREAS, This legislation removes from office and partially destroys the Civil Service status of more than a thousand employees who entered the classified Civil Service as a result of open competitive examination, many of them from fifteen to twenty-nine years ago, and who have retained their positions through merit and work well done; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to this legislation and to all legislation destructive of Civil Service status obtained through open competitive examinations and retained through meritorious service to the Government and to the people of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to oppose such legislation, and to bring all possible relief to those meritorious employees unjustly discriminated against by such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and J. J. Friedrick, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

WHEREAS, In the great effort to bring about recovery from industrial stagnation, through the establishment of more stable employment and a fairer division of the proceeds of industry for the creation of sufficient purchasing power, there has been enacted Section 7-a as an essential provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The most gigantic conspiracy in the history of our country, fostered in the main by a group of opposing industrialists and some reactionary politicians, has been set afoot to frustrate free organization among the workers; and

WHEREAS, To prevent workers from functioning collectively, as contemplated by the Recovery Act, recalcitrant employers, antagonistic to the purposes of Section 7-a, have illegally advocated, promoted, fostered, financed and organized, under various names, company unions, and, through company officials and agencies, maintain such company unions under utter domination of the employers, thus evading real collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Labor Boards, notwithstanding their findings that the employers have violated Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act through illegal interference, coercion and intimidation of employees, have not estopped nor discouraged employers from so offending, as witness the findings of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 vs. The Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin; and

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board, although holding the Kohler Company guilty of interference with the right of free organization among employees and of violating Section 7-a in organizing its company union, nevertheless, when ordering the election to determine representation for collective bargaining, gave the illegally begotten company union recognition equal to that rightfully bestowed on the legitimate Federal Labor Union No. 18545 by according the illegal company union a place on the ballot in the election for the employees' choice of representation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the illegal and illogical position taken by the National Labor Relations Board in permitting a company union to be selected as an agency for collective bargaining after the company had been found guilty of unlawfully and illegally creating such company union for the purpose of thwarting the rights accorded employees under Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, demands that the National Labor Relations Board declare that any company union created in violation of Section 7-a be denied the status and the right to act as a representative for collective bargaining; and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless such position is made clear and definite by the National Labor Relations Board, the American Federation of Labor must take the position that when such administrative tribunal fails to accord to workers their rights under Section 7-a, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will be wholly justified in refusing to participate in such unwarranted elections, and to depend on the force of their economic weapons for securing the recognition supposedly guaranteed by Section 7-a; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to use every means at their command to cause the discontinuance of the destructive and illegal practice on the part of Labor Boards of giving unwarranted recognition and encouragement to such illegal company unions and to employers organizing and maintaining them, and to bring the injustice of these nefarious methods to the attention of the President of the United States to the end that workers who take seriously the guarantees of recovery regulations may obtain the relief to which they are entitled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Affiliated Government Workers Organizations Express Appreciation of American Federation of Labor Support

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainer, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Ailfas, International Association of Machinists; C.

L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, In the sessions of the Seventy-third Congress the affiliated organizations of Government workers received the active support of the American Federation of Labor in their legislative campaign to restore wages and working standards reduced under the Economy Act; and

WHEREAS, This support of the American Federation of Labor, through the active assistance of President Green, Secretary Morrison and the Legislative Committee, was of great benefit in securing legislation for the restoration of wages, automatic promotions and other standards of Government employment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the affiliated organizations of Government workers desire to express their deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the splendid and effective services rendered by the officers, Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to all Government workers in this emergency, thus demonstrating beyond contradiction the value and necessity of affiliation with the organized labor movement of such Government employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fair Working Conditions on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The United States standard of living requires a fair wage for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has awarded contracts to private business and commercial concerns for manufacture, construction or service without any provision or requirement as to the wages to be paid to the employees engaged on this work; and

WHEREAS, These concerns, in the absence of any provision or requirements as to payment of wages, have paid their employees wages far below a living standard; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be corrected if the Federal Government would inaugurate a scale of wages that will enable these employees to maintain their families in conformity with the American standards of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary for the enactment of legislation making it mandatory that such employees receive the prevailing rates of wages prescribed by the various trade unions in the various industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such employees be protected from being forced to give up any part of the compensation to which they are entitled under their contract of employment, a practice known as the "kick-back racket," or being discharged or refused further employment for protesting against such "kick-back racket" or other abuses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards of Government Employment

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government em-

ployment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, with employee representation thereon; employee representative on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to the merit system with respect to tenure of office, the improvement of postal substitute employees and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter work-week principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the Economy Law; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt cash payment of salaries; expansion and protection of the merit system; restoration and extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt revision of the so-called efficiency rating system; prompt final allocation of Group IV-b employees, authorized under the Brookhart Act; restoration of shorter workday where workday has been lengthened; extra compensation for overtime; and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Request that Cases of Non-Compliance of Employers With Decisions of NRA Labor Boards Be Placed Before President Roosevelt

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act provides for the establishment of machinery to carry out the provisions of the law, and

WHEREAS, The President has appointed first the National Labor Board with its subordinate agents, and the National Labor Relations Board with its various branches, for the purpose of administering Section 7-a of the NRA, and

WHEREAS, There have been numerous violations of Section 7-a brought before these various boards; and

WHEREAS, Complainants in many cases after weeks of waiting have had their cases adjudicated and a demand made on the employers for reinstatement of workers discharged for joining unions; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the employers have refused to comply with the decisions of the various agencies set up by the President; and

WHEREAS, The discharge of workers under the above-mentioned conditions, together with the failure of prompt and effective action, has destroyed the confidence of many wage workers in the NRA and intimidated them from affiliating with labor unions of their own choice; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause a compilation of such cases as come within the above class to be made and present it to the President of the United States so that he will understand the impatience labor now has with those employers who have defied the Government in its efforts to bring about industrial recovery.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Reaffirming Opposition to Use of Cost of Living as Basis for Determining Wages and Urging Restoration of Government Employees' Pay

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The various so-called Economy Acts, passed by the Congress for the most part without hearings and with little consideration to the disastrous effects upon Government employe conditions, were re-enacted, with the exception of certain provisions repealed through the

action of the affiliated Government unions, backed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This so-called economy legislation has resulted in a serious decrease in the purchasing power of more than one-half million of the nation's workers, to the detriment of the whole nation and thereby contributing greatly to general unsettled economic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Such savings of the Government as are made through reduction of pay are not used to assist in conserving employment and maintaining purchasing power and do not result in reduction in taxation; and

WHEREAS, In addition to a flat salary reduction not consistent with the general Administrative program of maintaining buying power there were inaugurated not only payless furloughs but reductions in force; and

WHEREAS, The legislation in question fixes wage standards for Government employees upon the so-called cost of living in 1928; and

WHEREAS, Such method of determining wages by freezing them to the standards of any given year is contrary to the established principle of the American Federation of Labor that the workers shall share in all benefits flowing from social and economic progress; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement has consistently followed the principle that wages should be adjusted to continuously rising standards; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position as follows:

1. Wages, salaries and allowances of Government workers should be restored immediately;

2. Funds available for payment of wages and salaries in all cases should be sufficient to meet the restored payroll; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, again go on record as opposing the use of a cost-of-living standard as a basis for determination of wages or salaries and further opposes (so long as a cost-of-living standard is in effect) the present inequitable system of determining the cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D.

Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service; be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The duties and responsibilities of said commission have been greatly expanded by operations incident to emergency legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and its administration and its maintenance as an independent establishment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposed Constitutional Amendment Reducing Per Capita Tax

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capiro, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667 and Fish Cannery Workers Union No. 18656, San Pedro, California.

RESOLVED, That Article X, Section 1 on page 18, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "thirty-five" appearing on the eighth line, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "fifteen."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Automatic Machinery

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate M. J. Gillooly, American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, For many years the attention of all those interested in insuring employment opportunities for American workers has been directed to ascertaining the means and applying methods which will eliminate the destructive results of the installation of machinery taking the places of and doing the work of human beings; and

WHEREAS, It is contended that today from three to four million workers are unemployed, or better said, denied employment, wholly due to the installation of labor saving devices; and

WHEREAS, While the owners of this machinery have profited greatly through the cheaper labor cost of production, they have neither shared their profits with the workers nor have they set aside any reserves to care for the human beings who have been thrown on the scrap heap; and

WHEREAS, Governmental agencies, state and national, allow employers to de-

duct from taxes from five to twenty-five per cent for depreciation of physical properties, no allowance is made to provide funds which might be used to care for human depreciation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of fifteen to devise ways and means of providing for some method for those denied work, as a result of the installation of labor saving machinery; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, upon the completion or findings or recommendation of this committee, be authorized and directed to convene a meeting of representatives of all national and international unions to act on such report.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

General Strike

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The experiences gained in the strike of the West Coast maritime workers, of the truck drivers of Local 574 in Minneapolis; from the great strike of textile workers involving the entire industry both in the North and South, etc., demonstrate that actual solidarity in the fight for better working conditions and higher living standards can be established by the workers in the North and South in spite of the special propaganda conducted by the "employers" in their press designed to perpetuate differences between the workers in these two sections of the country; and show that united action in the form of organized relief movements, solidarity and sympathetic strikes, are possible and necessary now, because of the great centralization of the employers and their organizations and their establishment of special anti-labor associations such as the Industrial Association in San Francisco and organizations of employers with similar purposes in other centers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for and recommend to its affiliated National and International unions encouragement of and support for sympathetic and general strikes in all cases where the living standard of the workers involved in labor disputes with any group of employers is threatened by the united action of employers and various Government agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Political Affiliations

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, It is a basic theory of the organized labor movement in the United States, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International unions to make no compromise on the principle that every member of the trade union movement shall in no case be denied his rights and privileges guaranteed under the constitution of the union to which he belongs, or that of the American Federation of Labor, or because of any political or religious belief, or racial or other national origin; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record without reservations as being in favor of and actively supporting this basic principle that no member of any union shall be persecuted, discriminated against, suspended or expelled because of his affiliation with any political party, religious or racial organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Local Union Administration

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The practice is widespread in our unions of officials perpetuating themselves in office, building around them a machine and preventing by various means those members who are in disagreement with the policies and actions of the official clique; and

WHEREAS, At all conventions of the American Federation of Labor, state and national, there is to be noted an absence of democracy and a marked domination of an official machine which railroads through the program desired by salaried officialdom; and

WHEREAS, All decisions concerning the interests of the rank and file, as for example the calling and settling of strikes, the signing of union agreements and negotiations with the employers, are conducted as a rule without the membership, and democratically organized discussion; and

WHEREAS, The autocratic rule of such official machines has been and is instrumental in leading to widespread corruption and the development of gangsterism and racketeering in our unions, has terrorized dues paying members and weakened the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Real trade union democracy will give the rank and file full expression, serving as a check on the actions of leaders and will involve the rank and file more in participation of union activities, developing them to the end that better conditions may be secured; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for trade union democracy and calls on all affiliated unions to establish this principle on the basis of the following procedure:

1. That all officials shall be elected by popular vote in secret ballot and elected special committees from the membership shall be in charge of counting the votes;

2. That the practice of not seating delegates to Central Bodies, on various pretexts, must stop;

3. That the membership shall have the right to recall officials and representatives by a majority vote before the expiration of the official term;

4. That no member of the union except those found guilty as strikebreakers or as working in the interests of the employers shall be deprived of the right to be nominated, put on the ballot and to act as an official or representative of the union when elected;

5. That all trade union agreements, all amendments to the constitution and all other questions affecting the interests of the membership, shall be submitted to members for a vote;

6. That the right of local unions to start a referendum, the right of individual free speech, free criticism of policies, members to initiate policies, the right of local unions to declare a strike, the right of a member to belong to any political party, all these shall be considered rights which shall not be violated;

7. That nobody shall convict a member or an official on charges involving suspension or expulsion of a member or an official, except by a trial board elected by a popular vote of the members and giving the accused all the privileges of counsel, witnesses, his or her own stenographic record, and full publicity to the proceedings;

8. That National and International officials shall call conventions as stipulated in the constitutions of the respective organizations but under all circumstances such conventions shall be held at least every two years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL

Resolution No. 122 — By Delegate Charles F. Wills, Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its convention in 1931 adopted the following resolution (No. 59), entitled "To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL":

"Resolution No. 59—By Delegates H. H. Broach, D. F. Cleary, Charles M. Paulsen, E. Bieretz, E. Preiss and G. M.

Bugnlazet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

"WHEREAS, The President of the United States has said: 'The question of monopoly in radio communication must be squarely met. It is not conceivable that the American people will allow this new-born system of communication to fall exclusively into the power of any individual, group, or combination. Great as the development of radio distribution has been we are probably only at the threshold of development of one of the most important human discoveries bearing on education, amusement, culture and business communication.

"It cannot be thought that any single person or group shall ever have the right to determine what communication may be made to the American people. We cannot allow any single person or group to place themselves in a position where they can censor the material which shall be broadcast to the public.

"Radio communication is not to be considered as merely a business carried on for private gain, for private advertisement, or for entertainment of the curious. It is a public concern impressed with the public trust and to be considered primarily from the standpoint of public interest to the same extent and upon the basis of the same general principles as our other public utilities"; and

"WHEREAS, Under the authority delegated to it, the Federal Radio Commission has licensed and allocated the overwhelming majority of the ninety available 'wave lengths' which include the forty 'cleared wave lengths or channels' to private corporations; and

"WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths with unlimited time and super-power to private corporations and groups in disregard of the public interest, necessity, and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty 'cleared radio broadcasting channels' established by the Federal Radio Commission have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

"(1) To corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station, twelve channels.

"(2) To corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies, seven channels.

"(3) To corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds, ten channels.

"(4) To corporations publishing newspapers, eleven channels.

"(5) To public utility corporations, three channels.

"(6) To insurance corporations, five channels

"WHEREAS, It is charged that a great Radio Trust alone has been granted six or seven national cleared channels by the

Federal Radio Commission, as well as chain-station rights which permit it to broadcast its program over the entire United States, and it has been granted the aforesaid six or seven channels for unlimited use, with tremendous power of from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand watts, while the station of organized labor, Station WCFL, located in the center of the United States at Chicago, Illinois, has been limited in time and to one thousand five hundred watts; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Radio Commission's allocations of channels, wave lengths, and radio facilities, and to inquire into the administration and interpretation of the radio laws of the United States by the Federal Radio Commission and recommend to the Congress of the United States appropriate legislation whereby organized labor will receive its proper share of the radio channels, wave lengths, and facilities equal to that of any other firm, company, corporation or organization"; and

WHEREAS, The minutes of the 1931 American Federation of Labor Convention further read as follows:

"The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 59.

"A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

"Delegate Nockels, Chicago Federation of Labor: Since coming to this convention a great many delegates have asked questions in regard to granting full time to Station WCFL and a 50,000-watt power. In order to conserve the time of the convention I have made up a statement which I wish to have in the record, without reading.

"President Green: Bring it forward and it will be included in the record.

"The statement is as follows:

"Facts About WCFL Full Time Grants

"Press accounts on September 22, 1931, about WCFL being granted full time on 970 kilocycles, were so worded as to convey to the public the impression that WCFL had won an unqualified victory, a notion that is far from the real truth. What WCFL did receive, can only be regarded as a provisional relief in the matter of time, leaving the all important features of a cleared channel, and increased power, questions that remain to be settled through action by either the Federal Radio Commission or the Congress that created it.

"Even the question of the time grant is qualified, for though granted simultaneous use of the 970 kilocycle band with station KJR of Seattle, recently acquired by the National Broadcasting Company,

WCFL can only maintain this position by sufferance of the NBC which controls this fifth zone band, while WCFL is located in the fourth zone division, hence, objection filed on that score or any other of a dozen plausible excuses would compel the Radio Commission to order a discontinuance of WCFL time grant and a resumption of the limited time schedule on which WCFL operated so long.

"The American Federation of Labor has again and again informed the public in general and Congress and the Federal Radio Commission in particular that WCFL, 'The Voice of Labor,' had been assigned to a frequency of 970 kilocycles, limited to daylight hours, which decree necessitated signing off at sun-down at Seattle, Washington, where KJR of the fifth zone, to whom this channel was assigned, was located, while WCFL was in the fourth radio zone, nor was this the only handicap imposed on WCFL, which was restricted to a 15-kw. power grant, which permitted Radio Trust Stations, like KDKA of Pittsburgh, in particular, operating on 980-kc. to drown out with its 50-kw. the weaker 15-kw. station WCFL.

"Not only has labor through its legislative representatives lodged its complaints with the Federal Radio Commission against this system of partiality, but it also voiced its determination not to permit radio broadcasting to be placed into the hands of a special privileged group, without exhausting every resource at its command to prevent such a surrender of the people's right to the air, as was indicated by the reallocation made by the Federal Radio Commission, November 11, 1928, which virtually created a monopoly, dictatorship and censorship of the air by stations assigned super power grants that enabled them at will to drown out all stations on adjacent frequencies."

"The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried"; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the above resolution the use of radio as the medium of communication has grown to such an extent as to become an essential part of the life of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the above resolution the control of the "cleared radio broadcasting channels" has become concentrated in the control of the national chains and their affiliated interests, and chain broadcasting has become an essential medium of expression used by the President of the United States, public officials, and private interests to reach simultaneously the millions of listeners throughout the land; and

WHEREAS, Such concentrated control of facilities has aroused the fears of Congress that the freedom of expression in the public interest and in defense of labor and others not in the control of the capitalistic interests will be exterminated; and

WHEREAS, Pursuant to such fears Congress incorporated in the Dill-Ray-

burn Communications bill as it was finally enacted into the law creating the Federal Communications Commission the following provision contained in paragraph "C", Section 307:

"(c) The Commission shall study the proposal that Congress by statute allocate fixed percentages of radio broadcasting facilities to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities, and shall report to Congress, not later than February 1, 1935, its recommendations together with the reasons for the same."

WHEREAS, It is essential for Labor to have a national cleared radio channel so as to enable it to preserve in the interests of Labor and the public the freedom of expression beyond the control of the vested interests through the additions of local stations into a national chain; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of said report WCFL has been threatened from time to time and is now being threatened by applications from other stations and others for the use in whole or in part of the channel now used by WCFL; and

WHEREAS, Under the conditions under which WCFL is now operating by license of the Federal Communications Commission the said channel allocated to WCFL is not in fact a clear channel; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Federal Communications Commission to recommend to the Congress of the United States and also petition the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a clear channel, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the Commission, are most representative of Labor interests of the United States, and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership, excepting that the license now granted to radio station KJR shall not be interfered with so long as it does not interfere with any other station now or to be hereafter established by said labor organizations on said clear channel.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation Requiring Government Contract Work to Be Executed Within the United States

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The practice of employers who receive contracts for work on or in buildings located in the United States or its territories and having said work performed in foreign countries and brought in under the guise of "art goods"; duty free, is contrary to the spirit and intent of the NRA; therefore be it

RESOLVED, Any employer receiving a contract for work on or in buildings located in the confines of the United States or its territories must execute such contracts within the confines of the United States or its territories; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department Convention adopt this resolution and present same to the American Federation Convention, with the recommendation that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to draft a proper bill to be submitted to the United States Senate and Congress to protect the American workmen in their just rights on this class of work above referred to.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, There is strong sentiment in local unions of National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in favor of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), as is evident by the endorsement of this bill by over 2,000 Local Unions, 30 Central Labor Bodies, 4 State Federations of Labor, 4 International Unions, i.e., United Textile Workers of America, International Molders' Union of North America, Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers of America, American Association of Tin and Steel Workers of America; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers International Union, and many fraternal and benefit organizations to which members of unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor belong; and

WHEREAS, This sentiment of organized workers brought about the introduction in Congress of H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced by the NRA, the CCC camps and the Public Works program, and there are still, according to official American Federation of Labor figures, some 10,000,000 jobless men and women in this country (this estimate added to by ruined farmers seeking employment in industrial centers, housewives looking for jobs because of unemployment of the breadwinner, the natural increase of workers due to the coming of working age of some 2,000,000 boys and girls each year, bringing the total to some 16,000,000 or 17,000,000) who

will be provided for in a systematic manner only when H. R. 7598 is adopted; and

WHEREAS, Leading officials of the American Federation of Labor undoubtedly aware of the sentiment of the rank and file expressed by Local Union endorsements and other avenues of expression, nevertheless continue to back the Wagner Bill, a bill that does not even pretend to provide for the millions now unemployed, and which must, therefore, be considered a scheme designed by employers and their government advisors to sidetrack genuine and effective unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 7598 is the only bill which proposes a system of unemployment insurance for all unemployed workers, to be financed jointly by the Government and the employers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as endorsing H. R. 7598 and pledge the resources of the organizations it represents to put pressure on Congress for its immediate enactment into law; it agrees further that a national campaign for the securing of endorsements of H. R. 7598 in every Local union of the National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be begun at once; and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the enactment of H. R. 7598, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention instructs the Executive Council to demand and press for relief for the unemployed, based on established figures for adequate living standards, from State and City authorities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Membership of American Federation of Labor Officials on NRA Boards

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, After one year of the NRA, Labor finds that its conditions have not improved, that there are still more than 10,000,000 unemployed, that the codes have brought about a general lowering of the level of the skilled workers' wages, that the purchasing power of workers has been lowered through the sharp rise in the cost of living according to the Government's own admission, and through actual reduction of the income of wage workers; and

WHEREAS, Section 7-a of the NRA, which supposedly guaranteed the right to organize, turned out to be in practice the use of armed forces against the workers, brutality and terror, through the calling of the National Guard and invoking of martial law, the incitement to

methods of Fascist terror, through mass arrests and jailings, through clubbings and gassing of strikers, through fraudulent schemes and trickery which rob the workers of the right to join a union of their own choice but compels them to go into company unions; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the National Labor Board and the Regional NRA Boards and other administrative boards of the NRA by delay, arbitration and other methods to defeat the efforts of workers to organize into unions of their own choice, as was evident in the case of the Weirton Steel, the Budd Manufacturing Company, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit, etc., and by arbitrarily ordering workers back to work, to prevent strikes and break them as in the Toledo strikes, the Minneapolis strike, and in the case of the auto and steel workers, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the American Federation of Labor have been part of the official machinery of the NRA as members of the administrative boards and have agreed in co-operation with the employers and the Government representatives to codes which fall to guarantee an adequate income to wage workers, which do not provide for raises in wages to meet the mounting living costs, codes which do not provide for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the Government, etc.; and

WHEREAS, American Federation of Labor officials, by signing the bituminous coal code put the union label on the setting up of a Board for compulsory arbitration and illegalizing of strikes; by signing the auto code they have agreed to the merit clause, which places their stamp of approval on the open shop; and by agreeing to the steel code they have helped to recognize and strengthen company unions; and

WHEREAS, The service of the American Federation of Labor officials in behalf of the NRA has meant sanctioning the anti-labor acts of the NRA, thereby invalidating the fundamental rights acquired by the workers of the United States through many years of struggle; and

WHEREAS, This triple alliance of Government, employers and the leading officials of the American Federation of Labor has led to greater Government interference in the life of the unions and the struggle of organized labor, to the extent that it has enabled the employers more easily to put over attacks on workers' conditions in order to safeguard their profits; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the withdrawal of all officials of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions from posts in the NRA in advisory and execu-

tive capacities, and from all sections of the NRA, local, district, state and national labor boards, committees and authorities, however titled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, It is no longer a matter of dispute that in the United States there is an army of permanently unemployed workers numbering more than ten million even when we accept the most conservative estimates; and

WHEREAS, This immense army of unemployed workers is a threat to the wage and social standards of the entire membership of organized labor and all wage workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The only proposal that deals adequately with the problem of the support of these millions of unemployed workers, on the basis of keeping them connected with the labor movement of which they were a part when employed, is the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, commonly known as H. R. 7598, now before the Congress of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That various other measures are before the Congress of the United States, none of which are adequate in their provisions for meeting the extremely vital problem of maintaining the unemployed in this country at a decent standard of living, and the support by Congressmen and Senators for H. R. 7598 and other so-called unemployment insurance measures being of a formal character, this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends to its affiliated National and International Unions, Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor and Federal Labor Unions, the preparation for and the calling of a 24-hour general strike on a national scale, the first week in January, to correspond with the opening of the Seventy-fourth Session of United States Congress, to focus the attention of the tolling population upon the necessity for the passage of H. R. 7598, in order to bring proper pressure in the form of a gigantic petition to Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Munitions Industry Investigation

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656; Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, The investigation conducted by the Nye Committee of the

munitions industry, while it has revealed some important information, according to its own statements published widely in the press has suppressed much vital information; and

WHEREAS, With the excuse that the publication of name, addresses, telegrams and letters dealing with the manipulations and dealings with representatives and actual bribery of foreign governments by the munitions industry has been withheld from publication, and not even entered in the records of the committee; and

WHEREAS, If the wage-working population of the United States, and especially those members of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are to be able to judge adequately the menace of the munitions industry, and work out for themselves a program by which this menace, that contains not only the germs but the actual threat of a new world war, is to be combated, it is necessary that full information in regard to the discoveries of the Nye Committee be published; and

WHEREAS, This has not been done; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we call upon Senator Nye and other responsible Government authorities to probe in the greatest detail into the munitions industry and its connection with war and industry in general, and to make public without restrictions or reservations all the findings of the committee resulting from its investigation conducted on this basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fascism

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Shipyard Workers Union No. 19667 and Fish Cannery Workers Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, Fascism in Germany headed by the butcher Hitler is a dictatorship in the interests of the big bankers and employers and against the whole toiling section of the population; and

WHEREAS, This brutal dictatorship has already proven in action its true color by suppressing the trade unions, cutting unemployment relief and insurance, putting the unemployed workers on forced labor without wages, suppressing the elected shop councils, prohibiting strikes, suppressing all working-class political, cultural and even sport movements, by the most bloody barbaric reign of terror directly against workers and the Jewish and Catholic minorities; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are confined and tortured in prisons and in concentration camps and dungeons, among whom is the leader of the

struggle against Fascism, Ernst Thaelmann; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its convention in 1934, and other American Federation of Labor bodies, have gone on record against Fascism and for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-Fascist fighters; and

WHEREAS, This bloody barbaric dictatorship of Hitler, in order to maintain its rule is doing its utmost to develop race hatred, anti-semitism and nationalism, causing the war clouds in Europe to gather faster, and bring closer the danger of a world war; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for an uncompromising struggle against Fascism in Germany and elsewhere and against growing Fascist tendencies in the United States; against the menace of war and for the immediate release of Thaelmann and all other anti-Fascist victims of Hitler's regime.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Taxation

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The last three years have witnessed a great revolt on the part of the real estate taxpayer which has taken the form of tax delinquency, tax limitation laws, and a demand for a reduction in rates even at the expense of essential public services; and

WHEREAS, At a time when the problems of our democracy are particularly pressing and forced leisure time is greater than ever before, educational opportunities are being curtailed below a standard which a civilized nation with our advantages should endure; and

WHEREAS, Many States have adopted the sales tax as a way out of their difficulties, notwithstanding the fact that the sales tax is an unjust way to raise revenue and is inappropriate at a time when the purchasing power of the consumer needs to be conserved; and

WHEREAS, Taxes based on ability to pay are the most appropriate way to finance education and other essential public services, since these taxes are the most just and the best adapted to preserve the balance of the economic system; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has many and important advantages in levying and collecting taxes based upon ability to pay, unhampered as it is by the danger of prejudicing the chances of business engaged in interstate competi-

tion, and possessed as it is of information or means of acquiring information as to the property and income of its citizens; and

WHEREAS, While Federal and State governments are the units which can best levy taxes based upon ability to pay, the local units of government are the ones which have responsibility for most of the important governmental functions; and

WHEREAS, Huge amounts of interest and many salaries including those of school teachers are still tax exempt, and there are other conspicuous gaps in our income and inheritance tax laws; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-fourth Convention, request Congress to grant substantial Federal aids to the States for the support of education; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically oppose any extension of sales taxation in this country and urge, instead, the extension of income and inheritance taxes which are based upon ability to pay; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That it strongly support legislation to close the gaps in our State and Federal income and inheritance tax laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating That the Navy Department Prepare All Plans for Vessels Built in Government Yards

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, The declared policy of Congress, in Section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, clearly sets forth as one of its principal purposes "to relieve unemployment and improve standards of labor"; and

WHEREAS, The \$238,000,000 naval building proviso should, therefore, be governed by this fundamental principle of this Act; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Navy Department in purchasing plans from private shipbuilders for vessels building in Government yards to this extent deprives many competent naval architects, marine engineers and draftsmen of the opportunity to earn a livelihood; and

WHEREAS, As a further result, all work progress of this program has already been unnecessarily delayed for more than fifteen months, with the consequent suffering and privation in the ranks of the unemployed extending to all trades; and

WHEREAS, Much of this delay could have been avoided and these groups would not have found it necessary to face the hardships of another winter of destitution if the Government had proceeded to promptly make their own plans; be it therefore

RESOLVED, In the interest of the general welfare and in keeping with the fundamental policies of the National Industrial Recovery Act, this Convention go on record authorizing the President of the American Federation of Labor to bring this matter to the personal attention of the President of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the 50-50 arrangement involving the building of naval vessels and auxiliaries, the drafting work shall be pro-rated on the same basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protest Against Charter Issued in Los Angeles by Laundry Workers' International Union

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles (California), Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor granted a charter for a local union of Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers in Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, This local union has been nearly destroyed by the operations of certain men who were identified with, and active in the Communist movement in Los Angeles, and although through the machinations of these Communists that local union has practically been disbanded, the Central Labor Union in that city, in co-operation with the representative of the American Federation of Labor, is entering upon what appears to be a successful move to reorganize it; and

WHEREAS, Since this movement started these Communist leaders have attempted to prevent its progress, without success; and

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the American Federation of Labor, through the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, that the Laundry Workers International Union has issued a charter, to a group of Cleaners and Dyers led by these Communists, the first meeting under which was held on Thursday, September 27, 1934, thereby giving to these Communists not only an opportunity to prevent the further organization of Cleaners and Dyers, but an opportunity to operate under the cloak of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it.

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this subject matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council, or the proper committee of this Con-

vention, for an investigation and a correction of the conditions created by the granting of this charter by the Laundry Workers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Workers Education Bureau

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Francis X. Moore of Electrical Device Workers Union No. 18946 of Hartford, Connecticut.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years recognized the need of education in further progress and development in its organization work; and

WHEREAS, The program of the Workers Education Bureau is the agency of its movement to educate the workers of the United States, and its welfare is of importance to the success of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been evidenced in many States of the Union that the existing agencies of adult education are controlled by people who are not friends of labor and who are definitely opposed to union control and direction of adult workers' education programs; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, urge all the affiliated State agencies to bring such pressure as is possible upon the educational authorities to gain co-operation with the program and aim of the Workers Education Bureau.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, Company unions are instruments of the employers to prevent real union organization, to place the workers at the complete mercy of the employers, to destroy any resistance to the conditions imposed upon them and to isolate workers from the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Since the advent of the NRA the number of workers driven into company unions have reached the alarming total of 5,000,000; and

WHEREAS, Those leaders of the American Federation of Labor who are working closely with the NRA are jointly responsible for the growth of company unions, due to their approval of codes, such as the auto code, which contains a merit clause nullifying the closed shop; the steel code, which recognizes representatives from company unions; and due to their compliance with the no-strike policy of the NRA and their aid to the

National Labor Board in breaking strikes which resulted in either strengthening already existing company unions or foisting new ones on workers; and

WHEREAS, NRA election frauds and other schemes to force workers into company unions and the recent action of the National Labor Board in breaking strikes which resulted in either strengthening already existing company unions or foisting new ones on workers; and

WHEREAS, NRA election frauds and other schemes to force workers into company unions and the recent action of the National Labor Board in adding to it more corporation officials in whose industries company unions now exist, show the aim to be to force company unions on the workers wherever possible; and

WHEREAS, Only through the organization of powerful unions controlled by the rank and file can the workers gain improvements in their conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to take immediate steps to arouse workers in the United States to the menace of company controlled unions, against the NRA and government boards which seek control over the activities of existing unions, against all other causes which are responsible for the growth of company unions, and to wage a fight for the rights of the workers to organize into unions of their own choice, to choose their own representatives, to strike and picket; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to give all possible aid to workers in company unions who are seeking to destroy these instruments of the employers, which drive down their wages and living standards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racketeering

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian, Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers No. 18702.

WHEREAS, In many Local Unions, affiliated National and International unions, in various District Councils, Building Trades Councils and Central Labor Bodies, gangsterism and racketeering are rampant, the numerous trials of union officials on charges made by the dues-paying membership revealing only to a small extent the vast extent of this corruption; and

WHEREAS, Exposure by rank and file members in many instances are followed by reprisals organized by gangsters paid by corrupt officials from union funds, in which union members are intimidated, terrorized, killed and maimed; and

WHEREAS, The tremendous resentment of the membership against such conditions brought the issue into the Fifty-third Annual Convention; and

WHEREAS, The formal statement of the Fifty-third Annual Convention, which was circularized in the local unions, has resulted in no effective action against this disgraceful and dangerous state of affairs either by the International unions or the Executive Council; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge to do all in their power to organize the membership in the Local Unions to fight racketeering and gangsterism and to eliminate this menace in whatever form it appears.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, During the past year the workers of many industries comprising both skilled and unskilled labor have desired to organize under the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of many charters for such organizations have been held up due to the jurisdictional claim of the craft organizations; and

WHEREAS, During the period necessary to adjust such jurisdictional claims, the interest of the prospective members is diminished to such an extent that in many industries company or independent unions have been formed; and

WHEREAS, The increasing number of company and independent unions definitely show the jurisdictional claims have proved to be a hindrance to organizational work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be permitted and be immediately instructed to issue charters to industrial organizations where jurisdictional claim might be involved, and to make adjustment of such claims after such organizations have been chartered.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Workers in Radio Industry

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, The radio industry has developed during the past few years to a

point where it is recognized as one of the major industries of the country, employing approximately 50,000 workers; and

WHEREAS, Organization work has been carried on in the industry with the result that 17 organizations have been chartered in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Organization work is being carried on by independent unions, and to some extent employees are under the domination of company unions; and

WHEREAS, Those workers who have been organized in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor have succeeded in advancing their economic interests; and

WHEREAS, By advancing the interests of the affiliated organizations they have placed themselves at a disadvantage by their competition with unorganized labor; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated organizations have demonstrated that complete organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is vitally necessary; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a special program of organization be conducted in the radio industry by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Communists

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian, Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers No. 18702.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded on the principle of organizing wage earners in their respective trades and industries for their economic rights, without restriction as to race, nationality, religion, or political belief; and

WHEREAS, In a letter dated May 27, 1931, President William Green defined the position of the American Federation of Labor in his answer to the Minneapolis Building Trades Council on the question of discrimination as follows: "In joining an organization of labor, no one can be required to surrender his religious belief or his political affiliations. As a member of an organization of labor he is just as free to follow his own trend of mind religiously or politically as is every other citizen of our country"; and

WHEREAS, The three-point program of the Executive Council calling for a drive to eliminate Communists from the unions proposes a campaign to expel from the American Federation of Labor affiliated National and International unions of the American Federation of Labor, and also invites Government in-

interference in the affairs of our unions by calling on the Government to persecute and deport foreign-born workers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council launches this red-baiting drive against members of the American Federation of Labor who fight loyally in the interests of the members of organized labor for the improvement of our economic conditions and for honest unions, at the same time it takes no effective steps to drive out of the unions the corrupt and graft-ridden elements who have fastened their hold on many of our unions and operate them for their own personal benefit as private business enterprises or in the interests of the organized employers; and

WHEREAS, The Communist party is recognized as an established political party and is officially on the ballot in 43 states; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as establishing the principle of the right of every member to belong to a political party of his own choice without discrimination or expulsion; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the statement of the Executive Council, which constitutes a complete reversal of these rights, be immediately withdrawn; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all National and International unions are recommended to amend their constitutions so as to guarantee the right and freedom of choice of every member to belong to any religious organization or political party without endangering his rights and privileges as a member of the union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

General Strike

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, The San Francisco and Bay Counties general strike was called to aid the maritime unions who were fighting against an infamous blacklisting system and discrimination carried on through company controlled hiring halls, and whose members had been on strike since May 8 to abolish this company control and improve their wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Some 125,000 members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor joined the strike in one of the greatest demonstrations of unity in American Labor history; and

WHEREAS, It was the duty of the President of the American Federation of Labor, who is a paid official of the membership, to support this strike both morally and financially, to help deal a blow

to company unionism and the open shop and to raise the standard of labor throughout the country by helping to bring about a victory of the general strike; and

WHEREAS, William Green instead issued a public statement declaring "The strike in San Francisco is local in character, possessing no national significance," and that "it originated with the workers directly involved . . ." and that ". . . their representatives ordered the strike and must accept full responsibility for this action," and that the "American Federation of Labor neither ordered the strike nor authorized it"; and

WHEREAS, William Green also wired the Seattle Central Labor Council warning them against calling a general strike in support of the maritime unions, both actions serving only to aid open shop employers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning this action of William Green as a violation of his trust as the official head of the American trade-union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Apprenticeship Regulations

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Fish and Cannery Workers Union No. 18656, and Shipyard Workers Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, The apprenticeship periods required in almost all unions are much longer than really necessary in order that one may master a specific craft; and

WHEREAS, Due to such long periods an apprentice does the work of a journeyman at the apprentice's wages; and

WHEREAS, Said practices constitute discrimination against young workers in the labor movement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of reducing the terms of apprenticeship by approximately twenty-five (25) per cent; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of steadily graduated and substantial percentage wage increases, based on the journeyman's scale, for all apprentices.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Fish and Cannery Work-

ers' Union No. 18656, and Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have entered their nineteenth year in jail, where they have been held by the open shop forces of California despite the fact that every shred of evidence against them has been proven false; and

WHEREAS, Mooney and Billings are victims of a proven frame-up because of their active fight for labor's cause; and

WHEREAS, The open shop forces are responsible for the organization of vigilante bands who, together with the police, raided, terrorized and jailed active union members in an effort to break the San Francisco and Bay Counties general strike; and

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney's case is not an isolated one, as frame-ups of labor leaders and active fighters in the labor movement are used by employers to intimidate labor, prevent organization, stop wage increases and improvement of workers' conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to rally the membership of organized labor in the country to unite its efforts to win the immediate unconditional release of Mooney and Billings and all others imprisoned for their fight for labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention herein assembled elect a delegate to visit Brother Mooney in San Quentin prison.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Workers' Status in Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 141 — By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, the Negroes constitute one-tenth of the population of the United States, representing a larger population than Canada, and with a ratio of working population exceeding the ratio of their racial population;

WHEREAS, There is widespread unrest among Negro workers in particular and the Negro people in general with the existing status of Negro workers in the American Federation of Labor, and with its policy toward the organization of Negro workers, contending that the many resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor, throughout the years, in convention after convention, declaring the desire of the American Federation of Labor to have all workers join it without regard to race, color or nationality or creed, while very splendid and

of high moral value, obviously do not frankly and effectively face and solve the problems of organizing Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, All of the International and National unions connected with the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, with the exception of the Teamsters and Longshoremen, have color clauses in their constitution or color pledges in their rituals, such as, "Only sober and industrious white men are eligible for membership," which sets these railroad organizations, namely, the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of North America, the Switchmen's Union of North America, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and an actual color bar exists, if not in name, it does in fact, in a number of other National and International unions such as the Plumbers and Electrical Workers, in utter and flagrant violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The color bar among trade unions is unsound, defenseless, undemocratic, illogical and un-American, which only serves to divide the workers in the industrial field upon a basis of race and color, thereby weakening the forces of organized labor, and rendering it a victim to the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the employers; and

WHEREAS, the discrimination against Negro workers joining the trade unions attaches to Negro workers in particular and the Negro race in general the stigma of inferiority, which is unjust, unfair and unscientific; and

WHEREAS, The industrial strikes throughout the history of America and of recent date indicate that only the workers are deceived and taken in by the fiction of race difference and superiority, as shown by the fact that the big capitalist employers will exploit white men, white women and white children in the mills, mines, factories, on the railroads and farms, just as readily and with as much severity as they will exploit black men, black women and black children; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record for the elimination of the color clause and pledge from the constitution and rituals of all trade and industrial unions affiliated with it, and pledges to expel any union which violates the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by maintaining said color bar; be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and instruct President William Green, who has publicly said that the American Federation of Labor should deserve to perish should it discriminate against workers on account of race or color, creed or nationality, to appoint a committee of five or more delegates to this Convention, to investigate the whole question of the status of Negro workers in the National and International unions, Federal unions, and the general policy of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of organizing Negro workers, and report to the next convention its findings with recommendations as to future policy in relation to Negro workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Protesting Wage Differential for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, Many southern employers of labor are seeking to get the Federal government committed to a policy of racial wage differentials, on the grounds of the Negro workers having a lower standard of living, and a traditional status lower than that of white workers, and also a lower productive efficiency, which would ultimately place the Negro in a low wage caste; and

WHEREAS, All scientific socio-economic studies show that standards of living invariably correspond to the income of groups, and have no racial relation; and

WHEREAS, Productive efficiency of workers can only be effectively determined in terms of individuals and not races; and

WHEREAS, Unbiased economic and industrial opinion of efficiency engineers indicates that Negro workers have the capacity for the same standards of skill and production as white workers have; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of a racial wage differential under the New Deal would put the stamp of approval upon the industrial degradation of Negro workers by the Federal government which would tend to hold back the industrial progress of the Negro race; and

WHEREAS, A racial wage differential would set up the basis of a deadly competition between the white and black workers, which would practically render the organization and maintenance of a militant and effective labor movement in America impossible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record as definitely and un-

alterably opposed to the principle of the racial wage differential, because of its menace to the Negro and White workers alike, and herewith call upon Congress and President Roosevelt to refuse to sanction this backward and vicious economic policy of selfish and inefficient southern business interests.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The lynching of human beings and mob law are a shame and disgrace to our American civilization, holding our country up to the ridicule and condemnation of the entire civilized world; and

WHEREAS, Nearly five thousand lynchings have occurred in the United States of America in the last fifty years, over one thousand of whom were white people; and

WHEREAS, Lynching and mobocratic germs, like disease germs, know no color, race, nationality or religious lines, since history shows that wherever lynching becomes a custom that a black man may be the victim today but a white man will be the victim tomorrow; and

WHEREAS, Mob and lynch law are on the increase, striking here and there at the heart of the labor movement and our constitutional form of government, indicating the utter helplessness of individual States to cope with this crime against humanity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, herewith proclaim to the world its absolute and unequivocal condemnation of lynch and mob law, and call upon Congress and President Roosevelt to enact and execute the Costigan-Wagner Federal Anti-Lynching bill, with a view to wiping out this shameful blot of barbarism from American soil; be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House of Representatives and Senators, urging them to back this measure, and that a copy of this resolution also be sent to the following national organizations that are supporting the bill; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Student Council, Young Women's Christian Association, American Civil Liberties Union, Race Relations Committee, Society of Friends, National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Public Affairs Committee, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Writer's League Against Lynching,

Church League for Industrial Democracy, League for Industrial Democracy, American Federation of Teachers, and the Congregational and Christian Churches.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting International Charter for Sleeping Car Porters

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The Sleeping Car Porters have functioned, since they were organized in 1925, through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, International in scope, though affiliated with the American Federation of Labor under Federal charters since 1929; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company is an international corporation which operates its sleeping cars in Mexico and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There are now thirteen Federal Locals of Sleeping Car Porters affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with ten or more sleeping car locals in preparation for affiliation as Federal locals, which fully satisfies the conditions and requirements for an international charter; and

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act, as amended by the Seventy-third Congress, specifically states under the general caption: National Board of Adjustment—Grievances—Interpretation of Agreements, Section 3, paragraph (a), "That the said Adjustment Board shall consist of thirty-six members, eighteen of whom shall be selected by the carriers and eighteen by such labor organizations of employees, national in scope, as have been or may be organized in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 of this Act," and renders it imperative that railway workers, in order to function effectively in bargaining collectively in the negotiations of agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions, be embraced in an organization national in structure and scope; and

WHEREAS, The tax of Federal locals is too heavy a burden upon the Sleeping Car Porters to permit them adequately to handle the grievances and represent Sleeping Car Porters that are located in Pullman districts, extending from Miami, Florida, to the twin cities of Minnesota and from New York City to California; and

WHEREAS, The only sound structure of organization of Sleeping Car Porters is one which is co-extensive with the industry in which they are employed and the corporation with which it must fight for the right of self-organization and the selection and designation of representatives of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Railway Labor Act, as amended by the Seventy-third Congress, five or six thousand sleeping car porters and maids have joined the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, representing the large majority of the porters and maids in the sleeping car industry; and

WHEREAS, The sleeping car porters will soon institute action, through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to secure a conference with the Pullman Company, to make and maintain an agreement on wages, hours and rules governing working conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in view of the aforementioned facts and reasons, that the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in San Francisco assembled, herewith grant an international charter to the Sleeping Car Porters, the same to include within its scope of jurisdiction the red-caps, ushers and train porters.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Request for Appointment of Negro Organizer

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The recent industrial upheavals in America show the desire of Negro workers to be organized and to fight side by side with their white brothers, and also the disposition and desire of the employing class to utilize Negro workers as a reserve force to hold back the rising tide of a militant labor movement, seeking to establish industrial democracy as we now have political democracy; and

WHEREAS, Many International unions have found it indispensable to seek the support and co-operation of Negro workers to help them develop solidarity to hold their lines and advance their lines in the interest of securing day-to-day improvements in working conditions, wage increases and shorter hours; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of Negro workers are joining the needle trades, the mine workers' organizations and other groups, but that the great masses of Negro workers are not touched by the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There is no Negro organizer of labor now under the direct supervision of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record as authorizing the Executive Council and President William Green, to put on one or more paid Negro general organizers so that they may pro-

mote, in co-operation with the National, International and Federal unions, a nation-wide program of organization and education among Negro workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaring for Executive State Fund Workmen's Compensation Legislation

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Workers employed in hazardous occupations and workers who have passed the age of forty are discriminated in employment opportunities wholly as a result of the refusal of insurance companies to provide insurance protection for employers who have workers in hazardous occupations or who employ workers forty years or older; and

WHEREAS, Many of these casualty insurance companies have been unwilling or unable to pay to injured workers the moneys due to them as a result of the weak financial condition of these insurance companies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly directed the attention of the officers and members of the trade union movement to the fact that the only safe and proper form of casualty insurance which will provide real protection to workers engaged in industries is exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we again direct the attention of the officers and members of the trade union movement to the absolute and imperative need of securing the enactment in each State of the exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the officers of each State Federation of Labor, each Central Labor and other delegate body, as well as to the officers and members of all labor bodies and their friends to work for the enactment of exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation laws; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to initiate a vigorous militant campaign to co-operate with and assist the officers of the State Federations of Labor to secure the enactment of this necessary legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Massachusetts Unemployment Census

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The best available statistics have warranted the assertion that

not less than 10,000,000 workers are still unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Conservative statements of William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, to the effect that not less than 10,000,000 workers able and willing to work were unable to work and were recently criticized and challenged by officers of the United States Chamber of Commerce; and

WHEREAS, The State of Massachusetts is just completing a state-wide unemployment census, the advanced tabulations of which census indicate that there are at the present time no less than 12,000,000 workers unable to secure employment; and

WHEREAS, This complete census of the unemployed will be of great value to the officers of all National and International unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to obtain and send to all National and International unions a copy of this census.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protest Against Unfair Attitude of S.

Clay Williams, Chairman Administrative Division NRA

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the workers of our country have been assured that those placed in control of the administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act would be fair, impartial and sympathetic towards the adoption of and the approval of codes which would make possible employment opportunities for millions of those workers now unemployed with resultant increases in purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, During the past week Mr. S. Clay Williams, Chairman of the Board of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, has been made Chairman of the Administrative Division of the National Recovery Administration; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams officiates as the Chairman of the code committee for the cigarette and smoking tobacco manufacturing industry and has been an official of the National Recovery Administration for the past fifteen months during which time he apparently used his position and his influence to prevent the consideration of any code for that industry, and, when, finally, forced to present a code for that industry, presented a code which would have permitted of the payment of wages as low as 12 cents per hour, and, which code deprived the President of the United States of the mandatory power contained in all other codes to amend or modify codes; and

WHEREAS, Since August 21, 1934, when a public hearing was held on the code above described, Mr. S. Clay Williams has refused to participate in any hearing or meeting with representatives of the workers of the cigarette and smoking tobacco manufacturing industry and officials of the NRA, through which hearing or meeting final action could be taken and a code adopted, and, has even stated that unless those in charge of the consideration of a code for that industry accepted the proposed code which he, Mr. S. Clay Williams, had presented, or, a code which was acceptable to the cigarette manufacturers that he would oppose the approval and the enforcement of such code and would take the case to the Supreme Court if necessary; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams has stated that 40 cents per hour is an excessive minimum wage to be made effective for skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams represents and officiates for an industry, namely the cigarette industry, the total labor costs of the products produced representing less than 2 per cent of the wholesale value of such products, and, which industry has plowed back into the industry each year for the past 12 years out of the profits more dollars than was paid yearly to the wage workers of the entire industry, and, which industry has continually, during the depression, paid large dividends to the stockholders and extraordinary bonuses to officials while each year reducing the amounts paid in wages to the workers; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of such individuals as Mr. S. Clay Williams in control of the administration of the National Recovery Administration will make possible, through the issuance of regulations which have the force and effect of law, the virtual enslavement of the workers of our country; and

WHEREAS, Those workers who have suffered and been discriminated against as a result of the prejudiced and biased attitude of Mr. S. Clay Williams and his type holding influential positions in the control of the National Recovery Administration do not believe that President Roosevelt is aware of the highly prejudiced and unfair attitude of Mr. S. Clay Williams; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby direct the Executive Council to call the attention of President Roosevelt to the biased, unfair and inconsiderate attitude of and the activities of Mr. S. Clay Williams as an official of the National Recovery Administration and to suggest to President Roosevelt that he have an impartial investigation made of the hostile attitude and the activities of Mr. S. Clay Williams as an officer of the National Recovery Administration before fully entrusting to said Mr. S. Clay Williams the power which

ordinarily he, the President, imposes in his appointees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Revival of CWA

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Because of the widespread unemployment which is rapidly being added to daily, some immediate means for relief must be provided for by our Government to take care of the many unemployed workers this coming winter; and

WHEREAS, The present method of dispensing Federal Emergency Relief does not meet the needs of the majority of worthy people; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of dispensing relief through FERA, many worthy people hesitate to apply for relief because of the necessity to lower their personal pride by doing so; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the President of the United States to again revive the CWA under the same rules and regulations as was in effect under the CWA which was adopted November 15, 1933.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Constitution of Building Trades Department

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor ratify the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department whereby Section 1 of the Constitution of the Building Trades Department was amended by adding the words "and construction" after the word "building" in next to the last line of the section, so that same will read:

"Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and shall be composed of National and International building trades organizations, recognized as such, duly and regularly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Membership shall be confined to National and International building trades organizations that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and which are universally employed in the building and construction

industry, either in erection, repair or alteration."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Housing Program

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing stands out as a great present need of the work-people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It appears that private investment is not attracted to low cost housing; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the only source of funds and activity which will provide the shelter that wage workers need is the United States Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this program shall be planned on a long range basis of at least five years ahead to clear slums and to provide low-cost housing that will rent at \$4 to \$6 a room per month; and furthermore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to take such executive action as is necessary to put into use immediately any funds now available for this purpose to the end that publicly built housing may be spread over the whole United States which will rent at low enough sums to afford the shelter required by all the people of the country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States is urged to enact any necessary legislation to carry forward such a housing program.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Boulder Dam

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress of the United States has passed an Act, which has been approved by the President, and known as H. R. 9002, an Act to provide relief to Government contractors whose costs of performance are increased as a result of compliance with the Act approved on June 16, 1933, and for other purposes. The other purposes for which this Act was passed by Congress, we understand, are for the purpose of allowing the Government contractors to seek relief, and relief is provided for in the Act for conditions that arise as a result of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The Boulder Dam project in Nevada and Arizona, the contract for

which was made previous to the Acts above mentioned, and previous to any laws shortening the work week or establishing any prevailing wage laws or similar conditions of employment affecting like projects; and

WHEREAS, The wages of employment on the Boulder Dam project are universally lower than those of like projects and similar employment and the scales of wages that have been set on this project are a result of the advantage taken by the contractors of the widespread unemployment, where men were ready to accept work at any price, and the contractors for this work, in spite of the conditions existing there, have had ample human material available at any price and under any conditions, and this has been another result of the extreme depths of the national depression or panic that has existed since 1929; and

WHEREAS, While the wages of these employes are extremely low, the food and other living costs are as high and higher than those existing in other communities of this country, and boarding rates compare with those existing during war time; and

WHEREAS, The climatic conditions and physical hazards are such that because of the extreme heat in summer and because of the location and the nature of this project, in spite of rigid physical and medical examinations and eliminations, the casualties are far above normal; and

WHEREAS, Because of the letting of this contract previous to the enactment of the National Recovery Act, the contractors are bound by no code or agreement of any kind, and, as such, are subject to no restrictions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record and submit similar resolutions to the American Federation of Labor and further instruct its officers to use such means as may be within its power to secure through the Secretary and the Department of the Interior of the United States Government or any other sources available for the employes of this Boulder Dam project additional compensation and to shorten the weekly and monthly hours of employment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers investigate further the possibility of applying the Act, H. R. 9002, or any such other means to provide relief as specified in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amendment to Constitution of Building Trades Department

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That Section 10 of the General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the deletion of the following words:

"In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act
for Protection Against Occupational
Diseases**

Resolution No. 154—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, History tells us that the original and principal reasons for all attempts to make practical use of inventions and discoveries, especially in the field of science and mechanics, were for the purpose of securing a more agreeable, easier and better existence; in other words, to lighten the burden of Labor by making use of these achievements; and

WHEREAS, With the advancement of times and conditions came a gradual change in purpose, when incentive to philanthropic improvement very soon gave way to the natural desire of individuals to attempt to quickly enrich themselves by resorting to ruthless and questionable methods, without any consideration for the well-being and health of their fellowmen; and

WHEREAS, Recent years have seen the development of inventions and discoveries in industry, in the different trades and in agriculture to a surprising degree, while but very little and hardly any provision has been made by the forty-eight States of the Union and in the District of Columbia to guard the health of the workers, who are in daily contact with and are constantly exposed to many of the insidious substances in solid, liquid and gaseous form. Many so employed have contracted serious diseases, some incurable, and others leading to premature death; many others met with serious accidents while at work through being so affected; and

WHEREAS, Admitting that the originators of inventions and discoveries had only progress and advancement in mind, it cannot be denied that greed to obtain financial advantage has slowly but surely undermined any benefits to be derived; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in the city of San Francisco, in the name of Labor and for the purpose of promoting the health and the welfare of the workers select a commit-

tee of competent men and women from either among the delegates or from among the rank and file, including such additional experts from other sources as may be required to devise, formulate and perfect a plan to induce concerted legislative action to be taken in the different States and for the District of Columbia and the Possessions to secure proper protection for the health of the workers and adequate compensation for all of those unfortunates that have become affected by occupational diseases and met with accidents while working for a living; and be it further

RESOLVED, That to secure and obtain additional and effective protection through the Federal Government against the menace of resorting to ruthless and questionable methods as applied in industry, in the different trades and in agriculture, this same committee be instructed to thoroughly examine, as to its real value, the herewith submitted copy of the "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act," and if they find it necessary to strengthen, improve and perfect it in all of its details, and after that to confer with the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to practical and feasible changes to be made in the descriptive labeling of containers filled with certain dangerous substances, as at present provided for and in effect under the "Rules and Regulations" of that Commission. All such changes are to be made in strict conformity with the requirements as laid down in the "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act," after its approval by the Committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That after the committee has completed its work the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall then have the approved "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act" introduced in the Congress of the United States to be enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Continuance of CWA

Resolution No. 155—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, In spite of the efforts of organized labor with the co-operation of our Government to eliminate the curse of unemployment, many of our workers are still idle and look toward the coming winter with a great deal of anxiety and apprehension; and

WHEREAS, the program of the Civil Works Administration put into operation during last winter proved a great help to many of our members; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use its best efforts to the

end that this work be taken up again during the coming winter in order that as many as possible of those now unemployed may be given an opportunity to work and earn a living for themselves and their families.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Karl Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, Industry is highly concentrated, dominated by monopoly capital, with machinery and mass production developed to a high degree, skill is being more and more eliminated, and many different crafts are employed in one or more plants by one company; and

WHEREAS, Craft unionism in practice has brought constant jurisdictional disputes and the division of workers in many different unions with separate agreements—in many cases expiring at different times—resulting in the crafts working against each other during strikes; and

WHEREAS, Such a form of trade union organization can no longer be justified, since it divides and weakens the workers and serves only to strengthen the employers and labor officials who look upon the unions as dues-collecting institutions to serve their personal interests; and

WHEREAS, Employers, especially since the passage of the NRA, are combined into strong industrial associations, chambers of commerce, etc., and are acting together for their mutual interest more consciously than ever before, to secure larger profits and take greater advantage of wage earners; and

WHEREAS, The conflicting interests of organized labor and organized employers are leading to wider and more decisive struggles; and

WHEREAS, The policy pursued by most of the chief officials of our unions—conciliation, arbitration, and compromise with the employers—is ruinous to the interests of workers and effective union organizations, and leaves them at the mercy of the employers, who drive down their conditions more and more; and

WHEREAS, Even where industrial unions are formed, unless they are led by incorruptible elements directly responsible to the membership, they can be utilized by corrupt officials and employers in the same manner as is being done in the craft unions, as for example in the United Mine Workers of America, which, although it has an industrial union basis, has through its officials agreed more than once to an efficiency union program; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of genuine industrial unions, to be arrived at through the reorganization of the membership in the departmentalized industrial unions, and by the merging of the various craft unions in each industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the industrial unions so formed shall be based on a program which rejects co-operation with employers and the faults and dangerous theories of identity of interests of employers and employees—the theory of identity of interests of capital and labor, the theory that is mainly responsible for existing corruption in the organized labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Karl Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers, and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, Thousands of unorganized workers from the trustified mass production plants, beset by the danger of company unionism and the continued attacks on their working conditions, have joined the American Federation of Labor for the improvement of their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, These workers were organized into Federal locals directly, on the basis of a policy of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to organize them with the understanding that the "rights and interests of all affiliated National and International unions must be followed, observed and safeguarded," showing clearly that it is the ultimate aim of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to dismember these unions into craft organizations separated under the National and International unions; and

WHEREAS, At the Fifty-third Annual Convention, and at special meetings of the Executive Council thereafter, the question of strengthening and giving greater support to the Federal locals was not considered, but instead the discussion centered on the division of the unions and who shall have the benefit of the dues when the Federal locals are dismembered into craft unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled in the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to guarantee the interests of the Federal local unions and the right to full local autonomy for these unions, including the right to strike; that the dues of the local unions be handled by the regularly elected officials of these local unions, and that the Federal labor union locals have

equal representation with any other affiliated body to the American Federation of Labor conventions according to the per capita basis allowed National and International unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal labor unions be given full support of the Executive Council in their effort for improvement in wage and working conditions of their members and for the right to organize and other elementary rights; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and pledges support to the Federal labor unions in the respective industries, to the end that effective contact and co-operation with other labor organizations in these industries be attained, to unite in common efforts leading toward the formation of one industrial union in each of these respective industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Use of National Guard in Strikes

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Karl Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, The strikes in which American workers have shown that they would not agree to submit without protest to further encroachments on their wage standards and working conditions and stand ready to make the greatest sacrifices, even giving their lives in order to maintain labor's hard won rights, have been met on all fronts by murderous attacks by the employers, their private and professional armies aided by police, troops and other armed forces of Government agencies; and

WHEREAS, In spite of the La Guardia-Norris anti-injunction bill, hailed by President Green and the Executive Council as a great "victory for labor," there has been an increase in injunctions against unions, designed to prevent them from exercising such elementary rights as the right to organize and strike, to picket and maintain union organization independent of control by employers; and

WHEREAS, Under the NRA has been witnessed the unprecedented use of the National Guard troops, brutal terror, and even torture, as in the recent textile strike where the list of casualties among workers reads like a despatch from the Western Front during the World War; as in the strike of miners in New Mexico and Utah, the strike of steel and metal workers in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, the strikes of factory electrical workers in Toledo, Ohio; the strikes of truck drivers and helpers in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the strike of maritime workers unions on the West Coast, and in the general strike

in San Francisco and the Bay district, and in many other industrial centers where workers have been forced to strike in an attempt to secure a standard of living of minimum decency; and

WHEREAS, Martial law in Wisconsin and Minneapolis, etc., was utilized as a strike-breaking measure by employers and the Government agencies to provide military forces either as strikebreakers for the unfair concerns or as protection for strikebreakers recruited, not from the ranks of unemployed workers, but from the ranks of bankrupt and ruined business men. While intimidating the wage working population, which in all these communities has shown its solidarity with the striking workers, the military forces have been utilized to whip up anti-labor sentiment, to make wholesale arrests, and give so-called patriotic justification for the handing out of brutal sentences to wage-workers jailed and indicted in the course of their labor activities; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the Illinois labor movement, and the Chicago Federation of Labor, Victor Olander and Oscar Nelson, have been quoted in the press as approving gas bombs and other instruments of chemical warfare used by the National Guard, and Nelson being quoted as declaring, "We are happy that there is such an organization as the National Guard to preserve order"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the use of injunctions, of troops, and of military force—either official or unofficial—against strikers, and that the Convention use all its resources to put an end to such strikebreaking measures, joining in this effort with other labor organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Union Solidarity

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Wm. Van Ohrmann, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local No. 17960.

WHEREAS, One year of the NRA is now seen to have been a year of attack on conditions of wage workers, a year in which direct wage cuts of something like 45 per cent, and in so-called durable goods industries reaching to 60 per cent, with a rise of food and clothing prices of some 27 per cent since March, 1933 (according to official figures); and

WHEREAS, The profits of many big corporations have increased something like 450 per cent in the same period; and

WHEREAS; Our officials have shown their inability or their unwillingness to really protect the interests of the membership against such sweeping attacks on their living standards. Many of these officials undoubtedly have acted so as to justify the statement made in Washington early last year by General Johnson to the representatives of the big industrialists, when he said, referring to outstanding leaders of the organized labor movement, that "Their interests are your interests"; and

WHEREAS, Some 40,000,000 wage earners and their dependents are, more than any other section of the population, entitled to a decent living from the wealth of this country, since it was the toll of the wage earning population that brought this wealth into being; and

WHEREAS, Wage workers can gain better conditions only by solidarity and determined struggle, as the whole history of the organized labor movement shows; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the organization of all wage workers and the immediate preparation of the membership for a united effort to gain from the employers higher wages in the face of rising living costs—to the end that we may raise the living and working standards of all American labor—and secure the necessary and rapid shortening of hours to provide employment for additional hundreds of thousands of workers now unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Seamen

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate George M. Fouratt, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been in existence for over forty years and has exercised jurisdiction over Masters, Mates and Pilots holding license issued by the United States Local Inspectors, State Pilot Commissioners or State Local Inspectors for steam, sail or motor vessels, throughout the United States and its possessions; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization holds a charter from the American Federation of Labor exercising the jurisdiction aforementioned and has in fact been exercising said jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, A dual organization has come into existence and attempted to organize men who are within the jurisdiction of said National Organization; and

WHEREAS, Said dual organization is known by the name of Associated Marine Workers in the Port of New York, controlled by Captain William A. Maher; and

WHEREAS, To permit said dual organization to invade the jurisdiction of said National Organization would be contrary to the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is founded; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Seamen of America has given a charter to said dual organization; now therefore be it and it is hereby

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record in opposition to permitting any dual organization to invade the jurisdiction of a union holding a charter from this organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby directed to take such steps as will protect the jurisdiction of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and prevent said associated International Union of Seamen of America from interfering with or purporting to exercise any jurisdiction contrary to the charter issue of the said National Organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Right of Vote for Citizens of District of Columbia

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate David R. Glass, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The citizens of Washington, D. C., have never had any voice in the administration or government of the city; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor believes in adequate representation of all individuals affected by administrative or governmental action; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of Washington are taxed without being given a voice in how the taxes shall be expended; and

WHEREAS, Said citizens have no voice in choosing their school officials or formulating their educational policies; and

WHEREAS, Depriving these citizens of their right of representation and regulating their conduct as citizens without regard to their desires places our great government in the unenviable aspect of making wards out of several hundred thousand of its intelligent and loyal citizens; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled in San Francisco, October, 1934, manifest its disapproval of the injustices imposed upon the citizens of Washington, by requesting the officers of the American Federation

of Labor to collaborate with Organized Labor in the District of Columbia in their endeavors to secure legislation providing for appropriate and just representation and voting privileges for those residing in the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Food and Drugs Act

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate David R. Glass, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906 has proved to be a very definite protection to the consumer of foods and drugs against physical injury and economic loss;

WHEREAS, The passage of time and its accompanying revolution in sales methods have introduced new dangers to the consumer against which the present Food and Drugs Act offers no protection;

WHEREAS, The officials in charge of enforcing the Federal Food and Drugs Act have from time to time called public attention to the many serious defects in the existing law;

WHEREAS, These same officials have prepared and submitted to the Seventy-third Congress a revised Food and Drugs Act designated as Senate bill 1944, which Act will extend the scope of the present Act to include therapeutic devices, obesity cures and cosmetics; which will extend the scope of the Act to cover advertising other than that which appears upon the label of articles of food and drugs; which will make illegal false therapeutic claims; which will set up more severe penalties for violation of the Act; and which proposed Act contains many other features of vital importance to the consumer;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco, October 1, 1934, embrace in its legislative program the Senate bill 1944, cited above, with such other features as will guarantee a Food and Drugs Act providing adequate protection for the consumer and carrying sufficient penalties for violation of the Act to ensure its proper observance; further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Affiliation of Local Unions With State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 163 — By Delegate J. Steve Nance, Federation of Trades, Atlanta, Georgia.

WHEREAS, The necessity of organization of all workers to protect the rights of the common people of our country is more needed today than ever before; and

WHEREAS, Organization of the workers into various forms of organization inimical to the best interests of the workers themselves, and in many cases subversive to American institutions, is being fostered by enemies of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Influences opposed to the advancement of the workers frequently use such organizations to mislead the public and to attempt to discredit the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Many State and Central Bodies are often handicapped in explaining to the public the true position of such organizations who have no connection with the bona fide labor movements, when many subordinate unions of affiliated internationals are not themselves affiliated with the State and Central Bodies of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor earnestly request all affiliated National and International unions to insist that their Subordinate Unions affiliate with their respective State and Central Bodies so that these bodies may not only have the value of the advice and council of all Local Unions but also at the same time place the movement in position to state to the public that only affiliated organizations actually represent the American labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State and Central Bodies be requested to appoint proper committees to acquaint and explain to the public the position of all actions and statements of company, independent, Communist and similar unions, in order that public opinion may be formed upon the basis of actual facts.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Welders

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and W. E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, Our experience reveals that certain local organizations affiliated with International and National organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have at times permitted the employment of welders not affiliated with any of the various International or National unions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such a tendency is tending to break down the ultimate organization of the welders in accordance with trade jurisdiction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as instructing the International and National organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that where they have no welder members that in preference to the employment of non-union welders that welders be procured from some affiliated International or National organization so as to further the spirit of organization among the welders in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Boiler Makers vs. Oil Field Workers

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and W. E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America have demonstrated in their organizing campaign that it is their intention and purpose to disregard trade jurisdictional lines as established in the charter issued to their Association and to the agreement entered into with the American Federation of Labor as of June 18, 1918; and

WHEREAS, Despite the numerous appeals made to the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers with regard to their infringement upon the jurisdictional rights of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, and despite the many letters of assurance given to us by President Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, the said Association continues to organize skilled trade workers covered by jurisdiction of our Brotherhood and other International unions; and

WHEREAS, We find that this position of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers has a tendency to destroy the effectiveness of trade unionism and is confusing to the minds of the unorganized; and

WHEREAS, It has brought about a situation that makes it difficult of negotiation of agreements of understandings with the employers in the petroleum industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, San Francisco, October, 1934, go on record as instructing the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers that the understanding of June 18, 1918, entered into with the American Federation of Labor and the late Samuel Gompers, must be adhered to and lived up to; and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless such understanding and agreement mentioned above is adhered to and lived up to by the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, that their charter be automatically revoked.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Jurisdiction Rights of Affiliated International and National Organizations

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and W. E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor has been primarily one of International and National organization, representing trade unions and whose jurisdiction has been confined to certain trade groups; and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the National Recovery Act, the above policy of the American Federation of Labor has seemingly been forgotten, to the end that industrial unionism is advocated and through the medium of Federal unions the principles of industrial unionism has somewhat been carried on; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America feel that their jurisdiction is being encroached upon, and that the policy of the American Federation of Labor has not been followed, nor has the jurisdiction of our International been preserved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor here assembled, San Francisco, October, 1934, go on record as definitely re-establishing and reaffirming the principles of trade unionism and the protection of the rights of trade jurisdiction of this and other International and National organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Music

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates A. L. Eggert, Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Paul, Minn.; Edward P. Ringius, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minn.; Joseph N. Weber, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, Chas. Leland Bagley, Vincent Castronova, Otto J. Kapl. American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, Music, the most ancient of the fine arts, having its inception in the soul of humankind at the birth of Creation, thereby irrevocably establishing it as the inherent birthright of such humankind, has been seriously threatened by—

1. The invasion of so-called "canned" or synthetic music machines, by which is transmitted the audible reproduction, or sound photography, of musical renditions, debasing the art and its cultural requirements, destroying employment opportunities and educational possibilities of this and coming generations, in addition to denying the people in general the inspirational qualities and uplifting tendencies which can only be induced by "in person" contact;

2. The economic depression, further embarrassed the professional musician, who, as such, has been deprived of employment in a field, to enter which requires a proficiency attained only after constant and intensive study and practice from an early age; and which period of depression has removed from the people the beneficial influence of "living" music hitherto enjoyed by them and provided by municipal and tax-levying bodies until discontinued in general on the plea of so-called economy; and

WHEREAS, The loss of "living" music has brought privation and distress to its professional exponents, because of loss of employment in their chosen vocation; has throttled the ambition of aspiring youth in the field of music, and in consequence has reduced commercial advantages of educational and industrial institutions directly pertinent to the art and its specialized requirements; and has added to the mental depression of a sorely tried people denied its inspiring and encouraging qualities; and

WHEREAS, Music in "living" form is a vital necessity, occupying an imperishable position in the affairs of mankind, providing in times of dire distress and unrest that soothing and encouraging influence so necessary to revive hope and inspire with courage and determination to overcome trying obstacles to the end that future normalcy and equilibrium—effectively acknowledged by the presence of peace, happiness and prosperity—may be assured through the medium and assistance of "living" music; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the certain resolution, designated as Resolution No. 16, adopted by the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, August 21, 1934, to-wit:

"Resolution No. 16—Introduced by delegates representing Musicians Union No. 30, St. Paul.

"BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor support the American Federation of Musicians, the affiliated brotherhood of the American Federation of Labor, and do all within its power to assist the former in its efforts to persuade our Government to subsidize the art of music and establish a permanent foundation for same in the nature of an annual budget for the purpose of supporting symphony orchestras, bands and operas in 'living' form in such communities and

to such an extent as may be dictated by a good and wise judgment, that the educational, social and industrial welfare of the people may be advanced, thus restoring and perpetuating the cultural refinements and dignity of an art attained by centuries of progress, that this generation, and generations yet to come, may receive to the full its measure of munificence; be it further

"RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians be advised immediately of the action of this, the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, anent this resolution.

"The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. The report of the committee was adopted."—

be approved and adopted by this, the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and that it be transmitted to the proper legislative authorities with instructions to formulate an appropriate bill for presentation to, and earnest consideration of, the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Minimum Wage Rates—NRA Codes

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter and J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The Administrator of the National Recovery Administration has adopted as a policy that codes can contain but one minimum wage rate; and

WHEREAS, This is proving detrimental to successful understanding of minimum wage rates; and

WHEREAS, It has a tendency to destroy the equitable adjustment of wage provisions of the various codes; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of two or more minimum wage rates to cover skilled and semi-skilled labor is essential to eliminate unfair competition, which is the basic principle of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the various labor organizations of the American Federation of Labor define a definite policy to be advocated in establishing a principle of two or more minimum rates for all codes approved and those to be approved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, October, 1934, go on record as favoring the establishment of two or more minimum rates for

all codes approved and to be approved under the National Recovery Administration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these minimums provide for skilled, semi-skilled and common labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application of Laundry Workers International Union for Jurisdiction Over Cleaning Industry

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates Roy Burt, Anna J. Brown, Laundry Workers' International Union; Walter C. Brooks, Federated Trades and Labor Council, Fresno, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union has within its membership those who are employed in the cleaning process of garments, linen, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This membership is composed of those who clean by the process of soap and water, also by gasoline, and also by chlorine; and

WHEREAS, The three processes, namely, cleaning by water, by gasoline, or by chlorine, are in the same industry, and those employed therein should be under the jurisdiction of one and the same International union; and

WHEREAS, The three processes of the cleaning industry (water, gasoline and chlorine) are being adopted and established under the same roof by the one corporation, and consequently should and must be under the jurisdiction of one International; and

WHEREAS, That unless all those so employed in the cleaning industry are members of the one and same International union there will be continuous confusion, discord, and controversies regarding jurisdictional authority; and

WHEREAS, The employer will use one organization against the other should there be more than one International union; or, where one group is affiliated with an International union and another group should be working as an independent organization, or a Federal labor union; and

WHEREAS, We know by past experience that many of those employed in the cleaning industry processing with gasoline, or chlorine, and chartered as a Federal labor union have failed to stabilize themselves or maintain their organization; and

WHEREAS, In those locals affiliated with the Laundry Workers' International Union in which there are members employed in all three processes of the cleaning industry, those Locals so constituted have maintained their conditions and

often increased their benefits under the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Many of the Cleaners' Local Unions under a Federal labor charter, having failed to properly function, have made application to the Laundry Workers' International Union for affiliation with that International body; and

WHEREAS, Wherever a charter of affiliation with the Laundry Workers' International Union has been granted to the applicants the members in the industry have been able to stabilize themselves and work in a more organized state than under their former charter; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that jurisdiction over the cleaning industry is herewith granted to the Laundry Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the Laundry Workers' International Union be authorized to change its title so that it will read, and include, the International Union of Laundry Workers, Cleaners and Dyers of America, with jurisdiction over all inside productive employees who are engaged in the cleaning and servicing, both wholesale and retail, of soiled garments and soiled linen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Industrial production is being concentrated into ever larger units, with centralized financial control; and

WHEREAS, This changing industrial technique and mass production tends to obliterate craft lines and to make the individual worker a mere cog in the machine; and

WHEREAS, The craft form of organization divides the workers, creates jurisdictional disputes and petty jealousies and distracts the attention of the workers from the larger issue of the class struggle; and

WHEREAS, Craft unionism in industry hinders the development of unity of thought and action among the workers, making them craft conscious rather than class conscious; and

WHEREAS, Strikes are often lost because one craft remains at work performing vital services while others are on strike; and

WHEREAS, Industrial workers organized on craft lines find it difficult to present a united front to the attacks of the capitalistic class; and

WHEREAS, The surest weapon of the working class is their unified economic strength as manifested by industrial unionism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it shall be the immediate policy of the American Federation of Labor to supersede the present craft form of organization by industrial organization—that is, to organize all workers in each particular industry, regardless of craft affiliation, into one body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Radio Facilities for Organizations Operating on a Non-profit Basis

Resolution No. 171 — By Delegates Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Jack Gill, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States recognizing the value of radio communication has reserved control of radio as a public property, placing authority to issue licenses for temporary periods to a governmental agency, namely, the Federal Communications Commission acting for the Congress; and

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress recognizing the growing dangers of a radio monopoly directed the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and to report to Congress prior to February 1, 1935, what percentage of radio facilities should be allocated to organizations or associations operating on a non-profit basis; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the value of radio as a means of molding public opinion and also the present tendency toward monopolistic control; therefore be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the Federal Communications Commission and the Congress of the United States insisting that not less than 50 per cent of all Radio facilities be allocated to organizations or associations operating on a non-profit basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Code for Zinc Industry

Resolution No. 172—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Thousands of members of locals under the jurisdiction of the Inter-

national Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have not been granted a Code of Fair Competition in the zinc industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as urging an early adoption of a Zinc Code of Fair Competition governing the zinc industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as protesting the 30 cent minimum as submitted in the last draft of the Zinc Code a few weeks ago.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Foreign Metal Ores Importation

Resolution No. 173—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The possible importation of foreign metal is a constant threat to the prosperity of the domestic metal mining industry; and

WHEREAS, At present the buying public who are disposed to give preference to domestic industry have no means of doing so; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers that the Department of Commerce, or other competent authority, be requested to establish regulations requiring that all bullion produced from foreign ores and all articles manufactured from such bullion be so marked as to distinguish them from the domestic product; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the American Federation of Labor with the request that it use its influence to have these regulations established.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Civic Federation

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The National Civic Federation has, by the declaration of its principles and subsequent actions, proved to be an agency of the capitalist class to quench the aspirations of the workers and to suppress their struggles; and

WHEREAS, It has, upon more than one occasion, sponsored and defended the open shop, the company union and the yellow-dog contract; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to any member or officer of the American Federation of Labor affiliating with or in any shape or form participating in the activities of the National Civic Federation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Workers Education Bureau

Resolution No. 175—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Christain M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; George D. Early, Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council; James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The vast increase in the membership of organized labor throughout this country has placed new and important responsibilities on the leaders of Labor to train these members in the history, policies and the methods of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This task of the education of the new members of Labor can be carried on only by a duly constituted educational agency of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America, which has served the educational needs of the labor movement for the past thirteen years, is recognized officially as the educational arm of the Federation; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby commend to the officers and membership of the new unions the educational services of the Workers Education Bureau; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Local Unions to consult with the officers of the Workers Education Bureau in the selection of directors or supervisors of workers' education, and in the development of labor educational programs, whether of an emergency or permanent character.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Seamen vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate V. A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The International Seamen's Union of America has through custom and practice and by virtue of its charter from the American Federation of Labor had jurisdiction over all em-

ployes engaged in any capacity other than licensed officers, on vessels flying the American flag on ocean and coastwise vessels and craft plying bays, sounds and inland waters; and

WHEREAS, Said jurisdiction has been exercised on the Bay of San Francisco and its tributaries by district unions of the International Seamen's Union of America at various times during the past thirty years without question or challenge from any American Federation of Labor organization; and

WHEREAS, During the past fifteen years the Ferryboatmen's Union, a district union of the International Seamen's Union of America, has maintained jurisdiction over all men employed on vessels plying San Francisco Bay and tributaries working in unlicensed capacities; and

WHEREAS, During this period the Ferryboatmen's Union has at all times had a majority of unlicensed men on San Francisco Bay craft organized and working under contractual relations, and at least for a period had practically every man employed on river craft, barges and tugs, in addition to ferryboats, under its banner; and

WHEREAS, During the past few months the jurisdiction of the International Seamen's Union of America and its district union, the Ferryboatmen's Union, has been challenged by the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 38-79 of San Francisco; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the jurisdiction of the International Seamen's Union of America shall include in addition to ocean coastwise and lake vessels all employes, other than licensed officers, engaged on all craft plying bays, sounds and rivers of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Apprentice Wage Rates

Resolution No. 177—By Rudolph Di Capio, Shipyard Workers Union No. 19667, Fish Cannery Workers Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, The employers have utilized the vicious system of making apprentices and learners do the work ordinarily done by journeymen, without giving these journeymen and learners the same wages; and

WHEREAS, This system has been the means of throwing journeymen out of work and of reducing the wage standard for all labor; and

WHEREAS, This policy of discrimination in pay has been especially directed against the youth in industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to this vicious system and that it endorse the slogan of "Equal pay for equal work" regardless of age, sex or racial differences.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Anti-Labor Laws

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The anti-picketing ordinances recently passed in most of the agricultural counties of California, and similar laws in other States, are a denial of one of labor's essential rights, and are moreover unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, Other laws such as the vagrancy and inciting-to-riot are perverted by the authorities against workers and their leaders on strike or in the pursuit of their functions for labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Prison labor is still being used in competition with free labor, as in Imperial Valley and elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, State and local government officials have co-operated and do co-operate with vigilantes who attack labor men in their halls, demonstrations and on picket lines or places of work; and

WHEREAS, The infamous criminal syndicalism and anti-labor sedition laws of various States are being used to violate the workers' rights to organize, strike and picket; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor is on record as opposing the California state criminal syndicalism law; and

WHEREAS, Injunctions against organized and striking labor have not been abolished, but are still being used, further abrogating the rights of workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of active steps to remedy and redress the above stated grievances of labor and instruct our incoming Executive Council accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Councils of American Federation of Labor Local Unions

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers' Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, ap-

proximately 2,000 Federal labor unions have been organized, including in their membership hundreds of thousands of skilled and semi-skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, These Federal labor unions embrace practically every industry in the country; in many instances some industries are fairly well organized through Federal labor unions; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that there is a need of further co-ordination between the various Federal labor unions in any given industry, and between all of the Federal labor unions throughout the country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a department shall be created in the American Federation of Labor whose functions shall be devoted exclusively to co-ordinating the activities of these Federal labor unions, to carry on an intensive program of education in the principles of the organized labor movement, and to assist and advise such newly formed organizations; be it further

RESOLVED, That to increase the value of industrial organizations, that National Councils, such as have been formed in the rubber and automobile industries, be formed in all industries when there has been a sufficient number of organizations chartered in any one industry to make this practical. These national councils to be co-ordinated with the other labor departments in more effectively watching the present industrial Associations as per accompanying diagrams:

PROPOSED LABOR SET-UP—	PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SET-UP—
PLANT Local	PLANT Management
CITY Central Labor Union	CITY Chamber of Commerce
STATE Federation of Labor	STATE Board of Trade
INDUSTRY National Council	INDUSTRY Manufacturers' Association
AMERICAN Federation of Labor	UNITED STATES Chamber of Commerce

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Wages of CCC Workers

Resolution No. 180—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, Some 300,000 young men today in the Civilian Conservation Camps

are being used to build roads, clear forests, fight fires, and carry through other government projects at approximately one dollar a day; and

WHEREAS, They have displaced men that ordinarily received union wages for work of that sort, thus contributing greatly toward reducing the standard of living of all labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record demanding that anyone employed by the Government in these camps be paid union wages for all labor performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Distribution of "American Federationist"

Resolution No. 181—By Delegate Rudolph D. Capio, Fish Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, The present system of distribution of the "American Federationist" is such that all paid-up members receive it free of charge; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these members do not read the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, We consider this to be a needless expense; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of placing the "American Federationist" on a paid subscription basis entirely; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any moneys saved through this method of distribution should be remitted to the local trade unions and Federal labor unions in the form of a lower per capita tax.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Masters, Mates and Pilots' Protest Against Dual Group

Resolution No. 182 — By Delegate George M. Fouratt, National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

"WHEREAS, The recognition of bona fide labor organizations has been and is now a vital issue to Labor; and

"WHEREAS, The instituting and attempted establishing of a shipping code has given a group composed of the remnants of defunct organizations an opportunity to create doubt in the minds of the licensed deck officers; and

"WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been and is now the only

bona fide organization of the craft affiliated with this Council and the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, Claims are being made by this conglomerate group that they are in some manner affiliated with or connected with the American Federation of Labor, to the injury of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America; now therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That we deplore the effort on the part of some insignificant group calling themselves United Licensed Officers to create dissension, doubt and division; and be it further

"RESOLVED, We herewith denounce this attempt to injure an affiliated organization and call to the attention of everyone that the United Licensed Officers organization is not now and has never been affiliated with the San Francisco Labor Council, and has no existence to our official knowledge."

WHEREAS, This was and is an expression in conformity with the aims and efforts of the American Federation of Labor to prevent attempts to weaken, harass or destroy bona fide affiliated organizations; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, October, 1934, fully appreciating the danger such efforts present, endorse the said resolution adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council denouncing such attempt.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Charges Against Members of Longshoremen's Association, Portland, Oregon

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon; George D. Early, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.; C. M. Dahlager, Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.; James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Twenty-eight members of the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 37-78 of Portland, Oregon, are being held on charges of murder, the charges growing out of the death of a strikebreaker who was shot by another strikebreaker; and

WHEREAS, The prosecution of the twenty-eight members of the International Longshoremen's Association is but a continuation of the persecution and the relentless warfare which was conducted by

employing interests, aided by certain public officials and by vigilante groups, during the recent waterfront strike; and

WHEREAS, Prosecution and persecution of the defendants is in our opinion inspired by a desire to strike a blow at all organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Portland Central Labor Council, which organizations are in position to know all the facts in the case, are unanimous in their support of the defense of these twenty-eight unionists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we declare our belief in the innocence of the twenty-eight International Longshoremen's Association members of Portland, Oregon, who are charged with murder, and that we urge that the full moral support of the organized labor movement be given to their defense.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Assessment to Finance Organization Campaign

Resolution No. 184—By Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon; Fred Lumm, Loggers' Union No. 18742.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Industrial Recovery Act by Congress, the opportunities for organizing the unorganized is greater than at any previous time, while the treasuries of most labor organizations are depleted by reason of unemployment of members over a long period of time; and

WHEREAS, The need for protection and security to the organized workers makes it imperative that we immediately inaugurate a vigorous campaign to organize and educate the unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish this purpose it is necessary for well laid plans and a well filled treasury to execute the plans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we authorize the Executive Council to levy an assessment of one cent (1c) per member per month on the entire membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; the assessment to extend for a period of twelve months, and the revenue derived therefrom to be used exclusively for the promotion of organization work; the fund to be expended directly under the supervision of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in such manner as

they may deem advisable to secure the best results.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Pacific-International Highway

Resolution No. 185—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A proposed highway from the Pacific Northwest to Fairbanks, Alaska, will provide work for many of our unemployed, and will encourage tourists to visit the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, and will greatly help in the development of Alaska, Canada and the Pacific Northwest, and will in time be self-liquidating and maintaining; and

WHEREAS, Such a highway will undoubtedly increase our friendly relations between the United States and Canada, which has existed for many years, and will be the means of opening of new countries that are now inaccessible; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor in regular convention in Everett, Washington, hereby goes on record in favor of the proposed extension of the Pacific-International Highway through British Columbia, Yukon Territory, to Fairbanks, Alaska, with such by-passes to the Alaska Coast as may be deemed advisable by the governments concerned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That H. R. bill No. 6538, introduced by Delegate A. J. Dimond, of Alaska, appropriating \$2,100,000 for Alaska Highway for survey and construction, and empowering President Roosevelt to act and to negotiate as to fixing a mutually agreeable route with Canada, very ably sets the necessary government machinery in motion, and we hereby pledge our support to the bill or a similar one; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor, and to the proper State and National officials.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Health Insurance

Resolution No. 186—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its program for social justice has recorded its approval of old age pensions and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic hazards of sickness continually threaten the security of the worker and his family; and

WHEREAS, Recent studies show the need for a better distribution of adequate medical services; and

WHEREAS, There is an increasing discussion of health insurance as a means of distributing adequate medical services; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor institute a study of health insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 187—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from whose judgment the employes have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employe is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employes; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocate the enactment of legislation by Congress to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing government agency, which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Nationalization of Banks

Resolution No. 188—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last convention passed Resolution No. 38, "Nationalization of Banks," which has not as yet been placed in effect by this Government; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor re-affirm this stand of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor and urge the American Federation of Labor to pass a similar resolution at the convention this fall.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Participation in Campaigns to Promote Program of Federal Housing Administration

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Massachusetts.

WHEREAS, The country has for more than five years suffered a blockade of the mortgage money market that has resulted in much unemployment and adversely affected all trades and professions and resulted in a shortage of 5,000,000 homes as shown by Government surveys, and the deterioration of 16,500,000 buildings to the point that no fewer than 3,500,000 homes need everything from new foundations to new roofs; and

WHEREAS, The Congress, by the enactment of the National Housing Bill has broken this blockade and has made possible the use of billions of idle money for building purposes by providing insurance for loans for repairs, improvements and new construction; and

WHEREAS, The Hon. James A. Moffett, Federal Housing Administrator, has gone squarely on record against attempts to use the Act to batter down wages, and for the restoration of the 1926 wage levels in the building trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon our members and their friends to get squarely behind and actively participate in the Better Housing campaigns now being launched in their respective communities as part of the Better Housing Program of the Federal Housing Administration; and be it further

RESOLVED; That the action of Administrator Moffett in urging the restoration of 1926 wage scales as a means of increasing the purchasing power of the millions normally employed in or dependent upon the building trades be commended to public officials generally.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organizing Campaign Policies

Resolution No. 190—By Delegate Carl B. Lawrence, Vegetable Packers' Association No. 18211, Salinas, California.

WHEREAS, Any and all divisions of the ranks of working people hinder Labor's efforts to win better conditions from the employers; and

WHEREAS, The past experience of Organized Labor in America proves the value of solid ranks, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or political belief; and

WHEREAS, The experiences of the Pacific Coast maritime strike, the Bay Region general strike, the Textile and other recent strikes, all demonstrate the benefits to Labor of such organized solidarity; and

WHEREAS, The co-operation between white and Filipino workers in the recent Salinas lettuce strike was a strength of Labor as against the shipper-growers, who had their own solidarity to keep wages down; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the immediate strengthening of Labor by including all workers in our unions without any discrimination against Mexican, Negro, Filipino, Oriental or foreign-born workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we authorize our incoming Executive Council to take early and energetic steps, and use all influence, to put the above provided policy into effect in all the affiliated National and International unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Importation of Shingles

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the establishment of Codes of Fair Competition providing decent wage scales, efforts are being made to revive United States industries and overcome disastrous effects of the depression; and

WHEREAS, The Federal unions of the American Federation of Labor representing workers in the Red Cedar Shingle branch of the lumber and timber products industry, are suffering loss of employment at reasonable wages through the importation of shingles from British Columbia manufactured by Orientals at lower wages and under poorer working conditions than the National Recovery Act tolerates; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Washington State Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, that we register a vigorous protest with the Federal Government against permitting products to enter the United States that are manufactured at a lower wage rate than is required for like work in the United States under the National Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the Federal Government to prohibit shingle brokers

of the United States discriminating against the United States products through manipulation of brokerage fees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Nationalization of Radio

Resolution No. 192—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Radio broadcasting at present is rapidly becoming an advertising racket and listeners are compelled to listen to a lot of questionable advertising in order to hear favorite entertainers; and

WHEREAS, The broadcasting lanes are the property of the people and should not be controlled and used by private interests as a means of profit or for propaganda purposes; and

WHEREAS, At present it is exceedingly difficult for the Government to obtain from the broadcasting chains the privilege of using the air, especially for broadcasting congressional sessions; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocate and support the enactment of legislation at the next session of Congress for the nationalization of broadcasting.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement of Government Employees

Resolution No. 193—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will lend its support to securing the enactment of a bill that will provide 30-year optional retirement of Federal employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Requirements for SERA Employment

Resolution No. 194—By Delegate James E. Restine, Imperial Valley Central Labor Council, El Centro, California.

WHEREAS, In many communities it is necessary to sign the equivalent to a pauper's oath before being allowed to register for SERA employment; and

WHEREAS, There are numerous persons belonging to Organized Labor that

are destitute and even hungry, but because of their just pride they will not bring themselves to make or sign such an oath; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention convened, in San Francisco, does hereby authorize its officers to protest to the proper Government authorities, and to urge that an arrangement be made to the effect that the officers of the various recognized trade unions be constituted as judges of eligibility for SERA employment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Extend Maximum Age Limit on Relief Work Under Civil Service

Resolution No. 195—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The regulation of the United States Civil Service Commission provides a maximum age limit of 48 years for new employees in all departments of the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recognized the seriousness of the unemployment situation and appropriated additional funds providing for temporary employment on numerous projects under the jurisdiction of the several departments; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, urgently request the regulations to permit of the employment of capable and able workers on these temporary jobs, changing the maximum age limit to not less than 55 years.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Importation of Newsprint Paper

Resolution No. 196—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has seen fit to place in operation an Act known as the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, This Act was set in motion for the purpose of protecting American industry and workers in said industry; and

WHEREAS, Certain articles in the Recovery Act refer to foreign competition of any imported article going into the United States on an unfair basis; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Convention that newsprint paper

which is manufactured in mills where wages and conditions prevail that constitute unfair competition to manufacturers operating under the Recovery Act should be prevented from being imported into the United States, and in the event that manufacturers of such newsprint paper refuse within a reasonable length of time to bring the wages and conditions of labor in their mills in line with the NRA code requirements, then political or other lawful activities be instituted to prevent the importation of their products.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Representation on Emergency Relief Projects Committees

Resolution No. 197—By Delegate J. A. Wright, Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, California.

WHEREAS, The selection of men for emergency relief projects is at present in the hands of a director, who is under an Emergency Relief Committee, generally composed of nine members; and

WHEREAS, It is at present the custom to give labor only two representatives on this Board, and it has been known that even with this low representation of Labor men have been placed on these Boards supposedly to represent Labor, but who actually were not so qualified; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its duly authorized officers, enter strenuous protest to the proper Government authorities against this unfair practice; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these Government authorities be requested to change the set-up of these boards to the end that, with the exception of the chairman, Organized Labor be permitted to elect from its ranks 50 per cent of the representatives on these boards, and that duly authorized employers' organizations be permitted to select the other 50 per cent, with the exception of the chairman; and after the Board has been so established, it shall be their duty to select from the citizens of their community another member, who shall be chairman.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Child Labor

Resolution No. 198—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169.

WHEREAS, The economic plight of the workers and farmers of this country has brought about the entrance of thousands of children into industry; and

WHEREAS, These children are forced to work hours in excess of their strength, and the wages they are paid offer a

direct threat to the scales and demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Roosevelt Administration, through its NRA industrial codes, has not improved the status of children, resulting merely in displacing some of these children from industry without adequate provision for their welfare; and

WHEREAS, By virtue thereof, and the need of some means of sustenance on the part of these children, child labor has increased and continues under even worse conditions (homework, bootlegging of children in shops, etc.); and

WHEREAS, This situation is depriving these children, the sons and daughters of workers and farmers of this country, of the right which is theirs, namely, to a normal, healthy development; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for:

1. Abolition of child labor under 16, with Government maintenance for children displaced from industry, agriculture or street trades, at no less than \$3 per week.

2. Vocational training on a graduated scale for youth between the age of 16 and 18 at the expense of the employers and Government. This training to be under the workers' control with all youth receiving full wages for the type of work performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 199—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union 19169.

WHEREAS, The Negro workers in the United States are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and constitute the most underpaid and otherwise most exploited of American workers; and

WHEREAS, The NRA codes have provisions which discriminate against, or exclude entirely, certain branches of industry where Negroes are employed, enabling the employers to pay Negro workers even lower wages than the codes call for and work them unlimited hours; wage differentials in the codes for the South are based on the predominance of Negro labor in certain industries, to permit employers to lower the living standards of all wage workers in these territories; and

WHEREAS, Some International unions have clauses barring Negro workers from membership, as for instance the International Association of Machinists, while others, although formally admitting them into the unions, use open or covert means of excluding Negroes from membership or segregating them by organizing sepa-

rate Jim-Crow locals of Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination and Jim-Crowism are means of dividing workers and weakening their forces, and

WHEREAS, In all struggles the Negro workers, when treated justly, fight shoulder to shoulder with white workers, as, for example, in the West Coast marine strike, the Alabama metal mines strike, and the great general strike recently of textile workers; and

WHEREAS, It has long since been recognized by Organized Labor in the United States that the freedom of the white wage earners cannot be won without the freedom of black workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record calling for the elimination of clauses and constitutions of any affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor containing any suggestion of discrimination against Negro workers, and that all Jim-Crow locals be immediately merged with the existing locals to establish the closest unity of Negro and white workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, To rally the membership of organized labor against the provisions of the NRA codes which discriminate against Negro workers, to establish equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for any jobs for Negro workers; to establish full equality with white workers in all other working conditions and for equal rights in the unions, including the right to hold any office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Radio Allocation

Resolution No. 200—By Delegates John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor; Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; J. Sid Tiller, Georgia State Federation of Labor; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Adolph Fritz, Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, As a result of the monopolistic control of radio on the part of national networks, controlled as they are by centralized financial interests, which networks defy the law the land in maintaining "Yellow Dog" company unions, thus enslaving their workers; and

WHEREAS, As most all of the powerful radio stations are the property of and controlled by these centralized financial interests which deprive local communities of programs on educational and other sub-

jects which would advance the cultural interests of the American people during the evening hours when the workers have the opportunity of being at home; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recognized the unfairness of this monopolistic condition wherein radio broadcasting is under the control of a privileged few and has directed the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and to report to Congress before February 1, 1935, what percentage of radio facilities should be allocated to organizations operating on a non-profit basis, which bodies are organized for the purpose of advancing the cultural and educational interests of the American people; and

WHEREAS, The privilege of and power to operate radio stations has been specifically reserved as a public property to Congress, and Congress has designated the Federal Communications Commission to act as an agency of Congress only; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is opposed to the continued allocation of public properties to financial interests wherein a privileged few profit at the expense of the people; therefore be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its militant opposition to the allocation of more than fifty per cent of this public property to organizations operating for private profit; and further, that the American Federation of Labor notify the Federal Communications Commission and Congress of our opposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we register our protest against the continuance in public office of any members of the Federal Communications Commission who vote to surrender more than fifty per cent of this public property—radio—to profit making bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 201—By Delegate Paul Porter, Radio Factory Workers' Union, Federal Labor Union No. 18609.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been handicapped in securing legislation necessary to the improvement of the working and living conditions of American labor by the fact that there exists no national independent political party of labor and that we have therefore had to seek support from representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties; and

WHEREAS, These two parties, irrespective of the fact that there may be individuals within them friendly to Labor, are supported by and are primarily responsible to those large corporations which

wage a relentless fight against union recognition and all other aims of the industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, Lacking a party of our own the condition arises at every election where some Labor men support the Republican party while other Labor men support the Democratic party, thus cancelling their votes and preventing the solidarity of labor; and

WHEREAS, When 500,000 textile workers in September, 1934, struck against intolerable conditions, the governors of nine States in which the strike occurred, namely, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, mobilized approximately 40,000 National Guardsmen to intimidate the strikers and to prevent their victory; and

WHEREAS, Every one of these governors who mobilized the troops was elected on the Democratic ticket, and professes allegiance to the New Deal; and

WHEREAS, This incident is a typical illustration of the fact that until Labor elects labor men to office, directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, the forces of Government will be employed to defeat labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of a Labor Party, and take steps to create one within the near future.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Per Capita Tax for Agricultural and Cannery Workers

Resolution No. 202—By Delegate Carl B. Lawrence, Vegetable Packers Association No. 18211.

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of agricultural, and fruit and vegetable packing house workers who are not now organized and wish to become members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of such workers have been taken into various unions other than the American Federation of Labor, because, due to their very low wages, they cannot afford to pay the present per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The work is for the most part of such a migratory nature that it is practically impossible for a large majority of them to receive the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, Because of the highly perishable nature of most agricultural commodities, and because of the shortness of the seasons on the various commodities in which they work, it is practically impossible in most cases to forecast the most opportune time for a strike,

and for this reason it is practically impossible to comply with the rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor as regards authorized strikes and strike benefits; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Vegetable Packers' Association of California shall, and hereby does petition this Convention of the American Federation of Labor to so amend its Constitution and By-Laws as to provide a per capita tax not to exceed fifteen cents (15c) per member per month for all agricultural, cannery and fruit and vegetable packing house workers; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Vegetable Packers' Association of California shall and hereby does, indorse the resolution for a lower per capita tax for agricultural and cannery workers, as presented by the Building Trades-Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Requesting Co-operation to Bring About Use of Union Made Coopersage in Whiskey and Wine Industry

Resolution No. 203—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has revived the coopersage industry; and

WHEREAS, The whiskey and wine industry are using non-union coopersage; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request all whiskey distillers and wineries to buy only union made coopersage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Support of Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union House Card and Button

Resolution No. 204—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance have a house card and monthly working button to distinguish the union house from those houses operating under non-union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Union House Card and Button are the only means by which hotels, restaurants and other places under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance may be advertised to the public as fair to the workers of our International Union; and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to prevail upon the

officers and members of the trade union movement and the friends and sympathizers of Organized Labor that they should patronize, wherever possible, only those hotels, restaurants, bars, etc., where members of the International Union are employed; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this Department should call upon the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for support of the Union Label, Shop Card or Button of all affiliated International and National Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Union Label Trades Department shall draft and present to the convention of the American Federation of Labor a suitable resolution calling upon the officers, and the members and the friends of the Labor movement, when purchasing any product, to demand those products which bear the Union Label of the International or National union having jurisdiction thereof and when patronizing any store, barber shop, hotel, restaurant or other place, which places are under the jurisdiction of affiliated International or National unions which have Union Shop Cards or Buttons, that the officers and members and friends of the trade union movement patronize only those places where such Union Shop Cards or Buttons are properly displayed.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Government Relief for Unemployed Rubber Workers

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate O. H. Bosley, United Rubber Workers' Federal Union, No. 18321, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The rubber industry is seasonal, due to the fact that it depends primarily upon another highly seasonal industry, automobile manufacturing, for its largest volume of business; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the rubber industry have been the victims of the practice of their employers avoiding the expense of non-productive periods through seasonally discharging their employees; and

WHEREAS, This seasonal discharge of employees creates an unemployment list so great that the workers have no opportunity to secure work in other industries and are thus forced to accept Government relief; and

WHEREAS, The Government relief funds are nearly depleted in the vicinity of Akron and are now already inadequate to supply the minimum needs of thousands of the unemployed rubber workers; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the rubber industry in Akron are organized with-

In the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, use its influence to secure adequate Government relief for the unemployed in and around Akron; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a similar effort be made to secure adequate Government relief in all other sections of the country similarly affected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Modification of Immigration Laws

Resolution No. 206—By Delegation of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The abolition of elementary civic liberties and the suppression of fundamentals of democracy, including free speech, free assembly, a free press and free religious confession, in a number of Fascist-dominated countries in Europe, have forced a great many citizens of these countries to flee for their lives and freedom; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America has, from its inception, proudly offered to all oppressed and persecuted, politically and spiritually, in other lands the privilege of asylum and the protection of democracy within its boundaries; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled in the City of San Francisco, call for the immediate modification of the existing immigration laws and regulations so as to allow the free entry of fugitives from Fascist and Nazi terror and to all such as are persecuted in any land on racial, religious or economic grounds, or on account of their loyalty and allegiance to the bona fide trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Poll Tax

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate Paul Porter, Radio Factory Workers' Union No. 18609, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is a firm supporter of the democratic form of government; and

WHEREAS, The right of all citizens to vote is an essential part of democratic government; and

WHEREAS, Various reactionary groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the Economic Council of New

York State, and the Labor-hating Chicago Tribune have gone on record as favoring restriction of suffrage and denial of the right to vote to all those who, through no fault of their own, are dependent upon relief; and

WHEREAS, In two States, New Hampshire and Arkansas, no person on relief nor any member of his family is permitted to vote; and

WHEREAS, In many Southern States, through poll taxes and other intolerable measures, both legal and illegal, hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers, white and Negro, are prevented from exercising their inalienable right of voting; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor protest against any and all such restrictions, and demand that every working man who is a citizen be allowed to vote, and that every law now on the statute books or which may be proposed, which robs workers and farmers of their citizenship in this manner be condemned and opposed in every possible manner; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor co-operate with responsible organizations of the unemployed, where such exist, in fighting this encroachment upon our fundamental liberties.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Code for Barber Trade

Resolution No. 208—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, P. H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, C. T. Crane, Journey-men Barbers International Union.

WHEREAS, Code No. 398, for the Barber Shop trade, was approved by the President of these United States, April 19, 1934, thus evidencing clearly and definitely that the occupation concerned was fully embraced in the provisions of the NRA; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of those engaged in this occupation would have been properly cared for if permitted to function as other codes have been privileged to do; and

WHEREAS, June last, by proclamation issued through General Johnson, this code and its principal provisions were suspended and have not been revived or restored since, nor permitted to operate efficiently and effectually; and

WHEREAS, The original approval and temporary operation of this code have demonstrated clearly the wholesome and beneficial results which would have accrued both to those engaged in this service as well as the patrons of this service

if it had been permitted to continue in effect and operation; and

WHEREAS, Suspension of this code has brought about greater confusion and demoralization in our craft than existed prior to the enactment of this code; and

WHEREAS, Not only the best interests of the wage earners, but as well the enhancement of the public interests, and general well-being demand adequate protection by appropriate trade standards and conditions of employment to all dependent upon this service; and

WHEREAS, There is no justified reason in law and fact why this service occupation and code should not be accorded every advantage, benefit, and protection accorded to all other occupations, industries, and enterprises, by having this code again revived and restored immediately, and all of its provisions restored; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize and direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring to the attention of the President of these United States the foregoing statement, and that it place before the President the urgent appeal and necessity for the immediate revival and restoration of Code No. 398, or the approval of one similar in character, purport and objects; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to render to the Journeymen Barbers International Union of America, and its officers, every other form and character of support to accomplish the foregoing results without delay, and that such authorization include the approval and enactment of further legislation, if that may be required to bring about the foregoing results.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Importation of Foreign Made Products

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319.

WHEREAS, Due to the low labor and materials cost in foreign countries and the practice of these countries placing their cheaper made products on the market at a much lower cost than is possible to manufacture the same product under fair labor conditions in this country; and

WHEREAS, This practice is causing thousands of our workers to be thrown out of employment, causing much misery and suffering among our workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment of legislation which will limit,

regulate and/or prohibit such imports, either by tariff or quota, on all commodities which are manufactured in foreign countries to be shipped into the United States and sold by wholesalers and retailers at a profit and below the cost of like commodities manufactured in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Extend Free High School and College Educational Facilities

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, It has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor that the future success and progress of the Labor movement depends largely upon those in the Labor movement acquiring a more complete knowledge of our social and economic life; and

WHEREAS, This can only be accomplished through the facilities of our high schools and colleges; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor fight for the freedom of educational rights, that our educational institutions shall be free to every individual who desires to avail him or herself of the benefits afforded by a higher education just so long as the individual is capable of making the normal grades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we fight for the national standardization of the text books used in our high schools and colleges; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we seek the standardization of wages for the teachers and instructors of high schools and colleges in every State in the Union.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Protesting Use of State Militia in Strikes

Resolution No. 211—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319.

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that in many cases it becomes necessary for workers to resort to strikes in order to settle disputes and obtain rights given them under the law; and

WHEREAS, In most instances strikes have been conducted in a lawful and peaceful manner until the invasion of State troops, which have in most cases been the impetus to violence, bloodshed and in the loss of life; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federa-

tion of Labor, now assembled, go on record as being utterly opposed to governors of the various States of our Union calling out State Militia in opposition to workers on strike or lockout who are endeavoring to increase wages, shorten hours or in any way trying to advance the general good and welfare of themselves and the workers of the nation as a whole; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its entire facilities in featuring legislation to correct this unnecessary evil.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Activities of Dual Union of Motion Picture Machine Operators

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The activities and the program of the American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., of Los Angeles, California, is opposed to that of the International Photographers, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, Said American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., is a dual organization to that of the International Photographers of the Motion Picture Industry, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., is a company union and as such has intimidated, coerced and forced members of the International Photographers of the Motion Picture Industry, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, to join said company union against their wishes and desire; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of its existence, its activities and program is harmful to the interests of all members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada and has brought about a perilous condition to the structure of organized labor in the State of California; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately promulgate a plan whereby said American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., shall be forced to terminate their existence as a dual organization and Company Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Firemen and Engineers

Resolution No. 213—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers are attempting to organize their craft in the city of Los Angeles and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, Such organization work is being seriously retarded by a lack of understanding as to the jurisdiction of the firemen and engineers over certain jobs brought about by misrepresentation of the jurisdictions by the two parties concerned; and

WHEREAS, We feel this situation detrimental to the cause of labor in general and the interested parties in particular; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, draw jurisdictional lines between the two crafts in question. It is a matter that has been hanging fire for several years, and we feel that unless this matter is disposed of amicably it will work incalculable harm to the crafts in question. Already the condition has manifested itself in the hesitancy of men to affiliate themselves with organizations where the jurisdiction is clouded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Soviet Russia

Resolution No. 214—By Delegate John J. Geraghty, Vallejo Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, At conventions of the American Federation of Labor reports have conveyed to the delegates information concerning the conditions of the workers and trade unions in foreign countries. At the Fifty-third American Federation of Labor Convention, a long report of conditions in Germany was made, which led to a boycott on German goods; and

WHEREAS, Politicians and clergymen have been permitted to speak before the Convention; and

WHEREAS, The workers of America are interested in the practical work of organization and methods of the trade unions of the Soviet Union; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Vallejo, California, in September, 1933, accepted the invitation of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. to send a delegate to that country to study labor conditions. The Central Labor Council received this report favorably, and respectfully requests the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Con-

vention, to grant three-quarters of an hour of its time to our delegate to hear a short report on labor conditions in the Soviet Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the request of the Vallejo Central Labor Council be granted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Government Competition With Private Industry

Resolution No. 215—By the United Garment Workers' Delegation.

WHEREAS, It is, and has been, the pronounced intent of the present Administration to revive and to restore industrial activities and to promote the general well-being, not by stifling or by curtailing but by encouraging and aiding private business and enterprise; and

WHEREAS, This wholesome and helpful pronouncement does not find realization and acquiescence in all Departments of the Government—and especially in the recent developments wherein government departments are entering the garment industry in the making of overalls, pants, shirts and other clothing heretofore produced by private enterprise; and

WHEREAS, This governmental invasion of private business and enterprise not alone threatens the clothing industry, in so far as it relates to the manufacture and sale of overalls, pants, shirts, but threatens all kinds and classes of garments and wearing apparel, including shoes and the like, all of which are now

produced by private industry and free from governmental competition; and

WHEREAS, This governmental competition and the deliberate perversion of pronounced administrative policies by subordinate departments not only demoralize the industries and occupations immediately concerned, and not only undermines and lessens the opportunities of employment of workers employed in these occupations, but threatens all private industry and enterprise and the relationships, terms and conditions of employment of all employed in private employment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, protest against the attempt of any department of government venturing into private industry and in competition with private enterprise where such industrial venture is not made imperative by public necessity or governmental requirements; that it authorizes and directs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make an immediate inquiry into the situation and complaint hereinbefore presented, and that its findings be presented to the President of the United States with the appeal and for the purpose of having the practice and development herein complained of immediately and effectively stopped and the wrong inflicted adequately and fully corrected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 12:45 o'clock a motion was adopted to suspend the rules and adjourn to 9:30 o'clock, Wednesday, October 3.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco, California,
October 3, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—

Alteir, Ames, Augustine, Baer, Bailey, Bale, Bellance, Berry, Billet, Birthright, Bower, Boylan, Brennan, Burr, Campbell (Geo. C.), Covert, Cuthbert, Dahlager, Davison, Dent, Doane, Dowd, De Long, Draper, De Vese, Fagan, Farrell, Fay, Flores, Freng, Gaviak, Geraghty, Garibaldi, Gorman (Francis J.), Gornito, Graham (Fred J.), Gresty, Graham (Jas. D.), Hampton, Hartneady, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Hillman, Holland, Horan, Horn, Hull, Hirschfeld, Iglesias, Jackson, Joel, Kelly (Horace), Kennedy (Thos.), Lauder, Lewis (J. C.), Lewis (John L.), Lowry, Lucchi, McInroy, McKeown, Manash, Meany, Meyers, Mitchell (Humphrey), Mitchell (Richard), Money, Murray, Nathan, Nelson, O'Brien (Paul), Olander, Phillips (John A.), Quinn, Rice, Rogers, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwartz (Harry), Schwartz (H. W.), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Swan, Tuohy, Wagner, Walsh, Watson, Spencer, Watson (H. M.), Wolfe, Yetta, Zaritsky.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for submission of telegrams and letters of greeting to the convention.

COMMUNICATIONS

City and County of San Francisco,
October 2, 1934.

Officers and Delegates,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
San Francisco:

The Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, on motion of Supervisor Andrew J. Gallagher, heartily welcomes you to this city. The Board extends to you the hospitality and good will of the people of this community and the sincere hope that your meeting here will result in benefit to Organized Labor and to the United States of America.

Very truly yours,

JAMES B. MCSHEEHY,
President, Board of Supervisors.

J. S. DUNNIGAN,
Clerk.

San Francisco, California,
October 1, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention.

The Northern California District Committee of the Workmen's Circle on behalf of its branches and membership extend to your Fifty-fourth Annual Convention the heartiest welcome and best wishes for your constructive deliberation for the emancipation of the oppressed working class.

(Signed) J. MENCOFF, Chairman,
M. TURNER, Secretary,
California District Committee, Workmen's
Circle.

New York, New York,
October 1, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Convention, Auditorium,
San Francisco.

Greeting to the convention. Organized Labor in the United States is beset by many serious problems. I sincerely hope that the convention will find a solution and will meet the challenge of industry to labor's rights in a courageous and determined manner. Success to you in all your deliberations.

(Signed) ELIAS LIBERMAN,
1501 Broadway, New York City.

Cleveland, Ohio,
September 28, 1934.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
San Francisco.

Have won splendid victory for our union in arbitration award handed down by Dr. Lapp, impartial chairman. Hoping you have a successful convention.

PHIL HANNAH, Secretary,
Gasoline Station Operators' Union
No. 18378, Cleveland, Ohio.

New York, N. Y.,
October 2, 1934.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Civic Auditorium,
San Francisco.

On behalf of the General Executive Board and the membership of the International Fur Workers' Union, we greet and salute the delegates to the Fifty-

fourth Annual Convention of the great American Federation of Labor.

We are at the present time engaged in an intensive battle, fighting Communist dual unionism in the fur industry, sponsored by the Communist party, which employs terror, slaughtering, browbeating and stench-bomb throwing into the homes of the workers belonging to the American Federation of Labor. We have made considerable progress and we don't intend to retreat one inch until every vestige of Communist dual unionism, with all the ugly practices that it implies, will be completely exterminated from our industry. It is our firm conviction that trade unions which embrace workers of various political affiliations must be unconditionally free from political control and domination by political parties in this important struggle to eliminate the destructive dual unionist element from our midst, which is a dangerous enemy to American organized workers. We ask for your support and full indorsement.

PIETRO LUCCHI, President,
International Fur Workers' Union of the
United States and Canada.

President Green: The Chair now desires to submit a supplementary report of the Council containing the official report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, which was held in the city of Weymouth, England, September 3, 1934. This report is submitted by Brother Collieran and Brother Flore, the two fraternal delegates who attended the British Trades Union Congress from the American Federation of Labor. This report will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

The other is the report of Brother McCurdy, who attended the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as the fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. This report will also be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO THE 1934 BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

San Francisco, Calif.,
October 1, 1934.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Whitcomb, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following is a report on the Fraternal Delegates' visit to the British Trades

Union Congress held in the City of Weymouth, England, September 3, 1934.

We were requested to arrive one week in advance of the meeting of the Congress for the purpose of taking part in the celebration held in honor of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. One whole week was set aside for the celebration, in which six houses built by the labor movement of Great Britain were dedicated, to be supported by them and in which will live six of the most deserving families of union agricultural workers.

There was also an international sports event in which none but members of labor unions participated. There were entrants from Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium, competing with those of Great Britain; also international football matches with teams from the above countries. All of this in honor of six laborers who, one hundred years ago, held a meeting and organized one of the first unions to defend themselves against the demands of the masters, and for this action they were arrested, tried and convicted, and sentenced to be transported to a foreign land to serve a sentence of seven years at hard labor.

In the address delivered to the Congress of British Trades Unions, we expressed our appreciation to the assembled delegates for the wonderful strides made by unionism in Great Britain since the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs to the present time, when they now have a large number of their representatives seated in the House of Parliament.

It was very gratifying to see so much building going on in England, and we were advised that it was about at its peak. We were also informed that at the last session of the Commons it was voted to appropriate a billion pounds, to be used for a Public Works Program to be put into effect as soon as the slack period appears, for the purpose of keeping the building industry moving.

It was our observation that the machine age has worked as much havoc with the British workers as it has with our people; also in the Textile Industry in Lancashire there is much suffering due to the closing down of the mills, brought about by the management transferring their activities to India in their quest for cheap labor.

We received a cablegram from President Green authorizing a confirmation of a previous message inviting General Secretary Citrine of the British Trades Union to visit the United States and address the convention in San Francisco, California; also to speak in other cities on the persecution of the workers of Germany and Austria. This was read in connection with our address and it was received with

applause; and the fact that Brother Citrine is here shows that it has been complied with.

Your delegates, along with other Fraternal Delegates, were received with the greatest of welcome and the hospitality shown was such that nothing was left undone to make our visit a pleasant one and one to be long remembered.

It was one of the best attended Congresses held in years, about five hundred delegates present, representing about three million workers. Very capable addresses were made, which were educational and instructive, by the following: Secretary Citrine; George Lansbury, Leader of the Labor Party; Ernest Bevan, Transport Workers; George Hicks, M. P., President of the Building Trades.

A copy of our addresses accompany this report.

Wishing you every future success, we remain

Faternally yours,

M. J. COLLERAN,

EDWARD J. FLORE,

Delegates to British Trades Union Congress.

THE ADDRESS TO THE BRITISH TRADES CONGRESS

By M. J. COLLERAN

General President, O. P. and C. F. I. A.
City of Weymouth, England,
September 6, 1934

To the Officers and Delegates of the British Trade Unions Assembled in Convention.

Greetings:

Like your fraternal delegates to the conventions of the American Confederation of Labor, who brought over your good wishes and carried your greetings, my colleague and I have been chosen by the American Federation of Labor as the fraternal delegates to bring to you a message of good will and a wish that your deliberations while in convention will be crowned with success so as to bring to those who labor the benefits to which they are justly entitled.

We, the fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor, are doubly fortunate in being selected for this year of 1934:

Firstly—for the honor conferred on us to be the representatives to your great Congress of Labor, and

Secondly—Because we were selected at a time when your labor movement saw fit to honor those six brave pioneers of organized labor—The Tolpuddle Martyrs.

Nations erect monuments and hold celebrations for those who have fallen in wars. Why should not labor do the same for those in labor who sacrificed their all!

The British Trades Union Movement are to be commended for this wonderful tribute they are paying to those six gallant men who were found guilty of the crime of trying to protect themselves from a reduction of wages of ten shillings a week to six shillings—a paltry shilling a day offered as a day's wage.

Is there any wonder why they united and rebelled against such exploitation? And the answer to their united plea for a mere existence was transportation and hard labor.

But the spirit and courage of those six united laborers was evidently the laying of a foundation stone for the great British labor movement that was to follow, and here today, one hundred years later, we find it exemplified in the fact that here in Weymouth, a few short miles from where they were tried and convicted, meeting in assembly are the representatives of millions of workers who will pass resolutions and legislate for better conditions for those whom they represent.

It is indeed a wonderful and inspiring picture—the march of a united labor in their fight for a living wage, shorter hours and decent working conditions.

As a building trades man and general president of a unit of the same, it has been a very gratifying sight to me to see so much activity in the building trades in your country which, in my opinion, is an omen depicting the end of the depression.

In our country there is an expression that "if the building trades are busy, so is the rest of industry." We hope this proves true in your case.

National Recovery Act

The American Government—our esteemed President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, leading the way—is making every effort within its power to lead us back out of the depression to employment and prosperity.

One year has now passed since the enactment of the National Recovery Act. As you in Great Britain know, this was one of the most daring adventures in a form of planning and control under regulation of our Federal Government of industrial operation ever undertaken by a democratic nation through the process of democracy.

It appeared to some that this legislation would lead to a dictatorship in the United States, but such is not the case. In fact, it follows very closely the resolutions

adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its convention when it was seeking a solution to bring the laboring class out of the depression.

As a matter of fact, the program now in operation in the United States is largely a response to the demands of labor.

Many of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor are appointees of the United States Government, helping to carry the Act through to success.

The enactment of this legislation, with its companion laws, has already shown results, particularly with that menace of child labor, which the American Federation of Labor has been fighting for over two score years. We are now happy to report that the hiring of child labor is as obsolete as the judge who tried and convicted the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

The National Recovery Act compels each industry to submit a code of fair competition, in which a minimum wage and a maximum of hours be included. Then, when approved by the President of the United States, it becomes a law, and any violation of same means that when the violator is convicted the right to do business in that industry is denied him.

The President of the United States has, up to date, approved about five hundred of these codes and, although we find the benefits are slow in making their appearance, nevertheless we feel sure of success in the near future.

It gives to the labor movement the right to organize and guarantees to labor that it is unlawful for any employer to demand that the employee shall belong to a company union not of his own choosing.

This is something much more than a mere declaration—it is a law!

Company Union

Another great victory for the American Labor Movement is the removing of that evil—"the company union."

When workmen in these company unions found that they were at liberty to organize and select representatives of their own choosing, they immediately threw off the yoke of company union and made application to the American Federation of Labor for membership.

The American Federation of Labor during the past year has added several hundred thousands to its roll from the field of company union.

Many Federal charters have been granted and the spirit of true unionism,

as shown by these newly organized groups, speaks volumes for their future success.

Wages and Hours

Under the codes wages and hours have again become stabilized and will be maintained.

There has been, of course (which we expected), some violation of the minimum wage and maximum hours as written into the various codes, but we are happy to report that the law courts in the region where the violation has taken place did not hesitate to place penalties on the violators. These penalties acted as a warning to others who might be tempted to break the law.

But, generally speaking, the contractors and employers of labor and the labor unions are working closer through agreements to uphold the National Recovery Act and see that its principles are carried out, so as to drive out of business any and all chiselers who are responsible for the conditions wherein the man who labors was exploited through a vicious system of rebating or kick-back racket.

Taking advantage of the vast army of unemployed, these contractors would make deals with the men they employ, pay them the standard rates of wages, and then have them give part of it back.

These cheap contractors were a menace to their fellow competitors, as by using the above system they would estimate to pay below the standard of wages set for the trade, making it such that the responsible contractors failed to get the contract, and the chiseler who did receive same would then proceed to break down all of the standard conditions of that trade.

But now the joint action of the honest contractor and the true trade-unionist, through the codes, have the weapon to drive this cheap menace out of the field of competition, therefore removing another of the evils with which organized labor was confronted.

Unemployment

There are still ten million unemployed in the United States, and the persistency of this unemployment has brought about an executive order by the President of the United States, no later than August 22, 1934, amending the present Recovery Code for the cotton industry by reducing the total working weekly hours from forty to thirty-six. This change will mean employment for at least ten thousand more in that industry.

The American Federation of Labor is requesting an imposition of a thirty-hour week instead of the present forty-hour

for all industry as a means of providing work for some of the millions now unemployed. We feel that our hopes for the shorter week will soon be realized.

The building trades have been the greatest sufferers of all the industries. They are considered the second largest industry in the United States, and it is conceded that they will be the last to feel relief.

The present administration of our Government is to be commended for the wonderful effort it has made, and is making, to help the building trades through the immense appropriation of billions of dollars to be expended on its Public Works program. Also for the foresight in the appointing by the President of the United States of a Planning and Adjusting Board of twenty-one members for the construction industry. The President has appointed ten labor men and ten employers of labor, whose duties will be to adjust all disputes so as to have a continuity of employment and less strikes and lock-outs, and further, to advise the Government from time to time of plans to eliminate future depression in that industry.

Political Action

The American Labor Movement, unlike the British Trade Unions, have not as a body entered the political field, but there has been in the past attempts made to seek public office in the National Government.

Since that time the policy of the American Federation of Labor has been to refrain from entering into national elections as the sponsors of any particular candidate. They now follow the system of "elect labor's friends and defeat labor's enemies."

The political representative who attempts to have enacted legislation detrimental to the American Labor Movement finds when seeking re-election that the laboring people of his district answer his action by voting against him. Many of these enemies of labor have been cast into oblivion.

Our worthy president of the American Federation of Labor, William Green has had a hard row to hoe during this depression period, but he has handled the situation like the great leader that he truly is, and has placed the American Federation of Labor right in the foreground of our National Government as the spokesman for all of the workers, and he is called upon often to advise with President Roosevelt, who holds him in high esteem.

The American Federation of Labor was honored by the National Administration

when called upon to present the name of one of its members for the position of Assistant Secretary of Labor for the United States Government. They were further honored when the National Recovery Act was passed by having one of their members appointed as assistant administrator to General Hugh Johnson, who was President Roosevelt's selection as Administrator.

Some of the other labor leaders selected by President Roosevelt to assist the Government in its battle with depression are as follows: John Lewis, General President of the Mine Workers' International Union; Major George L. Berry of the Pressmen's International Union; Michael J. McDonough, President of the Building Trades' Department; John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters; Joseph Franklin, General President of the International Boiler Makers' Union. All of these men were placed in responsible positions and have proved themselves very valuable assets to the Government. Most of the above-mentioned men you are acquainted with, as they have appeared at your Trade Congress as fraternal delegates.

There was adverse criticism by some people against the action of President Roosevelt for his appointing of labor leaders on the various boards.

It did not take long for these able labor leaders to prove to the critics that the President was justified in his selection by the manner in which they handled the business placed before them. They were well qualified with the knowledge of the wants of the unemployed laboring class.

Union Label

The fight for the union label is still carrying on. They who are making this fight have been greatly handicapped by the death of that stalwart old warrior, George Perkins, and now, since coming to your country, I have been informed of the death of John Manning, a fraternal delegate to your Congress a few years back, who was secretary, and one of the oldest and ablest fighters for the use of the union label.

Labor Press

Our labor press, of which there are a couple of hundred weekly newspapers along with our trade journals, have been doing yeoman work during the last year keeping the workers well informed with news from the National Capital and all the doings as to codes.

Some of our trade journals deserve great credit for the militant articles and the unadulterated editorials they printed last year which, in my opinion, were widely read and wisely given attention to.

International Policies

I know of no other two labor bodies who should be so very closely allied as the American Federation of Labor of the United States of America and the British Trades' Union Movement.

We both speak the same language, and our ideals and principles are alike.

In our local organizations, and also in our International, some of our ablest leaders received their primary labor education in your ranks before leaving for their new adopted country.

There is no doubt in my mind that the American Labor Movement will not attempt to tell others how to run their affairs, but they will accept an invitation at any time to join in a co-operative effort that will bring the desired results to the membership of our unions both here and in America.

A very striking example of International good will between labor bodies, and I might include nations, is that which now, and in the past, has existed between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, which brings to my mind that often-repeated statement of the imaginary line stretching from coast to coast three thousand miles, dividing the two countries, and not a single gun needed by either to protect its rights.

It would be wonderful if the rest of the countries of the world could say the same thing, and there is no reason why they could not have peace between them by using a sane method of co-operation, conciliation and arbitration.

If this could be accomplished, then all of the billion sums of moneys that are spent on munitions used to maim, cripple and kill off the flower of manhood of the various nations could well be used otherwise in adequate wages, so that those who labor could get a little more enjoyment out of this life.

British Trades and Labor Success

I wish to congratulate the trade-union of Great Britain for the wonderful strides you have made in your successful effort to raise the working people to a humane standard of living through decent wages, hours and sane working conditions.

One hundred years is but a short time when we take inventory of our Labor Movement, but it is a very long journey from Tolpuddle to the House of Commons. We can hardly believe what has happened in that hundred years. What do we find in this march of time? Six laborers secretly meeting to avoid arrest, to talk over something pertaining to that which would help them to keep body and

soul together, and from that meeting we advance to the House of Commons, where, not secretly, but very much in the open and so as the world might know, we find another group holding the highest elective offices within Great Britain, placed there by the vote of the working people—men who came up from the ranks of labor. Surely, this represents labor's great advance in that hundred years!

In conclusion, I want to thank the delegates present for their kind indulgence and, in bringing my message to a close, may I wish that in the coming year your membership will double and your leaders will be given the opportunity to serve you as ably in the future as they have in the past.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO THE CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF 1934, WHICH CONVENED AT TORONTO, CANADA.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

I herewith submit my report as Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Fiftieth (Golden Jubilee) Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held at Toronto from September 10 to September 14, 1934.

The convention was called to order by William Dunn, President of the Toronto District Council and chairman of the Arrangements Committee, on September 10 at 9:30 a. m. at the Royal York Hotel. Mr. Dunn welcomed the delegates on behalf of organized workers of Toronto.

Mayor W. J. Stewart of Toronto extended the civic welcome and stated that as Mayor of Toronto he believed in high wages and that he had maintained high wages for laborers employed by the city, over the protest of certain taxpayers who had asked that wages be reduced in order to reduce taxes. Mayor Stewart made an impressive address.

Honorable Arthur Roebuck, Attorney General and Minister of Labor for the Province of Ontario, was the next speaker. Mr. Roebuck declared for the re-intention of the Government to establish Industrial Codes but that the matter is merely a provincial matter and the information as to the legislation to be drafted is not complete as yet. On the question of company unions, Mr. Roebuck has declared that company unions will not be recognized as representatives of employees in industry. The reason for such a declaration is that such unions are usually promoted by the employers and therefore dominated by them and cannot, under any stretch of the imagination, be said to be representative of the employees.

Honorable W. A. Gordon, Minister of Labor for the Dominion of Canada for the Federal Government, was the next speaker. Mr. Gordon outlined the policy of the government.

Honorable Herbert A. Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario for the Provincial Government, addressed the convention and recited the history and progress of Canada.

President Tom Moore's reply was next. President Moore paid tribute to the efforts of the United States Government to bring about a more equitable distribution of the fruits of labor and employment in the United States. President Moore condemned dictatorships such as established in European countries, citing conditions in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, etc., and declared that the United States and the British Empire were practically an island of democracy standing in the middle of a sea of autocracy. President Moore warned Arthur Roebuck, Attorney General, that we must be careful that "Codes" do not become "Cords" that will restrict our Trade Union activities. President Moore called for organization and methods along constitutional lines to improve our conditions.

There were 373 delegates to the Golden Jubilee Convention, the convention being the largest in several years.

One hundred and twenty-two resolutions were introduced by the delegates to the convention which covered practically all questions of interest to labor.

The fraternal delegates, Joseph P. McCurdy, representing the American Federation of Labor, and John Marchbank, representing the British Trade Union Congress, delivered the fraternal greetings to the convention on Wednesday morning, September 10.

Secretary Draper answered the American Federation of Labor fraternal delegate with a speech and requested that I report to the American Federation of Labor that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada stands FOUR-SQUARE behind the International Trades Union movement.

On Wednesday evening, September 12, the Congress honored the Tolpuddle Martyrs by having radio artists depict the life of those six men of Dorset. It was one of the most impressive ceremonies I ever witnessed.

On Saturday, September 15, more than 100 delegates, including the fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor and Great Britain, journeyed to London, Ontario, where a dinner was held at Western University in honor of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Addresses were made by President Tom Moore, John Marchbank, British Delegate, and Joseph P. McCurdy, American Federation of Labor Delegate. The delegates were then taken

to the cemetery and soil brought by John Marchbank from the grave of James Hammet, in England, was mixed with the soil of the martyrs in Canada. Wreaths were placed on the graves and religious services held.

In the elections, Tom Moore was retained as president along with the following vice-presidents: R. J. Tallon, James Simpson and Percy R. Bengough. P. M. Draper was re-elected secretary of the Congress.

William Dunn, President of Toronto District Labor Council, member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, was elected fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Ernest Ingles, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was elected delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

Halifax was chosen for the 1935 convention.

I desire to express my thanks to the delegates of the October, 1933, convention of the American Federation of Labor for the honor conferred upon me and to express my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to act as a fraternal delegate.

I desire also to pay tribute to the officers and delegates of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada for their co-operative spirit and for the good fellowship and hospitality shown to me during my visit to Canada.

Fraternally submitted,
JOSEPH P. MCCURDY.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Auditing Committee of the American Federation of Labor for its report on the examination of the accounts of Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Ryan.

Brother Madsen will submit the report for the committee.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Auditing Committee appointed by President Green pursuant to the requirements of Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, presents the following report for the consideration of this Convention.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Your Committee has thoroughly studied and examined the books and records pertaining to all financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor during the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1933, concluding August 31, 1934 and is prepared to report that the examination disclosed all books and records accurate and correct in every respect.

Herewith is the tabulated record of the receipts and expenses credited to and charged against the several funds of the American Federation of Labor for the period under consideration.

Receipts

Balance on hand August 31, 1933	\$ 402,132.80
Per capita tax	\$385,516.93
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	239,747.96
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	133,615.31
Initiation Fees	248,757.79
Reinstatement Fees	2,322.90
Supplies	31,006.31
Interest	13,918.26
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	11,651.14
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	3,446.20
Dividend on Union Labor Life Insurance Stock	150.00
Total Receipts	1,070,432.80
Grand Total	\$1,472,565.60

Expenses

General	\$760,332.63
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	135,459.18
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	1,084.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	9,983.43
Total Expenses	906,859.24
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1934	\$ 565,706.36

Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 99,663.69
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	466,042.67
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1934	\$ 565,706.36

Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the Secretary were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

Your Committee has ascertained that the funds of the American Federation of Labor are deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3 1/4 %)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4 1/4 - 3 1/4 %)	\$50,000.00 at 98-18/32
	49,281.25
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 276,351.57
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4 1/4 %) Par Value	\$100.00 at 86 1/2 %
	\$ 83,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4 1/4 %) Par Value	\$100.00 at 92 1/2 %
	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4 1/4 %) Par Value	\$100.00 at 85 1/2 %
	15,390.00
Total investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds	177,820.00
On deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Subject to check)	94,534.79
Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. (Subject to checks of Secretary Morrison)	\$ 18,079.49
Outstanding checks	16,079.49
	2,000.00
Total	\$ 565,706.36

Vice-President Duffy's Committee Report

Following is the report of the auditors who examined the records of the Treasurer which is made a part of this general audit on finances.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Office of Treasurer,

September 6, 1934,
Kansas City, Mo.Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In compliance with your orders and the directions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the International Officers whose names are affixed hereto met in Kansas City, Missouri, September 6, 1934, and made an examination of the funds of the American Federation of Labor in possession of Mr. Martin Francis Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, for the year ending August 31, 1934, and submit the following report:

United States Treasury Bonds (including premium)	\$276,351.57
Federal Land Bank Bonds	177,820.00
Stock—The Union Labor Life Insurance Company	15,000.00
Checking Account—First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo.	94,534.79
Total	\$563,706.36

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,
First Vice-President, American Federation of Labor.
General Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

JOHN J. PFEIFFER,
General Secretary-Treasurer, International Union United Leather Workers.

J. M. ELLIS,
General Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood Railway Car-men of America.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of September, 1934.

MABEL SMITH,
Notary Public.

My commission expires November 3, 1936.

Gompers Memorial Fund

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation

of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable Memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1934	\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments	15,510.89

Total Receipts	\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1934	117,407.93

Balance on hand August 31, 1934	<u>\$ 16,176.19</u>
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Funds deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust Account, Washington, D. C.	\$ 1,266.66
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., Checking Account	14,065.09
The City Bank, Washington, D. C., Checking Account	844.44

Balance on hand August 31, 1934	<u>\$ 16,176.19</u>
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Your Committee was informed that an itemized statement of all moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correct.

Sleeping Car Porters' Injunction Fund

Receipts from January 13, 1933, to and including March 31, 1933	\$ 660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President	<u>660.00</u>

*The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Saving Bank and released 40 per cent of deposits. The records show that this 40 per cent or \$264.00 was transferred to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. We were advised that the remaining 60 per cent or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correct.

**The American Federation of Labor
Building Fund**

Balance on hand August 31, 1933	\$ 50,452.54
Receipts	31,384.50
Receipts and Balance.....	\$ 81,837.04
Expenses	29,730.92

Balance on hand August 31, 1934	\$ 52,106.12
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(See Page 4, Executive Council's Report for itemized account of receipts and expenses.)

We find the balance of \$52,106.12 invested and deposited as follows:

\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (5%) par value \$100.00 at 94%	\$37,750.00
\$6,000.00 3½ U. S. Treasury Bonds at 99-21/32	5,979.38
	\$43,729.38
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., Subject to check.....	6,596.63
City Bank, Washington, D. C., Subject to check.....	561.80
Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust, Washington, D. C.....	1,218.31

Balance on hand August 31, 1934	\$ 52,106.12
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We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Land Bank Bonds and the United States Treasury Bonds as well as the records covering the following accounts as certified to by the officers of the respective institutions and depositories:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.....	\$1,218.31
Riggs National Bank.....	\$6,604.83
Less outstanding checks	8.20
	6,596.63
The City Bank.....	561.80

and found them correct.

Conclusion

The long drawn-out period of economic depression and the financial condition of many affiliated groups has had its effect, naturally, upon the activities and functions of the American Federation of Labor. We, your Committee, desire to register at this time with satisfaction and pleasure the great improvement noted during the past year in the progress and prosperity of the American Federation of Labor. We desire to call to the attention

of this Convention that the past year has terminated with more progress, greater activity and accomplishments than any year since 1920. It must therefore be obvious to us that the American Labor Movement, after so many lean years, may expect continued success and advancement in its determined efforts to gain for the working people of this country their full share of the good things of life.

We, your Committee, desire to register our sincere approval of Secretary Morrison and his most efficient assistants with whom we have come in contact for the manner in which they have met the extra demands of such a strenuous year. We found the system of operations of Secretary Morrison's offices correct and efficient in every respect. It was a revelation to your Committee to find so much work done and such an amount of money handled in such a satisfactory, correct and smooth manner.

Secretary Morrison, during his many years as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has built up for us a marvelous system of accounting, and a perfect method of handling the affairs of his department.

We desire now publicly to thank Secretary Morrison and his very able assistants for their courteous treatment, and also to commend them for their simplified, correct and perfect accounting system.

AUDITING COMMITTEE:

W. W. CAMPBELL,	Chairman.
W. W. BRITTON,	
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,	Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**APPOINTMENT OF ESCORT
COMMITTEES**

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to call upon Senator James J. Davis and escort him to the hall. He is scheduled to speak here about 11 o'clock today. I will

appoint on that committee Brother M. F. Tighe, Brother William H. Hutcheson and Brother M. J. Gillooly.

I also wish to announce the appointment of the committee to escort Divisional Administrator Sol Rosenblatt to the hall when he arrives Friday morning: Joseph N. Weber, Edward W. Tracy and Daniel Dubinsky.

On the committee to escort the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, I appoint the following: Martin Francis Ryan, Daniel J. Tobin and Lillie B. Clineinst.

We have here with us in attendance at our convention a very loyal and devoted friend. He comes from the state of Wisconsin—Judge Joseph N. Padway. I ask Brother Henry Ohl and Brother E. J. Manion to escort him to the platform.

Judge Padway, whom I will present to you to submit an address on the subject of "The Law and Labor," comes from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He has served the labor movement as an attorney in Wisconsin and in other places for many years. I have deeply appreciated the very fine legal and social work which he has rendered the organized labor movement and the State of Wisconsin as well as the entire country. Judge Padway is not only an able and distinguished attorney, but he is a friend and champion of labor.

I have the very greatest pleasure in presenting him to you this morning for the purpose of delivering an address on the subject of "The Law and Labor."

HON. JOSEPH A. PADWAY

(General Counsel, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor)

I am conscious of the honor of being permitted to address this great convention. For almost twenty years I have addressed the conventions of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor on subjects pertaining to labor and labor laws.

May I, therefore, take this opportunity to speak to you on "Labor And The Law" because the great judicial pronouncements of law in the next five or ten years will pertain to the rights of labor. The United States Supreme Court and the su-

preme courts of the various states will hand down their most momentous decisions in the field of labor. The enactment of the NIRA, with the inclusion of Section 7-a, will bring forth a judicial determination of this definite American labor policy.

While the NIRA contains much which may come within the classification of labor policy, Section 7-a more than any other clause, will be involved within the field of legal construction. Although it is generally believed that Section 7-a and the rights accorded labor by virtue of it, is something new, in the "legal control of labor relations," the fact is that in one form or another it has existed as a definite labor policy since 1918. President Wilson, in establishing the National War Labor Board in 1918, issued a proclamation containing the following: "Right to organize: The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and confirmed.

"This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employer in any manner whatsoever. Employers shall not discharge workers for membership in trade unions nor for legitimate trade union activities." . . .

That is as far back as 1918. Then follows the Railway Labor Act of 1926. Here again I find the same principle in the following language:

"Representatives for the purpose of this act shall be designated by the respective parties in such a manner as may be provided in their Corporated organization or unincorporated Associations, or by other means of collective action, without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representatives by the other." . . .

Then in 1932 Congress passed what, to my mind, is the greatest piece of labor legislation ever enacted, viz., the Norris-La Guardia Act. This remarkable legislative enactment is the substitute to the original Shipstead bill, so valiantly championed by that veteran seaman, and one of your delegates, Mr. Andrew Furuseth.

The Norris-La Guardia Act opens with one of the greatest preambles to a Law it has been my privilege to read. This preamble reads as follows:

"Whereas under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment; wherefore, though he should be free to

decline to associate with his fellows, it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and contracts of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives, or in self-organization, or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." . . .

The Legislature of the State of Wisconsin in the year 1931, at the behest of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and under the guidance of Governor Philip LaFollette, asked a similar Code containing the same provisions, and such a code was adopted.

The new National Bankruptcy Act, passed by the last Congress, and the revision of the Railway Labor Act, also passed by the last Congress, contain similar provisions to those contained in Section 7-a.

Yet, with all this authority for the "Rights of Labor" as enunciated in Section 7-a, the Employers, before the ink of the President's signature to the bill was dry, commenced a course of sabotage to defeat the purpose of the Act with a vehemence never before experienced. For instance, I have before me a copy of Bulletin No. 4, dated July 7, 1933, issued by State Manufacturers and Industrial Associations and National Trade Associations which reads as follows:

"Advised (by official Resolution) that each employer advise his employees that it is his intention to deal fairly with them in connection with such codes as are adopted for their employment under the Recovery Act and that he warns them that affiliation with any labor unions is entirely unnecessary for them to receive all advantages provided by the Act." . . .

Now, it seems to me that the provisions of Section 7-a are not as confusing as some persons think them to be. There is nothing, in my opinion, that is ambiguous about Section 7-a in declaring that "Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing."

Certainly there is nothing difficult about the language that "Employees shall be free from any interference, restraint or coercion by employers of labor in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization for the purpose of collective bargaining; nor can one misunderstand the provision that "any employee and anyone seeking employment, shall not be required, as a condition of employment, to join a company union, or to refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor union of his own choosing." . . .

That employers and their lawyers should have set up a smoke screen of ambiguity to defeat the law is not surprising, but that those in charge of the administration of the law, occupying high Government positions and, at one time, believed to be friendly to Labor, should have misunderstood this law, is tragic indeed. I am referring to the astounding interpretation placed upon Section 7-a by Donald R. Richberg and General Johnson, who undertook to interpret the President's order of February 1 by which he endeavored to silence those employers who claimed the right to deal with minority groups of employees or individual employees.

The employer knows that if he can bargain with half a dozen groups he can thereby effectively kill the whole collective bargaining principle.

The President's order was simple. He said "that those representatives selected by a majority of employees should bargain collectively for all the employees involved."

Within three days after the President had issued this order, General Johnson and Donald R. Richberg issued a public interpretation to the effect that the President's order did not mean what it said, but that employers may bargain with minority groups and with individuals.

It shows that General Johnson, that flamboyant and bombastic character assassinator, dominated the situation and caused Donald R. Richberg to yield sound legal judgment to the wiles and machinations of an industrial Machiavelli.

That interpretation of the President's order by General Johnson and Donald R. Richberg, particularly Donald R. Richberg, has done more to give aid and comfort to the enemy than any other utterance by any person during the history of the NIRA. It seems to me that in view of the new position of Donald R. Richberg, by which he still remains in the employ of the Government, he ought to rescind that interpretation, because employers are still referring to it in support of their denial of collective bargaining and reactionary Judges in Courts will grasp at Richberg's interpretation of February 4 to justify their own misinterpretation of the law. It was utterances such as this that killed the wholesome effect of the Clayton Act.

You will recall how hard President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor fought for the passage of that Act, which was intended to nullify the evils of the Labor Injunction, and President Gompers declared that by this Act labor was given a new Magna Charta. But soon the same elements that are busy today attacking Section 7-a got busy then and attacked the Clayton Act and bit by bit, in decision after decision, the United States Supreme Court and other Courts, killed the effectiveness of the Clayton Act.

However, the old National Labor Board took a contrary view from that of Richberg and Johnson. It accepted the President's order at face value and in the Denver Tramway case and the Realsilk Hosiery case it decided that the representatives of the majority should bargain for all the employees.

But the old Board did not function well. While Labor was there represented by its ablest men, such as President William Green, John L. Lewis, Father Haas, and others, they were in the minority, and the Board in many instances failed to function properly.

May I call your attention to one instance which will serve to illustrate my point: Street car employees in Milwaukee requested the Amalgamated Street Car Men's Union, the Electric Workers Union, and the Engineers' Union to organize them. These unions responded and secured a membership of 1,300 out of 2,200 eligible to these crafts. The company had in operation, even before the NIRA, a mutual benefit association, a company union, and had a closed-shop agreement with it. When the company learned that its men were joining real unions, it undertook to discharge a number of the employees. It permitted the printing of bulletins threatening expulsion from the company union, and thereby loss of employment.

Conditions grew so bad that a strike was voted. The Government sent mediators to iron out the difficulties, but the company refused to meet the representatives of the unions. When the strike was called Senator Wagner telegraphed the unions requesting that the strike be held in abeyance until a hearing was had in Washington.

The hearing was held before the National Labor Board and President Green and Senator Wagner attended throughout the day. The case was fully presented. A tribunal was set up to take evidence as to discharges. This tribunal ordered men reinstated who had been discharged for union activities. After weeks and weeks of waiting the National Labor Board ordered the re-instatement of the discharged men, but failed to pass upon other violations of Section 7-a. It failed to order a withdrawal of the threatening bulletins. The Blue Eagle was taken away from the company for refusal to reinstate employees, but no decision on the other matters was forthcoming.

A number of demands was made for a decision and President Green informed me on several occasions that he personally had demanded a decision at various meetings of the Board, but the Board failed to make a decision. It went out of existence without having ever handed down a decision.

In the meantime, the employees had resorted to the courts to compel the em-

ployers to obey Section 7-a. The company attempted to stall this litigation by attempting to remove it from the friendly State Courts to the Federal Court where it believed it would receive a better break.

Here we have an example of the court procedure being inadequate and unable to function properly, because of dilatory tactics of the employers. Also the administrative departments of the Government were unable to function because of the refusal by the company to obey any orders. In such a case what is there to do? There is only one right left, the right mentioned by President Green on Monday—the right to strike!

The failure of the National Labor Board to function caused the membership to dwindle from 1,300 to 300. The men were discouraged. Those that remained, however, were determined. They asked their International Unions for authority to strike. President Mahon of the Amalgamated Street Car Men's Union, President Tracy of the Electric Workers Union, and President Possel of the Engineers' Union, said, "Go ahead and strike." . . .

The strike was called. Again the Government wired: "Hold off your strike." But this time the men were not to be fooled—once was enough. They struck although believing that they would lose their strike. But they wanted to present to the public their case, for they knew that their cause was right.

Think of it: 300 employees out of 5,500 daring to go on strike! The strike was called for 4 a. m., June 16. All night Government mediators had attempted to induce the President of the company to meet with the union representatives but he refused. At 6 a. m. it looked like a lost strike. There were not even enough pickets to make a respectable showing because of the large territory which had to be covered.

But at night the public came out en masse. They said the cause of the men was just; the company had fought the Government; it had lost the Blue Eagle. They took President Roosevelt at his word not to patronize anyone who had lost the Blue Eagle.

The public took over the strike. 75,000 persons are hard to control. Some violence did occur, but by 10 o'clock that night the entire south side of the city was without street car service.

The next day the company attempted to run its cars but feared the resentment of the public, and by 2 p. m. not a single street car or bus was in operation in the city.

The following day the power house men threatened to shut down and then the president of the company became alarmed. He requested mediation and even invited

the representatives of organized labor to meet with him. Although he called for us at 10 a. m. we refused to go until 4 p. m. because we first wanted to draft an agreement for presentation. We went over at 4 p. m. It was the first time a union committee had ever stepped into the office of the company's president.

He received us, looked at our agreement, suggested a change or two, and while this discussion was going on, word came that the power house was shutting down. That would mean that the whole county of Milwaukee and the southern portion of Wisconsin would be in darkness. . . .

Then the president said: "Please, gentlemen, let us sign and prevent the shutting down of the power." He signed the agreement. The unions are now recognized as the sole bargaining agencies of the three crafts, and they have practically a 100 per cent enrollment in the American Federation of Labor unions.

Why have I told you this story in such detail? Because there is a moral to it, of vital import, particularly in view of the President's speech of Sunday evening, September 30, wherein he referred to the Government agencies which have been set up for the purpose of insuring collective bargaining. These Government agencies ceased to adequately function. All the agencies of the Government are of little use if the employer can defy them as he has in the past. The moral, therefore, is: When the courts are thwarted and so cannot function; when the Government agencies such as the National Labor Board fail to function, as they did in this street car case, the strike is the only legal weapon left to the employees to secure their legal rights and this weapon did function, swiftly and adequately. The right to strike, therefore, must never be abridged.

However, the President says: "Step by step we have created the Government agencies necessary to insure, as a general rule, industrial peace."

I presume the President has in mind that one of these agencies is the new National Labor Relations Board. Of this Board I may say that it functions much better than the old Board, at least it acts with dispatch. But it, too, fails to accept the true and full import of Section 7-a.

While it rendered a very fine decision in the Houde case granting the representatives of the majority the right to bargain collectively for all the employees, it failed in the same way as the old Board failed, to grant the employees the right to be free from employer interference, coercion and restraint in the selection of their representatives.

It has likewise failed to give full effect to that portion of Section 7-a which prohibits the employers from requiring, as

a condition of employment, that his employees join a company union; or that they refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor union of their own choosing; and it has, in my opinion, failed to comply with Section 3 of Public Resolution No. 44, passed by the last Congress, whereby it is required to prescribe to Rules and Regulations to "assure freedom from coercion in respect to all elections."

Let me give you a specific instance.

I want to call your attention to the Kohler case. Soon after the passage of the NIRA the employees of the Kohler Company of Wisconsin wished to organize an American Federation of Labor union. About 1,365 out of 2,300 employees joined the American Federation of Labor. These union members and 500 more, 1,800 in all, selected a bargaining committee consisting of Henry Ohl, Jr., president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and others. While Mr. Kohler deigned to receive them, he refused to bargain with them in good faith, and kept stalling them off, and finally refused to comply with any of the demands of the union.

The matter was taken up with the Compliance Board and the Chicago Regional Labor Board and for nine months the company successfully denied the workers their rights under Section 7-a. Finally the matter came to the attention of the National Labor Board. The Union employees demanded that the company be compelled to recognize their collective bargaining committee for all the employees; that the majority bargain for all of them, and that the company union be dissolved; that a vote be taken to determine who shall represent the employees, since the employer contested the right of the union to represent the employees.

Now, I call your attention to a significant point, that is, our request of the National Labor Relations Board for dissolution of the company union since it was created after the American Federation of Labor union commenced to organize, and that it was set up to defeat self-organization of the employees and to prevent freedom of choosing their own representatives, and it in other ways violated Section 7-a.

We showed how the company's officials created this company union; that it was to have no dues; that it was dominated by the company and company financed. Let the decision of the Board speak for itself. . . .

"Thus it is clear that the company participated in forming and engaged actively in promoting the new organization, that the workers had no opportunity of expressing an unfettered choice as to whether or not they wished to belong to it, and that the company not only indicated its favorable attitude toward the organization but stood ready to finance

its existence. Under such circumstances the organization could not have that independence which is essential to a true collective bargaining agency, and the sudden and extensive promotion of the plan at a time when the outside union was just being formed, can only be considered as a deliberate design to influence the allegiance of the employees and to interfere with their free and unhampered self-organizing which Section 7-a guarantees. The wrong done by the company can, however, be remedied by an election.

"The union demand for the dissolution of the Kohler Workers Association is predicated upon the hypothesis that that Association, having been formed through an unwarranted interference by the company, is in itself illegal and should not be permitted to continue. The argument to the contrary is that even though many employees were undoubtedly led by the company into joining the Association, other employees who joined may, in fact, have done so without being affected in any way by the company's desires, with the result that as to them the Association may be their free choice for the purposes of collective bargaining. Considering these conflicting views, we are not willing on the facts before us to order dissolution. If at the election to be held, the Association secures a majority of the votes it will be entitled to act as the representative of all Kohler employees in bargaining. If it secures a minority, it will have no voice in bargaining but may continue its welfare and athletic activities." . . .

So what have we here? A company found guilty of violating Section 7-a, found guilty of creating a company union and inducing its employees to join it; financing it and in various other ways interfering with the freedom of choice of representatives and of self-organization.

Yet this company union was permitted to have its name on the ballot and be voted for as a bargaining agency.

I say: Let labor protest and protest vigorously this denial of the rights of Section 7-a. It is not enough to grant elections, but the elections should be on an honest basis and must assure freedom from coercion of any kind. The candidate on the ballot must be a clean candidate, and not tainted with criminality by violation of the NIRA.

For nine months the Kohler Company had propagandized this company union; for nine months it played up this organization until the men could restrain themselves no longer and a strike had to be called. The company, in an effort to defeat the strike, deputized its workers as village police, and Friday night, July 27, with machine guns and rifles, started shooting into the crowd of strikers, killing two and wounding 40. Government

mediator, Father McGuire, who was on the spot at the time, said: "It is unnecessary to shoot men in the back to protect property." . . .

These killings and shooting resulted from the company's violation of Section 7-a in illegally setting up a company union, and yet the company union was permitted to go on the ballot.

The United States Constitution has from the day of its adoption remained unchanged as to the loss of citizenship of one convicted of a crime, and one who loses his citizenship cannot be a candidate for office. Even the election laws prohibit candidacy for office of one who has violated such laws. And if the legality is not discovered until after election, the guilty candidate cannot take office.

The Lorrimer, Smith and Vare cases are well remembered; yet, the new National Labor Relations Board has ruled that this company union, set up by the company and in conspiracy with it, has violated Section 7-a, and the violation of Section 7-a is a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both; yet the National Labor Relations Board has permitted this violator to be a candidate for office, and has said, "if selected may be the bargaining agency."

By what right or authority can the National Labor Relations Board justify this ruling? Oh, yes, it says that some employees may have joined without being affected by the company's desires. So may have many of the voters who voted for Lorrimer, Smith and Vare have done so without being affected by the illegal acts of these men wishing to gain office, but they were not permitted to represent any voters.

The decision of the National Labor Relations Board resulted in the defeat of the Federation labor union at a vote held last Thursday. The vote for the company union was 1050, and for the labor union 650. I marvel at the large vote the labor union received, in view of the vicious propaganda and illegal set-up by the company of its own company union.

If this ruling of the National Labor Relations Board is to stand, namely, an organization by connivance with an employer, who has been found guilty of violation of Section 7-a because of this connivance may be a candidate for office, then the only solution left is to refrain from participation in any such vote and to stand upon the rights accorded the workers in Resolution No. 44, namely:

"Nothing in this resolution shall prevent, or impede, or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike."

We asked for another ruling from this board in respect to the company union;

a ruling which labor must insist on; that is that a company union with a constitution such as Kohler's company union, is illegal no matter how it came into existence. The constitution of the Kohler company union provides that any employee who loses his employment is no longer a member of the company union; that only company union members can serve on the bargaining committee.

This means that any employee selected as a member of the bargaining committee who is discharged by the company is automatically discharged from serving on the bargaining committee. Thus the employer can exercise a veto over representatives by the process of discharge. This is clearly an interference with the freedom of choice of representatives because the choice is for the purpose of continued representation. Such a company union, therefore—and most of them are so constituted—is a violation of Section 7-a, and illegal.

Here, again, the New National Labor Relations Board failed to recognize the true import of Section 7-a. This brings us squarely to a consideration of the President's speech of Sunday night, September 30, wherein he says:

... "I shall not ask that any employer or employee permanently lay aside the weapons common to industrial wars, but I shall ask both groups to give a fair trial to peaceful measures to adjust their conflicts of opinion and interest and to experiment for a reasonable time with measure suitable to civilize our industrial civilization."...

I do not know just what the President has in mind when he speaks of not asking employees "permanently" to lay aside the weapons common to industrial wars. I am inclined to think he may have in mind requesting them to do so temporarily. Now, I could understand the President making this request in the belief that the Government agencies now set up by him are functioning adequately.

I have demonstrated to you that they are not doing so. Our experience has taught us that our laws are all right; but the trouble lies with those who interpret and administer them. . . . President Green has said that "Section 7-a is a promissory note given by the Government, but which has not been redeemed."

We cannot, therefore, place as much reliance on the Government agencies as the President places on them, and, for my own part, speaking from experience in the legal handling of labor problems for almost 25 years, I am of the firm conviction that labor cannot afford to even temporarily lay down that legitimate weapon, and often the only weapon left to it: The right to strike.

Labor does not want to strike, no more than the President does, and Labor will be only too happy to go along with him in his program, but when employers are sufficiently powerful to thwart the Government and its agencies, then Labor must, as President Green has stated, "fight its battles on the economic field."

The President says, "Step by step we have created all the Government agencies necessary to insure, as a general rule, industrial peace." But what good are these agencies when they refuse to function?

It was contemplated when the NIRA was passed that there would be violators and therefore violation was made a crime and penalties of fines and imprisonment were provided. Also, Section 3-b of the Act authorizes and directs the enforcement of the Act by injunctive relief.

Well, let us see how the Government agency known as the Attorney General has functioned. Not a single prosecution has been commenced and only one injunction suit was started—in the Wierton Steel case—and that seems to have been bungled. Compare this inactivity of the Department of Justice of an administration professedly seeking to uphold the rights of labor with a Department of Justice friendly to the interests of the employers.

In 1922 occurred the great railway strike. The employers rushed to the Department of Justice and asked for aid in suppressing the strike. Attorney General Daugherty lost no time in going to Chicago and securing from Judge Wilkinson a drastic injunction against the workers on the railroads. This was followed by similar applications of 300 roads and 300 injunctions were instantly granted. That is the service the employers got.

But today the Attorney General and his department, by dilatoriness, inactivity and positive refusal to act are giving support to the employers in their disrespect for and refusal to comply with the NIRA.

Again permit me to illustrate. In Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, is the Bear Brand Hosiery Company, owned by one Henry Pope, the man who financed Wier, who charred the President with falling into a Bolshevik plot.

This employer, rather than obey the orders of the Chicago Regional Labor Board to cease discrimination, locked out its employees. It then closed its plant for good and made preparations to move. The National Labor Board recommended prosecution. But the Department of Justice has refused to prosecute and returned the file to the National Labor Board.

Such an agency is utterly useless, and of what good will be the truce when a violation of it will not secure enforcement or prosecution.

Let me say this: It should not be considered disrespectful if it were suggested to the President of the United States that labor laws intended to give to labor legal and economic rights must be administered by those in sympathy with these laws.

To place them in the hands of a General Johnson, and others like him, will never create the agencies expected to fulfill the promises of the President. Until these Boards are manned by persons with a sense of justice, with a true vision for a new economic set-up and a true sympathy for Labor, the promissory note will not be redeemed.

Our President has suggested that we lay down our weapons temporarily. He says not permanently, and thereby there is an inference that it is only temporarily. I wonder whether the President means by that that we shall surrender our rights to collective bargaining and self organization. I cannot believe that the President intended such things, but I do believe and know that the employers of the country intend that, because in yesterday's paper, which I have before me, there appears this particular statement on the part of the employers, that they pledge the President their co-operation and then they ask Labor to accept a truce, neither group to attempt to change existing relations. What is their idea of existing relations? What is their idea of a truce? Their idea is the same as the thief, who has stolen a good many things and then says, Let's call a truce under these conditions, that everything that I have stolen I keep and let things stand as they are. Can we yield to a truce of that nature? They say, "We will accept the President's call for a truce." Aye, they consented once before to accept the President's request. In the case of the President's Re-employment Agreement the employers broke their necks in a mad rush to sign that agreement, and no sooner had they signed that agreement and even since they have signed they have been breaking their necks to repudiate the agreement and term as a scrap of paper the agreement they signed with the President.

Can we have a truce of that nature? What do they mean by a truce? A truce by them, I suppose, means to be free to exploit child labor; a truce to them, I suppose, means a truce for what? To be free to find ways and means to subscribe to the principles of a Judge Gary, who only a few years ago declared that a twelve-hour day and seven days a week was all right in the steel industry. A truce for what? To be free to pay low wages, \$2.65 per week in the textile industry? Aye, they want a truce for what? To permit bankers to be free to speculate and make worthless loans so as to earn

high commissions, resulting in the loss of billions of dollars of the depositors' money. A truce for what? To be free to build more holding companies pyramiding their stocks and fleecing millions of people out of the savings of their lifetime?

A truce that they may continue to violate Section 7-a and to deny you workers your rights that the Congress and the President of the United States assure you?

A truce, they say? Aye, let them make a truce with their God and with their conscience, and when they have done that, let them in that truce, my friends, make a truce so that we, under that truce, may at least get a fair and more just division of the products of our toil, a truce to live happier and better lives. That truce we can well say we challenge them to accept.

President Green: I want to appoint another committee this morning, a sort of social relations committee. On it I will name Brother A. Adamski, of the Garment Workers, and Brother Frank Weikel, of the Stenographers. Give them a hearty welcome when they call on you.

Senator James J. Davis, who is a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers, has been coming to our convention for a number of years. We are always glad to extend to him a most hearty welcome. He was a puddler. He became identified with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers soon after he came to the United States from his home in Wales. He was active in that organization. Later on he was appointed as Secretary of Labor and served in that capacity for ten years. Then the voters of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania elected him to represent them in the United States Senate. He is now serving in that capacity.

It seems that it was a long way from the hamlet in Wales and from his trip across the Atlantic as a steerage passenger, along with his father, his mother and his sisters and brothers, to a seat in the United States Senate. That was an achievement.

Senator Davis is sympathetic with the hopes and aspirations and principles of the American Federation of Labor. He brings to us a message this morning. I know I voice your sentiments when I say that

we are ready to receive him, we are glad to welcome him, and we will listen with rapt attention to the address he will now submit. I present Senator James J. Davis.

SENATOR JAMES J. DAVIS

(United States Senator from Pennsylvania)

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen of the Federation, and my many good friends: It is always a pleasure to me to attend a meeting of the American Federation of Labor, because I meet so many, many old friends. After all, friends that are tried and true are usually the best. To meet with my good old friend, M. F. Tighe—for nearly half a century we have both been members of the same labor organization—is a double pleasure. As I have said to many of the men who are at the head of the steel industry of America, they should be grateful and thankful that they have such a sane, such an outstanding, such a true trade unionist as Michael F. Tighe at the head of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers.

To me the American Federation of Labor means much. I recall the day when a relative of mine presided over the first meeting of the Federation in Pittsburgh, and from that day on I have watched its progress, and no one will deny that it has been a benefactor, so to speak, to the men and women who toil in America.

You will agree with me when I say that the worker and the business man in America are inseparably connected. They rise and fall together. Through co-operation they have builded the world's greatest industrial organization. Co-operation through collective bargaining will be the basis of future progress. Collective bargaining is the right of both sides to discuss freely their relationship with each other. Provision should be made for a reasonable profit for the investors and an advancing wage scale for the workers so that mass purchasing power may be developed. The wicked jurisdictional dispute must be banished. The paralysis of a general strike can no more be tolerated than the scourge of a general lockout. Industry and labor should meet together around the council table of reason to solve their own industrial disputes, banish cut-throat competition, eliminate child labor, and advance our common economic well-being without too much governmental interference. The choice of labor representation must be kept free. Workers should not be compelled to join any kind of labor organization or association which is not completely subject to their own control. Minimum wage standards must not be confused with the maximum. Owners of small homes or farms should not be compelled to lose

them because of the burdens of taxation. Processing taxes which are designed to benefit a special class are unjustifiable. Old age pensions and unemployment insurance will win increasing acceptance among employers and workers. However, they should not be crowded upon us in such a way as to impede economic recovery for they must be paid for either through taxation or by the earnings of labor and business. In either case security plans for the aged or the unemployed draw upon the earnings of the worker and they should be advanced gradually so as to conform with ability to pay. I am glad, and I have been urging it these many years, that the Republican Party platform in my own State of Pennsylvania has declared for a well rounded program of social security for our citizens. Can there be any reasonable or logical pleading against provision for those who have played life's game and are in need of aid? We are all in the game of living, trying our best to succeed, and it is for those who win together with those who are trying to set aside some small portion of their earnings so that the less fortunate shall have protection at the end of their days. I firmly believe that a great majority of our employers and workers will get together and adopt adequate social security plans.

In 1859 the famous English historian, Macauley, predicted that great congested cities would arise in this country where the contrast between the very rich and the wretched poor would cause bitter strife. He said the day would come when America would have its Manchesters and its Birminghams and his words spoken three-quarters of a century ago ring in our ears today. We do have our Manchesters, our Birminghams, our Londons, our Romes, our Berlins and our Moscovs, too. We do have the rising tide of discontent which sets class against class.

But although democracy has brought with it problems which call for courage, we shall do well to uphold the democratic institutions which have served our people so well in the past. Despite its defeats, which I do not attempt to conceal, I maintain that no system of government is in existence today which would be more acceptable to our people than that which we have now tested these one hundred and fifty years under our Constitution. And I for one am unwilling to stand idly by while in the name of reform, types of government are imposed upon us which carry a threat to democracy.

Our economic troubles to which we are heir today have come upon us because we have not yet found a practical plan. We do not need more speculation as to what ails us or how our ailments can be cured. We need the advice of men who have faced these problems before and who have grappled with them successfully. We need practical leaders of proven worth. As I look about this hall I know it is

filled with practical men. You and the men with whom you deal day by day have been made rugged in the school of experience. Today in government we need the practical man rather than the man who has no experience with our American needs except as may be gained by a study of books, valuable as they are.

So I say to you that the outstanding challenge of economic life in this country today is to establish a large active work program for private business. The ingenuity, the matchless courage, and the indomitable push of American business men and workers are needed more than ever to bring this country to prosperity. These two groups should now march shoulder to shoulder to this task. They have done it in the past and they can do it again if they are not handicapped by too much government red tape. Altogether too much of our recent legislation has been nothing more than ropes with which to bind Samson, but he will arise in his strength one of these days, and will pull down on the heads of the Philistines the walls of the temple which they have builded. We must have a practical plan and I look forward confidently to the time soon when American business men and American Labor leaders and workers will be joined together in a triumphal march towards recovery. Those who try to block them will be swept away. The well-being of every man, woman and child in this country now depends upon American business prosperity and the hearty co-operation of those who work, those who manage, and those who invest.

This we cannot achieve if we are to suffer honest business men to be branded as criminals and workmen to be regarded as gangsters. Business must return. Vast potential demands of basic commodities exist in the unfulfilled wants of masses of our people, both rural and urban. I have been saying for a long time what the Brookings Institute has just confirmed by a recent survey, namely, that the United States has not reached a stage of economic development in which it is possible to produce more than the American people as a whole would like to consume. Certain adjustments of the hours of labor will be necessary but, I am convinced that we shall do well to follow the principle of working while we work so that industry may be as efficient as possible. Then in the heat of the summer it will no longer be necessary for men to toil in the torrid heat of the mills. In 1927 there was no need to reduce the hours of labor because the consuming power of the nation was active. Today we are talking of materially shortening the working day because our consuming power is idle. How much happier we would all be if industrial demand were so great that seasonally three eight-hour shifts a day were required to meet it. Whether we live under our present wage and profit system of industry, and I hope we will, or accept a more collective economic system, it will always be true

that our standard of living can be raised only through a strong emphasis upon productive activity. In a word, we need a more-work program in this country rather than a share-the-poverty program.

Before you return home many of you will have visited the new water power developments on the Columbia River at Booneville and Grand Coulee. As you first view them and come to understand their tremendous power resources you may wonder just how all their potency may be distributed to the people and you will question how much man labor it will displace and how much it will create. We know it will affect the coal and transportation industries as well as change many from city to rural life. I am convinced after personal contact with a number of scientists that we will be able to produce and distribute electric power using such fuel as coal and oil and at a cost not to exceed that required in the utilization of water power. This is but one instance in which the old will give way to the new, to the common benefit of all.

My old friend who escorted me to this hall will agree with me when I say that I believe it is safe to say that in the steel industry today from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of the machinery now in use is obsolete. Of the two trades I was taught in my youth, one has been almost completely abandoned and the other is now destined to be replaced by modern machinery operated by electric power. In other words, three out of every four men will be displaced by this modern invention. Of course, work will be easier and it will no longer be necessary for men to swelter before the hot rolls and heated furnaces. The old makes way for the new.

If we recognize that from 35 to 50 per cent of the machinery now in use is obsolete, what shall we say of our obsolete buildings? Why should we cumber the ground with these outworn business buildings when modern, well constructed, fire-proof, well-lighted and properly air conditioned refrigerated buildings can now be produced to meet modern needs? If industry can absorb factories with obsolete machinery, we can surely find a way to absorb and displace obsolete buildings. The movement to raze these insanitary structures is well under way and if properly directed enough work for our people will be in prospect to keep our workers busy and prosperous for the next quarter of a century. It seems unfair that buildings constructed seventy-five years ago with construction labor paid not to exceed \$2.25 a day and often less should compete with modern sanitary buildings erected by men who receive a modern wage, especially when labor is idle and the country is still in the grip of the depression.

The refrigeration industry has been moving steadily forward during these depression years but as yet not more than

25 per cent of the potential field has been touched. We may well expect that the industry will make great progress in the sections of our country where the heat is at times unbearable. Unfortunately, buildings are being erected today which are already obsolete because they do not draw upon our modern resources in construction and materials. The erection of new modern buildings will lead to the reconditioning of many of our old buildings, such as in the case of the Chicago Tribune, which spent a quarter of a million dollars on its famous tower office and shop building to air-condition it.

One very important avenue of construction activity can be found in the field of adequate parking and service facilities for our automobiles. The problems of traffic congestion demand an increase of parking and service facilities. We should take advantage of this need even though drastic legislation may be required to effect a necessary plan. I suggest that all inadequate buildings in the congested centers of our cities should be razed to the ground, if possible through mutual agreement with the owners. If no agreement can be reached, the outworn and insanitary buildings should be condemned. The ground when clear should then be exempted from taxation and in accordance with the plans of the city government, service and parking areas should be opened up and managed by those following that line of business on a percentage basis. Charges for parking should be reduced, with a law permitting only brief temporary parking on the streets for strictly business purposes. Motor vehicles would generally be directed to park in the places so provided, rather than on the streets. After overhead charges are paid, taxes on a reasonable valuation of the ground should then be paid. The cost of razing the buildings should be considered. After the above payments have been made the balance of parking income should be used to build up the service or reduce the parking charge. Little objection would be raised to this plan for it would help to clear up congested sections of our heavy city traffic and decrease the cost of parking under present conditions.

From the standpoint of labor and business the important consideration is that it would furnish tenants to the half vacant modern business buildings of the country, return long delayed dividends to investors and give employment to millions of workers. This plan would give new hope to the men in the building construction groups, architects, building contractors and others and would give new impetus to the new air conditioning industry which should keep us steadily employed for the next quarter of a century. All of this can be brought about if we but agree that our streets should be used for transportation rather than for parking purposes. This plan would reduce the cost of parking, promote safety in transit, and help to bring prosperity to the construc-

tion and durable goods industries which will mean good times for all.

We are not going to return to normal times until the construction industry has more work done, and I point out to you today that if we did get a big private construction program going and joined with the Government in its program there would be a shortage of man power and our employers of labor will be saying, "Let us relax our immigration laws." Then the fight will be on not to relax our immigration laws so we could continue our prosperity and it should last for at least twenty-five years.

American labor will uphold our standard of living which is incomparably higher than that of the Orient and far in advance of any other part of the world.

To maintain our American standards of living we must hold firm to our national traditions of protective tariff. We have enough problems of cut-throat competition within our own borders now without inviting in more trouble from abroad. We must not fool ourselves into the belief that we can exchange our agricultural products in countries which are already surfeited with them. Moreover if we are to lose five dollars in international trade for every dollar we earn we shall find the exchange more costly than we can afford. We do well to remember that in all of the last fifty years in this country, despite occasional labor-baiting, black-listing and the use of strong-armed methods, conditions in the United States have always been, even at their worst, far superior to those of any other land. In upholding our standards we shall do well to follow the advice of President Green who has strongly affirmed that there is no place in this Federation for communism, fascism or nazism. To uphold our standards we cannot permit such wicked practices as the kick-back racket against which I expressed my opposition in the Federal legislation known as the Davis-Bacon Bill and on which the Government is now conducting an investigation. To uphold our standards we cannot permit the further running away of American money which is leaving this country in great sums every week although it is needed here.

Governmental domination of labor will bring no more success in this country than in those where it now prevails with the result that labor is in chains. There is no need in this country for Marxian communism with its teaching of class conflict and the despotism of the few. Let us retain our American principles of government, the free spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the protection of life and liberty accorded us in the Constitution of the United States. The American Federation of Labor must, and I believe will, assert its right of action through a sane program of education altogether devoid of violence. Labor

cannot now afford to shut down factories or discontinue work on building projects. Labor's whole-hearted effort must be concentrated on securing work to do and in breaking down the cost of production so that more money can be paid out in wages. Labor's part in the reduction of production costs must be recognized substantially through the advance of wage scales. State autocracy that has been tried in other countries will never be an acceptable substitute in this country for our industrial democracy. We must guard against the hand which gives a little, promising more while it takes away the rights and privileges of free men secured only after long centuries of desperate struggle by our fathers. We have more need for rugged individualism in this country than ever before but its rugged strength must be dedicated to the advancement of our common welfare.

I have ever been an optimist and I am still in the ranks of those who believe in the future of the American people. We have cause for optimism. Under the Constitution of the United States the people of this land in accordance with its principles of democracy, freedom and justice have established the most stable government to be found in the world today. Under this charter of liberty we have amassed the greatest wealth, the most widespread public education, the most liberal toleration in religion, and the highest standards of living recorded in the annals of American history. We have had more of the good things of life under our democratic form of government than any other people. Moreover the end is not yet. Properly administered, our human and material resources will yield a more bountiful fruitage in the future than in the past. Even the worst conditions which oppress labor in this country today seem favorable when compared with the ordinary conditions of other lands.

Favoring some of the policies of the Administration and differing with others, I have been less satisfied with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Act than almost any other feature. I was ill but was paired at the time it was passed. I do not favor the idea of attempting a return to prosperity by the destruction of useful commodities, nor can we hope to prosper by closing down our industrial plants in order to transfer that business to foreign groups with the expectation of selling our agricultural products to countries which are already overstocked with the very commodities which we wish to exchange.

The fundamental idea of the National Industrial Recovery Act was not new to me. Title I of the Act is similar to the bill which I introduced in the Senate in 1931 seeking to help in a reorganization of the bituminous coal industry. Three months' hearings were conducted on this bill which expressed the right of the worker to join an organization of his own choosing. While I am satisfied that

the Constitution guarantees this right yet as frequently expressed in the committee an emphatic declaration by Congress would make this doubly clear. The same statement applies to Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act which confirms the principle of collective bargaining. Any administration of the Government which will faithfully uphold the Constitution will uphold this right.

When I voted for the National Industrial Recovery Act I did so with the hope that its application would be confined to a few of our natural resource industries and that as the need for expansion became manifest it could be more generally applied and administered. This gradual development seemed more reasonable and in accord with our American principles than to expect one man with a few advisors to attempt an administration of all industrial America. Since I prepared my speech, we are informed a change has been brought about in the administration of the NRA. I am glad of it because it is too large a job for any one man. It is too much power vested in one person. If continued it will lead us to disaster with labor in a strait-jacket. Labor has struggled for many long years to achieve its collective rights. A workman has always been permitted to quit his job as an individual, knowing that if he did so his seniority and other rights would be lost, and he could never return to his old job—but the collective right of quitting work and the collective right to return to it is an essential part of the principle of collective bargaining. This right cannot be abrogated without labor's loss of cumulative rights developed throughout a century of struggle for economic freedom.

I believe in the kind of liberalism to which Lincoln dedicated his life. I believe in property rights but I hold that human rights are superior to property rights and that we cannot afford to neglect either. There is plenty of room under our Constitution for any liberal development which is in accord with the needs of our Republic. Our present trend towards mass protection looks in the right direction, but to achieve progress I firmly believe that each forward-looking measure should be tested on its own merit for its practical worth rather than to be blindly accepted because it seems theoretically right. Sufficient strength must be built up in Congress to determine practical policy and to sift the wheat from the chaff. Such progress as we have known in this country has come because practical needs have been met by practical men. This type of leadership is required today. New Deal or Old Deal, I shall stand for progressive enactments based on practical experience.

Under our Constitution we have always had a new deal. The poorest times which we have known under this Constitution would have been considered times of prosperity by many another na-

tion. To me our Constitution is the balance wheel of the nation. If at times our national life gets off balance we can restore our equilibrium through an amendment to the Constitution through the orderly processes provided in the document itself. The purpose of the Constitution is to hold us steady amid the storms of circumstances so that we shall have a government of law as well as a government of men. Under its steadying power we can be protected from the chance whims of inexperienced leaders or the despotic tyranny of those who would usurp the rights of the people. Our Constitution was written and adopted by men and it can be amended by men if necessary in order to meet our ever-growing human needs.

Many of the conditions which accompanied the prosperity of the last decade would not be permanently desirable. We cannot turn back the clock of history. We must move ever forward. We do not wish to return to the child labor of yesterday, to the aged dependent with no proper provision for their declining years, to the criminal lawlessness of yesterday or to class warfare and the violence accompanying strikes which still is deplorably with us. We must move forward in the school of experience, finding new solutions for the problems we have failed to solve while we hold firmly to the achievements which are already ours. Civilization advances as we leave behind the failures of the past, carry with us the successes of yesterday and reach up to the new levels of life and experience which now beckon us onward.

I want to conclude by saying that I personally know most of the men and women here in attendance at this American Federation of Labor convention. I have known them for years, and I have always found them to be loyal, true and active for the good they may bring to those who they represent. The list is too long, I will not name them, but I want to conclude by saying that William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, is one of our outstanding citizens; he is sane, he is safe, he is a progressive leader and has the respect and the confidence of not only all who know him but all of the great body of our people in general.

If the employers of the United States knew the men and women of this convention as I do, they would say, "Come and give us your support; help us with your organization; and let us march out of this depression we are now in back to the greatest prosperity the country has ever known."

President Green: On behalf of the delegates to this convention I wish to thank Senator Davis for his visit and for his address. According to the rules of the convention, the address will be printed in the proceedings of today's session.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees — Ames, Augustine, Baer, Bailey, Bale, Berry, Bertucci, Billet, Birthright, Bower, Boylan, Brennan, Brooks, Burr, Campbell, Covert, Cuthbert, Dahlager, Davison, Dent, Deane, Doll, Dowd, De Long, Draper, De Vese, Eby, Ellis, Fagan, Farrell, Fay (George V.), Flores, Freng, Gavlak, Geraghty, Garibaldi, Gorman, Gornto, Graham, Gresty, Graham, Hampton, Hartneady, Haskins, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Hillman, Holland, Horin, Horn, Holmes, Hirschfeldt, Kasten, Kelly (Horace), Kennedy (Thomas), Lauder (George), Lewis (J. C.), Lowry, Lucchi, Lyons, McInroy, McKenna, McMahon, Manash, Meany, Meyers, Mitchell (Humphrey), Mitchell (Richard), Money, Murray, Nathan, Nelson, Nickols, O'Brien (Paul), Olander, Quinn, Restine, Rice, Rogers, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwartz (Harry), Schwartz (H. W.), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Swan, Tuohy, Volkens, Wagner, Walsh, Watson (Spencer), Watson (H. M.), Wolfe, Woods, Yarnett, Yetta, Zaritsky.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

In accordance with information received from Chairman W. H. McHugh, of the Printing Pressmen's Delegation, your committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Clyde E. Bowen, as alternate for George L. Berry, 64 votes, and J. Herbert De La Rosa, as alternate for Edward F. McGrady, 64 votes.

We propose the substitution of James Maloney for W. W. Campbell, representing the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

We have examined the credentials of William W. Campbell, representing the Central Trades and Labor Council, Rochester, New York, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for communications.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.,
October 2, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Civic Center Auditorium,
San Francisco, California.

Greetings of the men's Union hat manufacturers of New York City. In conference today it was unanimously resolved that this is a minor industry, that you as a humanitarian will assist the fourteen thousand workers of this industry by appealing to your leaders now in convention to urge workers in the United States of America to foster work for the Union Hat Workers by wearing hats. Hatlessness is a curse to this industry and millions of union workers are supporting this scourge. We appeal to you to bring this matter to the floor of the convention and that all hats purchased shall bear the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. You have our fullest support.

Allied Hat Manufacturers, Inc.,
HENRY EISENSTADT,
Executive Secretary.

New York, N. Y.,
October 3, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Convention Assembled,
San Francisco.

Regret exceedingly I was unable to attend this convention. May your deliberations as in the past be uplifting to the toilers of the nation. My best wishes to all for the most successful convention of them all.

Fraternally,

ALFRED H. BILLET, Secretary,
United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

Phoenix, Arizona,
October 2, 1934.

American Federation of Labor,
San Francisco, California.

Wish to extend to each and all of you our sincerest best wishes for a most constructive and harmonious convention.

NUGGET C. CORNELL,
Secretary and Treasurer, Phoenix Arizona Labor Council.

Miami, Florida,
October 2, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor, in
Convention Assembled at San Francisco.

Organized Labor of Miami, Florida, sends greetings to the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of

Labor in session at San Francisco. May your deliberations redound to the benefit of the entire movement.

WALTER HOYT,
President, Miami Central Labor Union.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
October 1, 1934.

Convention American Federation of Labor,
San Francisco, California.

Our hearty best wishes for a successful convention. Here's hoping the future will see one hundred per cent organization of the American workers through the American Federation of Labor.

AGOSTINO ORLANDO, Secretary,
Local Union 142, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

President Green: Now we will proceed to the regular order of business, as I have announced it on several occasions. We will indeed be pleased to hear the address of Fraternal Delegate Stokes this afternoon. It might be well for me to refer to this fact in presenting Brother Stokes, that the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress have maintained a fraternal relationship covering a long, long number of years. We send our delegates representing the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress each year, and that great parliament of labor elects fraternal delegates to bring a message from the British trade unionists to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

To me this action is very significant indeed. It tends to preserve a fine point of social and economic relationship between the workers of Great Britain and of the United States of America, and of Canada. It is a fine tradition, and in my judgment it will be permanently maintained. I cannot help but believe that we will be able, through this relationship, to render a distinct service in the development of better international relations.

The American Federation of Labor and all of the workers connected with it are interested in the promotion of peace among all the nations of the world. We abhor war in all its forms, and at the present time it is my judgment that the workers of the United States and Canada and of Great Britain and of all Conti-

ental Europe must unite solidly in order to prevent what seems to be approaching war. We cannot allow those who are governed by a mad lust for power to have their way and to command the masses of the people to march out on the fields of warfare for the purpose of destroying each other. Surely our civilization has developed to the point where all that can be avoided, and I believe that it is the purpose and the spirit of the workers organized into trade unions in all the countries of the world to see to it that war shall never occur again.

I hope that our relationships will grow warmer and stronger. I trust that they will never weaken, and I hope that the message of Brother Stokes, and I am sure it will, will tend to cement further and in a much stronger way the fine bond of friendship and fraternal relationship which exists between our own country, the United States, and Canada and the working people of Great Britain. Brother Stokes comes to us as a trained trade unionist, one who has given his entire life in the service of trade unionism and of humanity. He has rendered a distinct service in the promotion of the economic, political and industrial welfare of the workers of Great Britain. He is an honored officer of an important organization affiliated with the British Trades Union Congress. He is Secretary of the London Glass Bottle Workers Trade Society, and comes to us as a trained veteran, one who will speak to you out of a life of experience.

I present to you our fraternal delegate, Brother J. Stokes, Secretary of the London Glass Bottle Blowers Society.

MR. J. STOKES

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President and fellow delegates: I would like to preface my remarks by first thanking your president for the very lucid explanation that he gave with regard to the fraternal relationships existing between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress. To me, indeed, it is really a great thing, as he says. For nearly forty years I have been a delegate to the Trades Union Congress, and I have watched the develop-

ments that have taken place, and I have appreciated the meeting wherever our Congress was held in England, of the American Federation's representatives. To me it was an honor to meet them, and I had hoped that some day I might have the opportunity myself of being able to attend the American Federation of Labor. Well, I have got here and no one is more pleased.

One of the most pleasing things that has been said by your president is that when he referred to the possibility of a repetition of the great catastrophe of 1914: We English-speaking peoples have a fundamental principle which will be maintained. I feel confident, by the fraternal feelings existing always between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress. I re-echo all that President Green has said to you relative to war.

Yesterday I was presented with a badge. I already had a badge. That was the badge of a guest, and I was delighted to have the guest badge removed, not that I thought it was in any way insignificant, but the badge of a delegate was pinned on me and that meant more to me than just merely being a guest. It meant really more to me than being the guest of America. I was a delegate then of your American Federation of Labor, and that appealed to me as something greater than perhaps some American citizens would think would be right. I will tell you why it appealed to me in that way. From my earliest boyhood I have had to live and struggle in the ranks of labor, and I know I am going to die in it, too, but a long way off yet, I hope.

I would like to say, Mr. President and fellow delegates, that it is with very great pride that I bring to you the fraternal greetings of the delegates of the British Trades Union Congress.

You will realize how great a pleasure it is to me when I tell you that as a delegate to our own Congress I represent one of the smallest unions in the country and I feel that I should not be able to justify myself, in my own mind, at least, for the honor paid me, if I did not remember that faithfulness with which I have endeavored to serve our union, and to be elected as one of our fraternal delegates by the free choice of our Congress is a recognition of the equality of opportunity which exists throughout the trade union movement.

I regret very much that my colleague, Mr. Walkden, was compelled to return to England. He would have been able to have given you more information probably than I should be able to give you concerning unemployment and social insurance generally. We both, however, are strongly of the opinion that matters affecting trade unionism and the better-

ment of the lives of the people are similar in both the United States and our own country.

We are both menaced with the same economic problems. I realize the menace of mass production, the inevitability of mass production, and the absolute necessity for the control and public service that should be rendered by our having some measure of control in that mass production.

As I have said, I am here as a fraternal delegate representing the element of craft unionism, which is historically the backbone of our great organized movement. Although I fully realize that craft unionism is slowly but surely being eliminated, there are, however, in England quite a number of small craft unions that have practically become the auxiliary to machine mass production. There are craft unions in our movement which have maintained a continuous existence for more than 100 years. Our commemoration of the Centenary of the Dorsetshire Laborers, about which my colleague, Mr. Walkden, would have told you more, has rather overshadowed other centenary celebrations this year.

But as Mr. Walkden is not present, may I venture to give you a little story of what we term the Tolpuddle Martyrs. It has been written up in history time and time again, but in my opinion the story bears repetition after repetition. It digs right down deep into the soul of every man and woman who takes a real active interest in trade union life. When one looks back over the past one hundred years he realizes that these agricultural laborers, religious men, and men of strong sentiment and religious feeling, had committed no crime beyond that of desiring to form an organization of those following the agricultural life. They were breaking no laws. Already, previously, conspiracy laws in England had been modified which enabled trade unions to have their being. All over the country trade unions were being formed. They were merely carrying out the dictates of their hearts and minds to be able to do that very thing which we are claiming to do as a right for every man and woman, to be able to secure some changes in their lives, to enable them to live better and more decently.

Their wages as farm laborers had been down to six shillings a week, and they were expected to maintain a family and live in a hovel that they called a cottage. All they sought to do was to form a branch of a union in which they would ask for an increase of that mere pittance. And what was the result? They were arrested and jailed by the squire of the Manor and all of the sycophants that lived around him, including the minister and others, who put the machinery of the law into existence, and they were arrested. Many of the trade organizations

that were trying to exist themselves strongly protested this action as being a break in the law imposed upon these men. Those who were in Dorsetshire were determined that they would crush every effort to form an agricultural workers' union. My comrade, Billy Ernst, possibly told you about it last year, but the story is worth repeating.

The consequence of their act finally landed them in Van Dieman's Land. That story I have told from the time I was twelve or fourteen years old. I read it and it impressed me, and it still remains to me one of the things that we can repeat to our children, the story of the courage of these men which has inspired some of us one hundred years later who are going on in this work. We can still repeat this story.

You will not have heard much on this side of the Atlantic about the centenary of our National Union of Vehicle Builders, an organization of craftsmen which has maintained its identity through a century of changes which have revolutionized the transport industry, and in which giant unions of transport workers have come into being. This Vehicle Builders Union started as a society of coachmakers with a few thousand members in the days before railways were built, before the advent of the mechanically propelled vehicle. It dates back to the days when the transport industry was represented by wood-working craftsmen in little wheelwright shops, and carpenters and joiners' shops in our little English villages, when the only vehicles on the roads were the great lumbering farm wagons, stage coaches, and the gigs and horse-drawn carriages used by the gentry.

This Union has developed its organization through all the changes that have taken place in the evolution of modern transport.

And I think I might emphasize the point here, because it is a point of importance in view of the discussions that have taken place, not only in your country but in ours, on the question of the craft unions. Today it has members in the railway shops, the automobile works and the aircraft factories, and many other factories developed along mechanical lines. This union still retains as its emblem the old emblem of the Coachmakers' Guild, going back to Tudor times.

Then we had this year the centenary of the union in the Shipbuilding Trades—the Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders' Society, whose Secretary, John Hill, was our fraternal delegate to your Buffalo Convention in 1917. This is another union of craftsmen which has maintained a vigorous life through a century of economic revolution affecting profoundly a great body of craftsmen.

I could tell you a lot, too, about the changes that have taken place in my own

trade and their effects upon my own organization, the Glass Bottle Workers' Trade Society. The glassmaking trades have been completely mechanized within my own lifetime, as a matter of fact, within the last twenty years. Less than twenty years ago there were twelve districts on the northeast coast of England, the south of Scotland and Lancashire with their local unions.

Not one of those districts are working today as glass bottle blowers by hand, the hand craftsmen being entirely eliminated through the so-called rationalization of the industry, and the introduction of automatic machinery. These automatic machines once started in operation go steadily on like Tennyson's babbling brook, three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. The automatic machines in the glass industry have affected more or less every section, little or large, only the very, very difficult and artistic work being left to the skilled craftsmen. However, our craftsmen's organization has kept its identity and has adapted itself to fundamental industrial changes. The trade union spirit has always been strong in our trade.

There were about nine thousand bottle blowers, and bottlemakers and laborers working in those twelve districts. My friends, the bottle blowers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will not be required to be told the effect of the machines. But when I tell you they introduced the automatic machines which only became profit-making during the war period in England, which was years after they had been introduced in America, I want you to note the significance of this point, that every Owens machine that was introduced into England displaced 90 skilled craftsmen and not one single person who was formerly employed as a bottle blower or a bottlemaker or a gatherer could be put into employment to aid the machines. I want you to realize the significance of a mechanical operation of that character.

It has always been our view that the machines, when introduced always provided some labor, but in this case it was an utter and complete severance from anything that was produced by craftsmen, purely and in its fullest sense automatic. In all of those twelve districts there are not five men working at their craft. It represents almost the complete wiping out of an industry. None of them found jobs, either, because the laborers who formerly helped and took the work away from the men now are replaced by the machines; it is taken away by the machine. But even part of their labor has been displaced. They have a continuous running belt to take the work away, instead of a boy, and so the annihilation of that particular section of the industry has been pretty complete. It has left a few hundred of us scattered in different parts of the country who have become an auxiliary to mass production.

We understood many years ago what they meant when they talked about rationalization and mechanization of industry. We had great difficulty persuading some of our colleagues it might happen to them some day, but it has happened, and they have rationalized themselves out of existence. I don't want to weary you with what has happened in regard to my own industry. It has happened so largely now to a good many others and it is a most painful experience and I don't want to prolong the agony.

The historians of trade unionism, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, state in their history that non-unionism was practically unknown among the flint glassmakers of the Midlands and the glass bottlemakers of Yorkshire, Lancashire and London over a long period of time. Trade unionism has flourished among the glass workers for quite a hundred years. It is a story of struggle and achievement which, before I die I am going to try to set down for the rising generations of trade unionists to read and ponder.

The historians recorded historically. We recorded economically, because there was a good deal of tightening up of belts. But it is perfectly true to say that as an organized body of workers we were very proud of the fact that no blackleg or scab or non-union person could get a job at any one of those factories where our men were. And in what factories there are to-day the non-union man cannot get a job because the management would say to him, "Do you hold a card in such and such a union?" and if he answers no they tell him he had better go and get one because he cannot get a job there. That is what we call 100 per cent organization, and I would like to see it everywhere. I would like to see the history of trade union organization in every trade and industry written out. It ought to be placed on record by the officers, by those who are competent to judge and record, as they do record in their minutes what is actually taking place. They are living the life, they know what is happening, and with all due respect to the college-trained historians I would prefer that my children and grandchildren and those who follow could read a record that has been made in history by the men and women who were able to record it in their own time and in their own industry.

But I am not concerned with the past only in bringing to you the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress. I will make only a brief reference in passing, therefore, to the fact that I am also associated with another phase of our trade union history, as treasurer of our London Trades Council, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, most active and influential of the Trades Councils, and one that is very much alive to-day, with a membership of over a quarter million members. We in no way cut across the British Trades Union Congress. As a

matter of fact, the British Trades Union Congress recognizes the Trades Councils throughout the country. Yearly a member of its General Council is present at the annual meetings of the Federation of Trades Councils. We have their guidance and we have proven to be very useful to the British Trades Union Congress, and we shall continue.

It will interest you to learn one of the big things—and I think it is a big thing we have done—was the successful organizing of the actors and actresses along the lines of the American Equity. This Equity which we have organized, composed of actors and actresses, has been making great progress. But we realize that the American Federation of Labor was our inspiration and guide in the formation of Actors Equity. We tender our thanks to the American Federation of Labor for that guidance and inspiration which we got from your movement.

The British Association of Actors and Actresses have been so successful that they now have their own journal. They have successfully held up theater managers and insisted on more than one occasion in preventing a play from being produced unless all of the performers were members of the British Actors Equity Association. We are all proud to have been able to tackle a thing of that character, especially when you realize the temperament of actors and actresses. The bigger the actor or actress the more enlarged is the temper and the more varying, too.

I mention the success of our efforts to organize actors and actresses and the entertainment industry generally as an illustration of a fact which ought to encourage us, namely, that trade unionism is infinitely adaptable and has lost none of the validity of its appeal to all whose livelihood depends upon their own labor, whether of hand or brain. In spite of what some people may say with regard to trade unionism and its inadaptability, I think the answer to that is that if you can organize actors and actresses and make them adaptable to trade unionism, then there is nothing left so far as I can see, of men and women who cannot be made adaptable to trade unionism. We think that it is so adaptable that we are appealing to all who have to earn their livelihood whether by hand labor or by brain, to join with us.

As economic evolution proceeds the engineering profession seems to be turning the world upside down. As new crafts and trades arise, as old-established staple industries change, Trade Union organization becomes more difficult but not the less necessary; on the contrary it becomes more indispensable and the need for it can be presented with irresistible appeal to every grade and class of workers, the white collar class as well as the wearer of overalls. Let us bear that in mind: the white collar class—the men who live

in the suburbs—the very highly respectable white collar class—but very poor persons, are now feeling very severely the rationalization of their labor in banks, insurance offices and other places of similar character where many of the older men have been affected through the introduction of adding machines, etc.

We are entering upon a phase of economic transition in which the hard manual toil that many of us have known from personal experience is being rendered unnecessary by progressive mechanization and more scientific organization of industrial processes. Not an industry or trade but what one finds this mechanization and rationalization going on with accelerated speed, and what are the results? I would like, here, to just make two quotations, and if these quotations which I am about to give to you had really arisen, and had been said by myself at a public meeting, it would in all probability have been disbelieved, or been said that I was a very hot air machine.

I will give you the name of the person I quote after I make the quotation, and I will give you the reasons why I make the quotation. This is what one very eminent industrialist in London said some few months ago. He was protesting most vociferously because a tax had been put upon crude oil which he used for his furnaces or which was used by the glass industry in their furnaces, and he was claiming that the government had imposed such a tax on them and that it ought to be removed. At the same time what he was arguing as well was this, that the tax should not be put upon oil, but upon all that goes into the manufacture of glass. This is what he said:

"Our very progress cursed us with excess capacity due to enlargement of plants or increased productivity per existing unit."

Now when I said something of the same kind when we were meeting with the employers they took no notice of it, but when Sir Max Bonn, the chairman, in his address to the Third Glass Convention that was held in England this very year made that statement, then the papers were full of it. When a British Trades Union official said the same thing they said he was a hot air merchant.

Let me just quote this one thing further. Here is another gentleman who was more concerned with distribution than he was with production and he says:

"There was overproduction owing to the multiplication of plants, though they were working at half speed. At the same time there was underconsumption from lack of a sane financial system capable of complementing productive with consumptive capacity.

"As a purely scientific device, mass production has undoubtedly been successful, but considered from its economic, financial, political and social aspects, it has led to much waste and complexity."

They wouldn't believe me, they would not believe any of you, but when the president of the Manchester Association of Importers and Exporters, who has fingers stretched out all over the world in making profits, find that the consumptive capacity has not reached up to the productive capacity, then you almost have tears of blood coming from them because it is interfering with their profits.

That is a pretty good example, I think, of what is happening all over the world, so far as I have been able to judge from the meetings I have had with my international comrades.

The views expressed by these two gentlemen to me are very convincing evidence of the menace of mass production, and we have, as trade unionists, to realize this. The old fashioned trade unionism which conceived its mission to be the organization of manual workers, the "horny-handed sons of toil" as they were often called, must come up to date. There are not many "horny-handed" today—the callouses are more often to be found on other parts of the anatomy.

Economic changes—brothers—and this is the point I want to emphasize—is not making trade unionism less necessary, but more necessary than ever it has been. What is the position? Is it not plain for all to see that the march of science and mechanical resources and equipment of every industry, while they have immeasurably increased productive capacity and made available a superabundance of all the material necessities of comfortable and decent living for all mankind, have not brought to the masses of the people in any country in the world, the benefits that ought to accrue?

We stand on the threshold of the age of plenty, the age of leisure, but some mysterious power forbids us to cross the threshold. We are held back, in sight of the Promised Land.

The leisure which the mechanization of industry should bring to the working classes comes to them not as leisure, but as unemployment. If there were time I could give you facts and figures to show how in the great staple industries, and in most of the industries and trades represented in this convention the working force has been reduced, and work once done by human hands is now performed by machinery.

And what are its effects? I will cite just one instance. At our British Trades Union Congress just a few weeks ago, the leader of our British Mine Workers organization told our Congress that whereas ten or twelve years ago there were over

a million workers in the mining industry, there are now less than three-quarters of a million.

The actual decrease in the number of mine workers since the war is approximately 400,000. Some of our mining districts have been devastated by unemployment, as if they had been ravaged by war. Whole townships have become derelict. I have been through some of the districts up in the northeast of England, and as you saw the people around their houses, it was just as if some great blight had settled all over. The government of England is really becoming alarmed about it, they have sent out a commission of inquiry. It needed no inquiry to walk through the streets where the miners and their wives lived to know that they were already subsisting upon relief, having recourse to unemployment benefit. It ought not require an inquiry, but still that is the way under the present reactionary British politicians. We know these changes are taking place.

But what is unemployment in the last analysis? It is nothing more nor less than a failure to distribute equitably and fairly the opportunities of employment and the benefits of increasing leisure; nothing less than a failure to regulate, adapt and plan our industries and trades so that prosperity shall be equally distributed and the wealth made available by modern methods of production equitably shared. This will take time. You cannot make complete changes in the economic life of the people like ringing up and down the curtain of a theater. That is obvious. You know at the theater the stage manager can have all his fellows at work and they stage that particular scene and up goes the curtain, and you see what has happened. Down goes the curtain and you have the next scene. But economic labor can only be changed by intelligent, scientific planning that will enable us to get a greater share, until there is a more equitable share of the benefits which will come into our labor power that we produce.

Please do not think that I have no respect for the efforts that are being made here in your country under the National Recovery Act. These efforts I appreciate, and I also know how you are having to fight to maintain your trade union status, too. It is not my business to tell you how to get on with your job. I do realize the task that lies before you and also the task that lies before the sincere politicians.

I happened to come through Manchester, New Hampshire on my way here and I saw some of my own relatives who were involved in the textile strike there. I learned something about the conditions that exist, and the wonder to me was that you have not only had a strike but that there has not been a revolution there to change the conditions which have prevailed in the textile industry. We have

to remember that we are living in a revolutionary age and if planning and adaptation of industries and trade is to be made, the engineer would play a prominent part. We shall not play a lesser part, however, for our trade union movement stands for the principles of social and economic reorganization which will satisfy the worker's demand for a square deal and will put an end to the dreadful mockery of people starving while food is wilfully destroyed and the producers of food are subsidized to produce none because the markets are glutted by overproduction. That is an intolerable state of affairs. It cannot continue.

The other day, when President Green was referring to the desirability, or rather the request that is being made by some of the employers of America to get back to some form of agreement such as they had in the war, it brought this thought to my mind—and may I emphasize the warning of President Green on that particular point. I know what our agreements were in England. I know how we had to wait until the opportunity presented itself to fight. I know how they started their company unions when there was an alteration in the trade union law, and before that time, too, and I want to back up what was said by President Green, that we have got to steadfastly maintain a complete antagonism to company and communist unions. We have got to maintain that we have the inalienable right to collective bargaining, we have the inalienable right to appoint our representatives to put forth our interests where they belong; that no manager or employer has a right to pick or choose any man from the works to put forward the views of those particular people in those works. Those views should only be expressed by the appointed representatives of the trade unions who are recognized in the proper orthodox way, and not by any others.

Might I just right here, Mr. President, give a personal experience of my own as to the effects of poverty and semi-starvation, what it means and what it impresses upon the mind of a young boy. I myself went into London at about ten years of age after a fairly decent life as a small boy, well-bred and well-clothed. The great depression took place in England in 1878. My father had earned big money and he had a big family. Finally we were left stranded in London, my mother with six children. One actually died from semi-starvation, and, young boy as I was, I swore that I would never rest satisfied in my life until such time as I had done my share to prevent the thing occurring to any other of my class.

It was many years afterward that I realized what that really meant. That not only meant insurrection, it was about the nearest approach to turning a young boy into a criminal that anyone could conceive of, and when you realize the importance of it, when you realize the

criminality that goes on in all the countries of the world, you will realize that poverty has originated more damnable crime in the world than any other disease.

I go further and say this, and I say this to the great capitalists of the world, that unless they are prepared to go hand in hand with the leaders of the trade unions, sitting around the table and negotiating with them, if a bloody revolution occurs the blame is on their shoulders and not on the shoulders of the workers of the world.

It is not as if the present situation presents any real feature that baffles solution. The fundamental fact is very simple. This simple fact is that the economic system has broken down, not on the production side but on the side of consumption. And policies which deal with the problem from the production side are fore-doomed to failure because the real problem is to find a way of increasing the consumers' power to consume. At the present time the means to consume reaches the masses of people only through the productive system, in the form of purchasing power distributed to them as a reward for work done. If your productive system doesn't want your work, it doesn't give you purchasing power, and if the system goes on producing, without providing the consumers with the means to consume, you are bound to get to the state of affairs that exists today.

It is the only logical analysis.

There are many intelligent people who are now saying that if the purchasing power given as wages for work done is not sufficient to cause the product to be consumed, then purchasing power must be increased by other methods.

I am an old Socialist, a Socialist of the school of thought represented by the old Social Democratic Federation and I was taught that the surplus value produced by the wage-worker over and above what he required to maintain himself and his family, ought to be appropriated to the uses of the community and distributed in social benefits which were to be made available for the equal enjoyment of all. I say to this gathering of trade unionists that that Socialist principle has become the obvious and sole solution of our economic and industrial crisis. It is the claim made by those who own the means of production, distribution, and exchange that nobody shall work without paying tribute to them in rents, interest, and profits, and that wages shall be given only in return for work, that has produced the present crisis, with its revolting contrasts of poverty in the midst of plenty, of people starving whilst wealth is wasted. The thing can be brought to an end at once by tackling the problem from the consumers' side and disregard-

ing, as they ought to be disregarded, the selfish stupidities of the class that owns and controls the means of production and dictates the terms and conditions upon which production may proceed.

I have felt it necessary to say these things, as one trade unionist to his fellow trade unionists, because I believe this fundamental conflict of interest between the small group of people who own and the great mass of the community lies at the root of our present troubles. I find in it the explanation of the strange phenomenon of Fascism and Hitlerism, about which my colleague will speak to you. Walter Citrine will tell you how we regard this phenomenon in Europe, and I am not going to encroach in any way upon that which I know he has to tell you, but I don't think I ought to refrain from saying just one thing, and it is a point which deserves to be emphasized by every speaker at trade union meetings. One of the attractions held out by Fascist and Nazi governments is that complete economic recovery can be brought about by the destruction of the orthodox trade unions. Ever since 1893 I have been an International trade union representative on the Continent. The only time I have not been on the Continent was during the war period and the years which followed, and I have therefore had an opportunity of talking with my Continental fellows. We have discussed Nazism and Fascism and I have told them of the tricks which have been dangled out to the people for the purpose of convincing them that their course is the right course to follow. One of the things they say to these poor people is that these trade union leaders are the very people that are holding you down, with their trade union ethics, but once we take control we will be able to solve some of these economic problems. Of course in itself that is a lie. I am not going to call it a fallacy, I am going to call it by its proper name, a downright lie!

And I say to you that Fascism is a reflection in politics of this profound struggle going on in the economic sphere—a struggle in which the trade union and labor movement of the world is finding an identity of purpose and unity of spirit we have not known before, and which, perhaps, in spite of ourselves, will make us yet one great community. The meetings of our British Congress were really truly international. There is an international solidarity present in your convention. Let it grow. Join hands with us. We need your help, and we can help you.

I have already had occasion to meet and co-operate with a representative of the American trade union movement, in the International Federation of Glass Workers, who was present at Geneva, where the first steps were taken to secure a convention dealing with four continuous shifts in the sheet glass industry.

And here might I just take your time for a few minutes in explanation of what that is, because sooner or later industry will be faced with a proposition which concerns very directly continuous industry; that is to say, industry in which there is no cessation of time. A small number of hours is worked. You can work it down, as we have done under this convention, and it requires legalization by the different unions who agree to 40 hours per week with full pay. But you see they go all around the clock. When the machine gets started it just goes on and on and on, like Tennyson's babbling brook. There is no stopping.

When you begin to calculate and analyze continuous industry at this time you will have to be careful that you do not get jockeyed into a false position because it is a continuous process industry.

I am sure that my brothers in the glass trade will be interested in that point which I have mentioned, and I hope the contacts which we established at that time will be renewed. I understand that the American Flint Glass Workers Union has been responsible for a resolution adopted by one of your previous conventions which has been considered by your Executive Committee, and which aims at a larger measure of international co-operation. It is only right to say that in Britain we regard the entry of the United States into the international labor organization as a step of the highest importance. I only hope that it will lead your great trade union movement into still greater and closer association with our movement at home and on the European continent.

We have Nazism on the Continent and we have Fascism on the Continent, and strong efforts are being made by the trade unions to maintain their status. We heard our comrade tell the other day of what is happening in Austria. I have had personal knowledge of what is happening in Vienna and Austria, to the extent that many of my comrades have been shot down, young students whom I have known. I tell you it makes me pretty angry when I think of what has been happening.

We have been pretty secure from it here in England and in the States, but the thing has the unhappy attitude of developing. We have to fight it, we have to show that we know how to fight it, and the way in which it can be fought is through the trade union movement. The trade union movement, in my opinion, is the one great bulwark between Fascism and Nazism, and when we look around we see what is happening; we see that a great change is taking place. A period of history is coming to an end in convulsions of terrorism and bloodshed.

Our appeals to what is rational, tolerant and human may seem for the time

being to have lost their significance, and that the gangsters will continue to rule by the method of the assassin and tyrant. It will not be so. I am as firmly convinced now as ever I was that our ideals of political liberty, Democratic progress and free citizenship will arise out of this orgy of madness and murder, that reason will resume its sway over the minds of men, and that justice and the reign of law will be re-established in those countries.

It is to the labor movement of the world that the peoples of the world will turn, and we, or those who follow after, will not fail them in our efforts to obtain government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

President Green: I am sure that Brother Stokes appreciates the fine response you have made to his magnificent address, and your expression of appreciation speaks more eloquently and convincingly than anything I could say. I merely wish to add to this fine demonstration of approval and appreciation my sincere thanks, as the presiding officer of the convention, for this splendid, instructive and interesting address which he has just delivered. It will become a part of the permanent proceedings of the American Federation of Labor.

I want to add just another word, that I hope his stay with us will be pleasant and profitable, and that he will return to Great Britain carrying with him the finest memories of a most delightful visit with us.

I thank you.

Now I want to present to you one of us. You know the Canadian trade union movement as represented by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is really a part of our great American Federation of Labor. We do not recognize that there is any line of distinction between the organized workers of Canada and of the United States. As evidence of that fact, it would be most difficult for a stranger to follow the line geographically separating the United States from Canada, and find out where it is located. There is no evidence of a line anywhere. There are no guns, there are no forts, there are no evidences of war or war implements set up for the purpose of maintaining a frontier, and I am

certain, I am confident, that it is the fixed and unalterable purpose of the working people of the United States and Canada to maintain that friendly, hospitable relationship, and to see to it that there will never be a war between those two nations, those two countries who have ever lived in friendship with each other.

Brother Dunn comes to us as a member of a great organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He is a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He was elected by the Trades and Labor Congress, authorized and commissioned to bring to us the fraternal greetings of our fellow workers across the Canadian border. It is indeed a very great pleasure to present to you Brother William Dunn, President of the Toronto Labor Council, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. WILLIAM DUNN

(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President and fellow delegates: At the beginning I want to thank you, President Green, for making the task so much easier for me. You know when one follows a speaker like Brother Stokes, who comes from a foreign country—I was assured yesterday that Canada is not a foreign country—it makes the task a little difficult. You, Mr. President, have made it much easier for me.

I have been honored by my fellow trade unionists in Canada with the responsibility of carrying to the American Federation of Labor the fraternal greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The close bond of relationship and the mutual understanding which exists between the workers of our countries and the high esteem which we in Canada hold for the American Federation of Labor, tends to render the task easier of accomplishment and places the emphasis on the honor rather than on the task.

The social and industrial problems which from time to time face you are largely the same problems as face us, and differ only in degree or in the facilities at our command in dealing with them. We have in our country boundless natural resources as you have and our working people are just as poor. The percentage of our population eking out a bare existence on Governmental or municipal relief funds is as high in Canada as it is in the

United States. Like you, we have a small percentage of moneyed people and their influence on the Government is great. And, like you, we have the International Trade Union Movement, which so far has been the most effective medium at our command for the advancement of our cultural, educational, economic and social welfare.

We in Canada are ever willing to learn from the example, the experiments of other nations, and I wonder if I may be permitted even at the possibility of treading upon what may seem to be dangerous ground to state just briefly what we in Canada see taking place in the United States.

We have watched carefully the operation of your National Industrial Recovery Act and some of us have marveled at the change of policy and the entire discarding of many of the principles which we had come to regard as typifying the internal social policy of the United States. In your newspapers and periodicals which filter into our country it is very seldom we read nowadays any reference to that somewhat indefinite thing which was termed "Rugged Individualism" in the United States, and in its place we find an ever increasing dependence upon governmental interference and State and Federal co-operation in matters heretofore regarded—as I believe you Mr. Mellon once put it—as the patriotic prerogative of private initiative—whatever that may be.

Those who control the industrial and financial life of Canada are not given to using quite such explosive language, but in effect they mean the same. They call it the right of private enterprise to reap the full reward of its industry. The rights of the workers are held to be minor considerations only to be taken into account when the God-given rights of capital have been satiated. As I say, we have been watching what is taking place in the United States and we have not been entirely impartial. It has seemed to us that a great many of the workers in the United States have come to realize that the phrase which I quoted, and many others like it, is merely the economic wool being pulled over the eyes of the workers to blind them to their true position in society. Unfortunately, this condition still exists both in your country and mine, as is evidenced by the fact that so many workers still refuse to recognize the great advantages to be gained through the use of their collective bargaining power.

Closely following your NRA experiment we find the Government of the Province of Quebec taking a step in the direction of fixing a minimum wage for men in all industries. They are slowly seeking a way to social justice through a maze of political intrigue and hindrance set up by unscrupulous profit seekers. In the

Province of Ontario we expect to see enacted a somewhat similar attempt to set a wage for men in all industry. In Ontario they are fortunate in that the Deputy Minister of Labor, who has charge of the framing of the Act, is a former general organizer of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, one who, as a matter of fact, resigned his position with the Carpenters' Union to take up his high post in the Ontario Government. What will be the effect of this legislation we can only surmise, but at least the fact that one of ourselves is doing the ground work makes us feel more secure. This Act will differ from the NRA in that it will have the power of the courts for its enforcement and will bear down equally hard on the employer who seeks to pay less than the legal minimum and the worker who tries to undermine his fellow worker by accepting less than the legal minimum, either in the regular way or through the various forms of short-circuiting with which you are all familiar.

For many years in Canada we have had Acts guaranteeing a minimum wage for women workers, and it is notable that the many violations of this Act generally occur in shops and factories where the workers are poorly organized or entirely unorganized. And so we have been busy organizing in all trades because we have long since realized that the best wages are paid and the best conditions enjoyed in those places where they have the best organizations. We must realize that even if our movement has the paternal blessing of Governments, "Eternal vigilance is still the price of Liberty," and the wage you receive is a reflection of the strength of your organization and not a measure of the generosity of a kindly Government.

The task of improving—even of maintaining—the lot of the worker under our present price system of economy is a difficult and slow one. The road is strewn with many obstacles, not the least of which is that cry of narrow nationalism which the pseudo patriots raise. You have heard the cry America for the Americans. In our country it is Canada for the Canadians.

This, remember, in spite of the fact that (according to the latest available figures) out of the total investments which constitute the national wealth of Canada of \$30,840,000,000, \$2,204,000,000 is British, \$6,477,000,000 is United States and \$165,000,000 from other countries. Out of the total of Canadian investments abroad of \$1,831,000,000, \$1,047,000,000 is placed in the United States, \$84,000,000 in Great Britain. Of the total business capital employed in Canada of \$17,500,000,000, 65 per cent is owned in Canada, 21 per cent is owned in the United States of America, 13 per cent in Great Britain, and 1 per cent in other countries. In 1932 Canada sent to the United States \$226,000,000 to

pay interest and maturing debts. This was a comparatively easy matter when exports to the United States were high, but when trade fell off and payments had to be made in gold it was more difficult.

In the prosperity days of 1929 it is estimated that the tourist trade brought \$308,000,000 to Canada. This is more money than Canada received for her entire wheat exports of that year. In 1932 the tourist trade had dropped to \$110,000,000 and, of course, the great bulk of tourists in Canada are from the United States of America.

I may be criticized at home for using these figures, but one must know and understand the extent of capitalism before attempting a solution. At least these figures (and they are issued by the Canadian Government) prove conclusively that while we in Canada are most closely knit by birth and custom and tradition to our Mother Country, nevertheless our strongest economic bonds are with the people of the United States. It is not strange that we should seek to build up strong trade unionism in which we of both countries should mingle at least as freely as does the capital of both countries.

Money is not patriotic. The owners of large amounts of capital place it where it will return most profit. And while we are glad to borrow money from you and you are not averse to accepting interest, still that nationalism is again evident. I suppose if we lived under a sensibly planned economy the North American continent would be classed as one economic unit with perhaps economic divisions extending from the Arctic Circle to the Gulf, one east, one central and one west. Instead, we have states and provinces, and frontiers, and political divisions galore. The boundary which extends for three thousand miles between your country and mine has often been called the imaginary line. True it is only imaginary so far as goodwill and neighborly relations are concerned. But as an economic division it is something very real. Both countries have set up tariff walls along that border and about the only thing that gets through either way without paying an enormous duty are fraternal greetings.

It is, of course, imaginary when we come to consider the extent of the influence which United States newspapers and United States moving pictures exert in Canada. Fifty thousand copies of the United States newspapers are sold every day in the Maritime Provinces of Canada where the total population does not exceed 800,000. This may be because of the fact that geographically they are close to large American centers. And I may say that we are not at all boastful of the sort of influence which many of the movies and tabloids would be likely to exert if we did not set up some kind of censorship. It is also notable that many

of the better class magazines, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, Current History, and so on, cater to the Canadian trade by carrying articles relating to Canadian life.

We appear to have found out that neither of our nations can live on our own resources and we are slowly but surely breaking down national prejudice and installing in its stead the family feeling which is bound to exist where there is community of interest. President Roosevelt decides to take a vacation on the Canadian coast of New Brunswick and it doesn't even make the front page. We take such things for granted. And we in the Trade Union Movement who spend our time trying to make Canada a better place for human beings to live in, to instill a code of ethics in our social and business relationships, realize that the greater success we have in this work and the greater honor and dignity we can bring to our movement, the greater will be the respect and esteem which will be shown us by the people of the United States.

The United States has not always been content to rely upon people from the United States, although they say "America for Americans." Quite a number of years ago the Labor Movement reached up into Canada and brought a young fellow named Frank Morrison down into the United States, and he is still serving you as your Secretary. Our loss has most certainly been your gain in that case.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has less than three weeks ago concluded its Golden Jubilee Convention in Toronto. While Labor organizations in Canada have existed since 1827, it was not until 1883 that the first representative gathering of trade unionists was held. Then came a lapse of three years, after which the Congress met annually, and we are justly proud of the fact that for over fifty years the work of raising the standard of living of our people has been aggressively carried on. During that time we have seen many movements spring up, mushroom-like, and threaten our existence for a short time and disappear as quickly as they came. The year just closed recorded a substantial increase in membership and the placing by the Congress of a number of Charters for Industrial Unions where there is no International Union with jurisdiction.

The policy of the Congress with regard to political action remains unchanged. While we have on many occasions gone on record as being in favor of a system of society in which production would be carried on for use and not for profit, and have more than once given our blessing to a Labor Political Party, we have been content to apply all our efforts towards the industrial organization of workers and leave our members free to follow the politics of their own choosing.

A notable service was also rendered in connection with this convention. The monthly journals of most of the Unions have this year carried an account of the sacrifice made by the Tolpuddle Martyrs. After the martyrs were reprieved, they returned to England, but found it difficult to remain there and five of them emigrated to Canada.

They spent the remainder of their lives there and today lie buried near London in the Province of Ontario. Brother Stokes has told you of the lowly huts in which they lived and of how they had to exist on the barest necessities of life. In contrast with this, on September 12, last, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held a banquet in the largest and most luxurious hotel in the British Empire, in honor of these lowly farmhands who taught us how to sacrifice. At this banquet were descendants of the five martyrs and it was the most impressive occasion one could imagine as the great gathering listened to a radio broadcast of the old story.

Then, on the following Saturday, we held a pilgrimage to the grave of George Loveless at Siloam. Over his grave we sang the hymn that was written by him while he was held in bondage, and which, after a hundred years, is still an inspiration and a call to greater efforts. Listen to it:

God is our Guide, no swords we draw;

We kindle not war's battle fires.

By reason, union, justice, law,

We claim the birthright of our sires.

We raise the watchword "Liberty;"

We will, we will, we will be free.

It seems to me, Mr. President, we have much to thank those old pioneers for that one verse contains all the principles for which we stand. During that symbolic service at the grave of George Loveless were two other George Lovelesses, one a grandson, the other a great grandson and relatives of James Brine and the Standfields. The fraternal delegate from Britain, Brother Marchbank, brought over some loam with him from the graves of James Hammett in England and in a most impressive ceremony the soil of England was blended with the soil of Canada.

The Congress maintains relations with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and a host of other organizations and also takes an active part at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organizations at Geneva. A legislative program is each year prepared by the Executive Council from resolutions passed at the Congress and presented to the Federal and Provincial Governments, and it is noteworthy that almost every piece of Labor and social legislation to be found on the statute books of Canada had its beginning in the sessions of our Congress.

The question of unemployment and relief for the unemployed is still the most serious problem facing us today in spite of the efforts of Governments to stimulate trade. Our Federal Government has announced a building program costing some \$40,000,000, an amount totally inadequate to meet the situation. This forty millions will be provided by the issue of new currency and thus add nothing to the tax burdens of the country, but it will be interesting to watch the effect of even this mild form of inflation on the country's currency. We have asked for the enactment of legislation for a maximum eight-hour day and forty-hour week for all industries and the adoption of a maximum six-hour day on relief works and Government undertakings.

And now may I conclude, as I started, by offering the most cordial greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. We wish you Godspeed in your work, and hope and trust that the decisions arrived at in this most important convention will be of that high and noble quality we have come to regard as characteristic of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Brother Dunn, I ask you to accept this demonstration on the part of the delegates and officers as an appreciation of your address. You have conveyed to these delegates very much information that is of value, and I know will be highly appreciated. We are indeed glad to welcome you here. We want you to know that you are among your friends, and we ask you to carry back to the Organized Labor movement of Canada, to its members, their dependents and their families, the greetings and well wishes of the Organized Labor movement of the United States.

At five o'clock, upon motion of Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors, the Convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Thursday, October 4.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

San Francisco, Calif.,
October 4, 1934.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Ames, Augustine, Anderson, Baer, Bailey, Bale, Bertucci, Billet, Bower, Bunting, Burns (Michael J.), Burr (R.), Covert, Cuthbert, Davison, Dent, De Veze, Doane, Doll, De Long, Dowd, Ellis, England, Fay, Flores, Freng, Gaviak, Geraghty, Garibaldi, Gorman (B. A.), Gorman (Francis J.), Gornto, Graham (Fred J.), Gresty, Graham (James D.), Hampton, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Hillman, Holland, Horan, Horn, Holmes, Hirschfeldt, Hoocker, Inglesias, Jackson (George B.), Joel, Johnson (Cecil O.), Kelly (Horace), Lauder, Lewis (J. C.), Lowry, Lucchi, McInroy, McMahon, Manash, Meany, Meyers (Charles A.), Mitchell (Humphrey), Mitchell (Richard A.), Money, Murch, Nathan, Nelson, O'Brien (Paul), O'Brien (T. J.), Olander, Phillips (John A.), Pitner, Porter, Quinn, Restine, Rice, Rogers, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwartz (Harry), Schwartz (H. W.), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Swan, Tuohy, Wagner, Walsh, Watson (Spencer), Watson (H. M.), Wolfe, Wood, Woods, Wright, Yarnett, Yetta.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Madsen reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credential and recommend that the delegate be seated:

Seranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—George Dorsey, 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green appointed Delegate Kovesleski and Delegate Woodmansee a committee to escort Col. Wood Axton of Louisville, Ky., to the platform.

In introducing the speaker, President Green said: We have with us this morning an employer of labor who is sympathetic with the aims and purposes of the

American Federation of Labor. He is a manufacturer who is known nationally by the men and women of labor. He pioneered some years ago when he entered into an agreement with the representatives of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That agreement provided for the employment of union labor for the manufacture and sale of a nationally known product of union labor. He has a brief message this morning, and I am going to present to you Colonel Wood Axton, President of the Axton-Fischer Tobacco Company, of Louisville, Ky.

COLONEL WOOD AXTON

Mr. President, Fellow Citizens and Friends:

This is not the first time that I have been honored by the American Federation of Labor. When you held your convention in Cincinnati some years ago, your great president, Samuel Gompers, whom I considered a personal friend, honored me with an invitation to address your convention. Today your great president, William Green, has repeated that honor. As I look at the pictures of Sam Gompers and Will Green above this platform and the wonderful picture of our great president of the United States, I feel highly complimented to be here.

Here in this audience I see E. Lewis Evans, president of the Tobacco Workers International Union of America. It was over thirty-five years ago that Mr. Evans came to my factory to organize it. I can say to the benighted employers of labor who think organized labor is bad, that after operating a union factory for thirty-five years, Mr. Evans and I are still friends.

In looking over this gathering of delegates who have been selected to come to this convention to help work out our economic problems, I see some who can remember when the man on the farm cut his wheat with the scythe and cradle and flailed it out on the barn floor. When the planing mill, if any, was a very crude affair, a sanding belt unknown. When we had no telephones, electric lights, no generators or steam hoists, no power elevators, and a thousand other labor-saving

machines we now have were unknown in the memory of many men here.

Today in our factory we have machines that can make as many cigarettes in a minute as a skilled workman can make by hand in a day. I think I am understating when I say that a million men working in the different branches of industry can produce as much as ten million men could fifty years ago, which is another way of saying that the average man can produce ten times as much as he could then, at which time the percentage of profit was enough. Therefore, if men are producing ten times as much as they did fifty years ago they must have ten times as much purchasing power, for if labor produces ten times as much, and can only buy back five times as much, we are going to have so-called overproduction, and unemployment is sure to result. Then purchasing power vanishes, which means more unemployment. This soon produces the vicious circle we found ourselves in two years ago.

Patents on labor-saving machinery were not granted to throw men out of employment, but rather to lighten their labors and give them more comforts and luxuries. I do not believe that a man should do the work of a horse, or do that which can be done by machinery. We must go forward and not backward. I do know that a bigger share of what labor produces should go to the producer. When I say producer I refer to the farmer as well as the industrial worker.

I am not so much interested in the money wages paid for labor today as I am in the real wages paid. What I mean by real wages is the amount of products you can buy back with the wages received. After all, if we are ever to have a return of prosperity in this country the producer must have enough to buy back the products of his labor.

I am referred to as an employer of labor. I am not an employer of labor. The people who buy the products of our factory are the real employers of labor. When people cease to buy our products, or the products of any other factory, employment ceases in the same proportion as purchasing power ceases. After all, labor is the largest employer of labor we have in this or any other country.

I only manage the factory—if I am unable to manage that factory without taking our profits out of the pay envelopes of the workers, or chiseling the consumer, then the sooner I get out of business the better. That's what brought on this depression. There has been too much "take out" in business. Some of you have been in poker games and know that when the keeper of the "kitty" has too long an arm and keeps reaching for the yellow chips, the game soon breaks up. Monopolies

have too long been the keeper of the "kitty"—their long arms raking in the chips.

The problem we are facing today is not one of overproduction, but rather one of underconsumption. There can be no overproduction of food when people are hungry, no overproduction of clothing with people in rags. The coal miners, hungry and underfed, sit in idleness upon untold millions of tons of coal, while people in the cities suffer from cold.

No, my friends, it is not a question of overproduction, but one of underconsumption. I honestly and sincerely believe the best solution yet offered is the one advanced by your worthy president—reduce the hours of labor to the point where all who desire to work shall have that opportunity—to which I most heartily subscribe.

I feel tremendously honored to be here. I think the safety of the business of this country is in the constant employment of people and not in profits that will pay dividends on money that is not invested in any business whatever.

President Green: On behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance and in your name I thank Colonel Axton for his address this morning. It is mighty refreshing indeed to have an employer of labor who has maintained contractual relations with organized labor for thirty-five years come and tell us that he has found, as a result of that experience, that it is better to deal with organized labor than to antagonize it and fight it.

We are glad indeed to have Colonel Axton endorse our proposal for the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week. That is refreshing, for there are very few employers who would come to this platform and make that declaration. We thank you.

President Green asked if any of the convention committees were ready to report. Secretary Morrison called the roll of committees, but none was ready to report.

Several chairmen of committees announced the time and place of meeting for their respective committees, and asked those interested in subjects to be considered to appear at such meetings.

President Green announced a meeting of the Executive Council for 2:30 o'clock p. m. on the roof of the Whitecomb Hotel.

The President also announced that Secretary of Labor Perkins and Divisional Director Rosenblatt would address the convention Friday forenoon.

The Entertainment Committee announced that the tour of the Bay, previously arranged for, would start at 11

o'clock and that the return would be at 5 o'clock p. m.

No further business coming before the convention, at 10:15 o'clock, upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 5.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, California,
October 5, 1934.

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees — Alteire, Ames, Augustine, Bailey, Bale, Bertucci, Billet, Bower, Covert, Cuthbert, Davison, Dent, Doane, Doll, Dowd, De Long, Draper, De Vese, Ellis, Fay (George V.), Finnan, Flores, Freng, Gaylak, Gorman (B. A.), Gorman (Francis J.), Gornio, Graham (Fred J.), Gresty, Graham (James D.), Hampton, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Hillman, Holland, Horan, Horn, Holmes, Hirschfeldt, Iglesias, Jackson, Jenkins, Joel, Kelly (Horace), Lewis (J. C.), Lowry, Lucchi, McInroy, McMahon, Manash, Meany, Meyers, Mitchell (Richard A.), Money, Murch, Mitchell (Humphry), Nathan, Nelson, O'Brien (Paul), Pitner, Quinn, Restine, Rice, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwartz (Harry), Schwartz (H. W.), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Swan, Tuohy, Wagner, Walsh, Watson (Spencer), Wolfe, Wood (R. T.), Woods (G. E.), Yarnett, Yetta.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Boulder City, Nevada. Central Labor Council—D. W. Jackson, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Montreal, Que., Canada,
October 5, 1934.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor,
Convention Headquarters,
San Francisco.

The Montreal Trades and Labour Council wish the convention the best of success in their deliberations and cordially invites

the American Federation of Labour to hold their 1935 convention in the city of Montreal.

G. R. BRUNET.

President, Montreal Trades and Labour Council, Mount Royal Hotel.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
October 4, 1934.

American Federation of Labor
Convention, San Francisco.

May your deliberation achieve unlimited success.

Williamsburg Branch Dressmakers' Union, Local 89.

PETE BONANNO,
Acting Manager.

San Francisco, California,
October 3, 1934.

Mr. William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Convention Headquarters,
Civic Auditorium,
San Francisco, California.

As a representative of the National Industrial Council of the Young Women's Christian Association, I have been asked to attend the meetings of your convention and to bring you greetings.

In our national convention held in May, 1934, the National Young Women's Christian Association wrote into its Public Affairs program the following resolutions:

"To uphold the right of all individuals to organize for their own and the common good, giving practical aid and encouragement especially to those groups which the Young Women's Christian Association has discovered from its own experience to be most in need of assistance, namely:

a. Industrial, household and white-collar workers in their efforts to build a vigorous and responsible labor movement.

b. Agricultural workers as they strive to organize for collective action.

c. Consumers' groups for their own protection and in order that they may take a responsible part in the Government's program to raise the economic level of the country."

In view of these resolutions taken by our National organization, we are eager that American Federation of Labor conventions have a representative of our National Industrial Council in attendance, that a direct report of your convention may be made to our groups. We hope

that in the future American Federation of Labor conventions, fraternal delegate credentials may be conferred upon the representative of our group.

Fraternally,

MIGNON BECK,
Representing National Industrial
Council, Young Women's Chris-
tian Association.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, who is prepared to make a partial report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Organization is ready to report on all matters referred to it, both from the report of the Executive Council and the resolutions. Brother Burt is Secretary of the Committee and he will submit the report.

Delegate Burt, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Under the caption "Organizing Work and Problems," the Executive Council makes a detailed report on the following matters:

Fear.

Company Unions.

Organization Carried into New Fields.

Rubber Tire and Rubber Manufacturing.

Automobile Manufacturing.

Aluminum Workers.

1. Progress and Extent of Organization.
2. Organization and the NRA.
3. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Lumber and Sawmill Workers.

1. Progress and Extent of Organization.
2. Organization and the NRA.
3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.
4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Coke and Gas Industry.

Cement Industry.

Flour, Feed, and Cereal Workers.

Electrical Manufacturing Industry.
Cleaning and Dyeing Trade.

1. Extent and Progress of Organization.
2. Organization and the NRA.
3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.
4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Office Workers' Unions.

Soap and Glycerine Industry.

Canning Industry.

Agricultural Workers.

Gasoline Filling Station Workers.

1. Extent and Progress of Organization.
2. Organization and the NRA.
3. Progress of Collective Bargaining.
4. Prospects and Needs for the Coming Year.

Wholesaling Industries.

Theatrical Ushers, Ticket Sellers and Similar Employees.

Funeral Supply Industry.

Athletic Goods.

Button Industry.

Other Industries in which are included:

Neckwear Workers.

Dental Technicians Workers.

Toy Workers.

Merchandise Warehouse Employees.

Retail Store Employees (not Clerks).

Dairy Products Workers.

Salt Workers.

Suspender Workers.

Tar Product Workers.

Sail Makers.

Marking Device Employees.

Dive Workers.

Lock and Hardware Workers.

Umbrella Workers.

Fertilizer Workers.

Fish Handlers.

Paper-Box Makers.

And workers of other occupations.

The Executive Council points out the opposition met with from all sources in organizing these workers. However, we learn through Secretary Morrison that over 800,000 new members have been admitted to the Labor Movement during the year ending August 31, 1934. We congratulate President Green and the Ex-

Executive Council on the great work accomplished in this direction during the year and recommend that this work be continued with the same zeal in the coming year.

Your committee gave considerable thought to that part of the Executive Committee's report treated under the captions:

Organizing Plans for Coming Year
Management of Organizing Campaign
Local Educational Possibilities, and
Federation Membership

These subjects are found on pages 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 of the Executive Council's report. We find the subject-matters contained therein have been given an exhaustive study and thorough analysis.

That report covers every phase of the subjects under these captions. We feel that we cannot add further to what is stated in the report, so your committee recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on the foregoing captions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Burt: That completes the work of the committee in reference to the matters assigned to it from the report of the Executive Council. We now report on the resolutions assigned to the committee.

Agricultural and Cannery Workers Unions

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegate J. B. Nathan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 18893, Oakland, California.

WHEREAS, Because of the increasing industrialization of agriculture and the canning and packing industries dependent on it, and the growth of large corporations and decrease of small individual owners, it has become quite important to the American Trade Union Movement that the workers in these industries be encouraged and aided in organizing labor unions that will be adapted to seasonal employment and the migratory worker; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union with its jurisdiction confined to a limited territorial area is not adapted and will not function effectively with migratory workers; and

WHEREAS, Because of the low wages paid and the long periods of unemployment, these unskilled, seasonal workers find it a hardship to pay high dues and impossible to pay dues while unemployed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the organization of Agricultural and Packing and Cannery Workers in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any union composed of migratory, seasonal workers should have jurisdiction over an entire State, or larger agricultural area, with branches established at convenient points; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the initiation dues be not less than One Dollar (\$1.00) per member and membership dues not less than Fifty Cents (50 cents) per month, and that not more than half of the above amounts shall be payable to the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council be given authority to waive the payment of initiation dues when it deems it necessary in order to stimulate organization, and that whenever members are unemployed they shall be carried in good standing without the payment of monthly dues; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President shall call a conference of delegates of Federal Labor Unions composed of workers in the agricultural, canning and packing industries for the purpose of drawing up plans for the reorganization of these unions to be submitted to this Convention.

Adopted by the committee.

Your committee gave careful consideration to this resolution. We find it contains several propositions. It proposes, in effect, to separate agricultural, canning, and packing workers from migratory workers and organize migratory workers by themselves either by states or large territories. Your committee approves the resolution to the end of the first resolve, which deals with the organizing and agricultural, packing and cannery workers.

Your committee recommends that the second resolve be referred to the Executive Council to work out.

The subject-matter in the third resolve, calling for a reduction in initiation fees, monthly dues, and per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, is a change of law with which this committee cannot deal.

The waiving of initiation fees by the Executive Council is also a change of law. So, also, is the request to carry unemployed members in good standing

without payment of monthly dues and should go to the Committee on Law. And your committee so recommends.

The last resolve requests the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a conference at this Convention of Delegates from Federal Labor Unions, composed of workers in the agricultural, canning, and packing industries, to devise ways and means of better organizing these workers. Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council to work out.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizer for Timber Workers

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Tie and Timber Workers of Fox Park, Wyoming, have organized into a bona fide labor union and have secured recognition and working agreements with all of the Timber Operators of the State of Wyoming; and

WHEREAS, They have through conferences with the Timber Operators secured a wage rate for their work that is in excess of that of the workers in this industry in surrounding States which at this time are unorganized; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor send an organizer to the States of Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Oregon and Washington to organize the workers in the timber industry.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds will permit.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizing Culinary Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the members and officers of all organizations affiliated

with the American Federation of Labor the unorganized condition of the hotel, restaurant and cafe employees employed in establishments receiving the patronage of the trades unionists; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to advise all of its affiliated International and National Locals and Federal Unions of the existence of an organization which has jurisdiction over culinary workers, bartenders and beverage dispensers employed in hotels, restaurants and cafes, i.e., the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That their co-operation be requested to bring about the organization of these employees in the establishments in their particular localities.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: As one of the introducers of the resolution I merely want to bring to the attention of the delegates here that what is stated in that resolution is aimed at some of the delegates in this convention who are patronizing restaurants in this city where the pickets are in attendance in front and the delegates have removed their badges to pass by the pickets. I hope those delegates who have been seen doing that this week will stop it.

Delegate Duffy, Potters: Mr. Chairman and delegates. May I bring to your attention once more the fact that the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' organization still persists in labeling hotels and restaurants' union when they are using non-union made dishes? As a representative of the Potters of this country, I object, and I object with all the emphasis at my command, to this individual practice of the officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees in assuming the sole and absolute right to label an institution or a business house as 100 per cent when they are not taking into account such institutions, business houses or concerns are interested in the serving of food to their patrons on union made dishes.

I have just as much right to patronize a restaurant or a hotel using a product made by the members of our organization and saying to the delegates of this convention that it is 100 per cent union as the Hotel and Restaurant Employees have to say simply because they have an understanding with them, that it is 100 per cent union.

I ask again that Brother Koveleski and the other officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees take note of this. I would like to make an amendment to this resolution, if it is in order, Mr. President, that you include also as a basis of having credentials or approval as to a union hotel or restaurant, that they insist on their buying and using union made dishes.

I want to say in conclusion that I have not patronized any of these hotels or restaurants that have been listed, but at the same time have been somewhat indignant, after the investigation that I have made, to find that some of the restaurants that they have listed as non-union are using union made products made by our members. I think I am justified in bringing this matter to the attention of the delegates of this convention and asking the Hotel and Restaurant Employees to extend to the Pottery Workers the same consideration, co-operation and assistance as they want from the rest of the delegates to this convention.

President Green: Delegate Duffy, may I inquire if you offered an amendment to the committee's report?

Delegate Duffy: If it is in order, President Green, Yes.

President Green: That is not the question. I was engaged in conversation for just a moment and I wanted to be sure as to the parliamentary status. I am not inviting you to offer an amendment, but I merely asked if you had offered one.

Delegate Duffy, Potters: I offer an amendment, Mr. President, to the effect that we ask the Hotel and Restaurant Employees to grant the same co-operation and assistance to the Pottery Workers in bringing about the organization of the Pottery Workers and the sale of their

products as they expect from other organizations. If that is in order I will offer it as an amendment.

President Green: It is perfectly in order.

Delegate Hesketh: We do not have any objection to the amendment and we are at the service at all times of the Pottery Workers. We are glad to help them and we hope that some day we will have a local union of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees at East Liverpool, Ohio, where Brother Duffy comes from.

Delegate Duffy: I can prove that I have been interested in putting the union across in the East Liverpool hotels and restaurants. I would like to ask where they have ever done anything to have hotels and restaurants purchase union made dishes?

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: I might also request the inclusion of the Allied Printing Trades Label on the bills of fare, and the Photo-Engravers' label where there are illustrations on the stationery. The Laundry Workers might ask that the napkins be washed by the Laundry Workers. It is not only the waiters who are interested; I believe that we might carry it on to practically every other trade if we go far enough.

I don't want to upset the purpose of the resolution or the motion, but at the same time we cannot sit by and say that because a certain firm recognizes a certain union we are doing our full duty. I believe that this resolution might well be referred to some committee for consideration and then brought back here and discussed in a more intelligent manner than we might do under the present arrangement.

I move as an amendment to the amendment that the entire matter be referred to one of the regularly appointed committees for consideration.

The amendment was seconded and carried.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freed-

man, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement in America has always opposed any form of discrimination because of race, color, nationality or religion; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, instruct the Executive Council to confer with the executive boards of affiliated National and International Unions with the object of securing the eradication of all practices, whether sanctioned by law or custom, tending to bar colored workers from the unions, or to discriminate against colored members within the unions, or to abridge their rights.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 73—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Negro is a fully pledged citizen of the United States, and as such entitled to the full rights of citizenship, social, political, and economic; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always maintained a fraternal attitude as against local labor unions which tend to keep the Negro from the benefits of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to agitate for a cessation of all types of discrimination, and also to continue to disseminate such propaganda as will bring about complete equality of opportunity for American citizens without regard to the accident of race or creed.

The subject matter of this resolution has just been approved by this Convention when it concurred in the recommendation of your Committee on Resolution No. 29, which contains and covers the same matter.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will now interrupt the report of the Committee for the pur-

pose of hearing from a distinguished visitor. You will recall that I announced at an earlier session of the convention that Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt, located in Washington, had accepted the invitation of the Executive Council to visit San Francisco and address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. He is here this morning, and I know that you are awaiting in most happy anticipation the enjoyment of this great event.

May I just say this: that among all the deputy administrators and the divisional administrators serving in the administration of the National Recovery Act, not one is held in higher esteem or greater regard by labor and labor's friends than Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt. He is not directly connected with labor; he is not a member of organized labor, consequently he cannot be charged with having developed a biased point of view because of his long association with labor or as a member of Organized Labor.

He comes to us as an outstanding American citizen, a man with a social point of view, one who has grasped the potentialities of the existing economic situation, one who understands most clearly the need of the hour. I have read with profound admiration, as I know other labor men have likewise done, the splendid reports upon industrial codes of fair practice administered by him. They are instructive, educational and illuminating. Most of you who attended the Washington convention last year know that he came to that convention and delivered a most inspiring address.

I esteem it an honor and a pleasure to present to you Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt.

MR. SOL ROSENBLATT

President Green, Distinguished Guests, Members and Friends:

I am deeply gratified and feel highly honored indeed at the invitation which you so kindly extended to me to address this great convention.

Last October, when addressing you in Washington, I said "The National Recov-

ery Administration is the greatest experiment in practical idealism ever conceived in the minds of human beings." Nothing that has transpired since then has caused me to change my mind on that thought.

Great as the gains are that we have made since last October—and no one certainly will deny that they have been very great indeed in making business fair in the 90 per cent of industry now under codes and in finding work for millions of our people—we are still trying to achieve complete recovery. The jungle has been cleared. There is a long job yet to be done. But we have gone far enough along the way for all of us to know that complete recovery can only be achieved when Capital and Labor—the working man and the capitalist—jointly assume the burdens of common industrial endeavor and jointly enjoy the rewards and opportunities of their common enterprise. That way lies recovery—and not otherwise.

The philosophy of the National Industrial Recovery Act was born of the deep thought and profound study, the sane observations and clear experience which its drafters brought to it in its preparation, which Congress gave to it in its enactment and which the President stamped upon it his approving signature.

The philosophy of the National Recovery Act went deep into the fundamentals of American life. It was concerned with the vital problems of how to put people back to work; how to lift intolerable burdens from the back of labor; how to eliminate the constantly recurring downward spirals that sapped the life of business; how to get rid of the abuses that the generation before us had accumulated. President Roosevelt gave this philosophy its tremendous vitality for sound business, for labor and the consumer, when he said in announcing NRA.: "It seems to me plain that no business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country."

In the laboratory of NRA hundreds of codes have been produced. In their production, not only the members of the particular industries affected participated, but labor also participated as did industry generally and the consuming public.

They participated under a new concept of progress—that hereafter:

Conducting a business under a Code of Fair Competition is a stewardship of public trust and responsibility.

And—

Conducting a labor union or a labor movement is a stewardship in the public welfare.

In this concept there is alone that freedom and liberty which leads to the life abundant for all of us.

Now, most people in the United States have a notion that since an industry has a code, all of the steps for the Recovery Program to work in that industry have been accomplished. People have the same feeling about any particular matter as soon as any legislature enacts a law. But nothing could be further from the truth in this respect.

After all, as you know, when you undertake an experiment, only the first step has been taken. The laboratory experiment, even though successful, may not be commercially practical.

The miniature drawing may not be possible of enlargement into the great, planned structure. Alloyed metals may, under stress and test, yield faulty defects. A fresh coat of paint may conceal but cannot remove the structural weakness of an ancient bridge on a newly improved highway. And so it is with any code.

Industries which have voluntarily assented to a code, which have gladly yielded billions of dollars to the payroll of the country, which enjoy the co-operation of the great leaders of labor, may nevertheless discover that still more remains to be done in order to effectuate the high purposes originally undertaken.

In translating the philosophy of the National Industrial Recovery Act into codes, the beauty of the Act has been its complete flexibility. Codes which have been written under that Act, possess the greatest flexibility.

The Act and the codes, to my mind, present a truly scientific approach to the solution of industrial problems because of the very fact that they are not confined or limited, bounded or circumscribed, but rather are capable of expansion or retraction, enlargement or diminution.

The codes are like ingredients in the test tube, whose reaction is confidently predicted by the chemist who knows what those ingredients, when mixed, should produce, but who is, nevertheless, carefully watching the progress of the experiment in order to determine, so that the product may be pure and fine and good, what adjustments may have to be made in those ingredients, in order to achieve the desired result.

With respect to the labor provisions of any code, even though such provisions constitute advances for the maintenance and raising of the labor standards present in the industry affected, nevertheless under the ever present concept of flexibility, if such code provisions do not at once accomplish the end for which they are intended, appropriate changes can and will be promptly and effectively made.

Codes are pure attempts to co-ordinate industrial activities and reconcile diver-

gent viewpoints between capital and labor. They constitute an honest and sincere effort to replace discord and friction with harmony and co-operation.

No sane person in these United States possessed of any knowledge whatsoever concerning industrial relationships can in reason challenge the ideals and purposes which the Government confidently expects to be realized in the efficient and scientific workings of the codes. The result sought, in the words of President Roosevelt, over the radio Sunday night, is to find "methods and policies—best calculated to promote industrial recovery and a permanent improvement of business and labor conditions."

Problems presented for industrial recovery, which we have been attempting to solve in greatest part under the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, are not of today's making. The problems of industrial relationships in the treatment of labor go back for their origin to the very earliest days of civilization. You will find records of industrial disputes and so-called labor difficulties from the days of ancient Babylon and Egypt, Greece and Rome, down to today. The industrial revolution of modern times still continues in our daily life.

Efforts made by kings and emperors in the past were no more productive of permanent good than the efforts of the rulers of states in modern times. The question of labor's rightful place in a civilized state is as ancient as civilization. The effort today is to bring about united action of management and labor.

Now we have a great and wise President. Truly, the modern Father of our Country. Conscious of the problems remaining unsettled for so long, fully realizing the innate difficulties attendant upon their solution, firmly resolved that these problems, not of his making, must, can, and will be solved, he has breathed the very vigor of life blood and action into the prosaic clauses of the National Industrial Recovery Act and expects, as he has a right to, that each and every man, woman, and child in this country will follow his leadership and help him in what he is trying to do. The President has been patiently working with and through the National Recovery Administration toward these ends and these flexible codes, supervised by, not infallible, administrators, constitute one of his answers to the challenge of industrial unrest. Let us unite in it. Let us give him credit and praise for attempting the most herculean task of all time.

The miracle President Roosevelt has wrought is not that he can accomplish at one stroke the cure for all the economic aches and pains of the United States, but that as opposed to the inertia and lack of effort of those who preceded him, he has given us all an opportunity to work constructively in achieving the goal which he has set before us.

We have, for the first time in our history, been presented with an opportunity of correcting that which is wrong in our industrial system.

Respecting labor's position in the work of NRA, I can say from personal experience and observation that I have found the labor leaders in the country to be helpful and co-operative and anxious and desirous of maintaining right standards. At the same time, I must say that those industrial leaders with whom I have come in contact, have been equally willing and desirous of co-operating in the work.

To my surprise, amazement and horror, in the past year I found situations where, before a code existed, labor was receiving as low as 85 cents a week, and \$2.25 a week was considered an average salary.

Now, those situations did not exist in the larger communities, naturally, but they did exist in certain communities, smaller communities, because we had so many people unemployed that they were willing to work on any terms possible. To raise those salaries any considerable degree conferred a benefit.

The cry we have heard of the increases in wages to Code minimums being a staggering burden upon industry is, under all the circumstances, as presented to the country at large, no more justifiable than a cry that to stop one ship in the middle of an ocean to rescue passengers from another and foundering ship is a burden upon the commerce of the ocean highways.

Now, whether the codes have worked well or badly in your opinion, do not forget that there are thousands upon thousands of communities in the United States where labor has never enjoyed any form of organization whatsoever, and where not even the most rudimentary collective bargaining was ever dreamed of. Perhaps the employers in those communities feel that NRA is imposing a burden upon them during this readjustment period. In spite of the nominal minimum wages required under the codes, we have heard a tremendous outcry about the "small fellow."

"It is utterly impossible to continue in business unless the wages are cut," I have been told by one so-called "small fellow" who came into my own office. He said that the NRA was oppressing him; was keeping him out of business; was going to close his factory, and then, upon investigation, I found that all the workers in his factory had more than a year of experience, so that he did not even have any apprentices. His claim was that all these "year-experienced" workers were much different from those in neighboring communities and that they should receive less than the ones in the neighboring communities.

When pressed as to precisely what he wanted, he asked that NRA give him the right to cut his employees down from \$11 per week, the code minimum, to an average of \$5.90 a week, and I said "No" then, and I say "No" now. If that is oppression of the small man, then it will have to be called just that.

My sympathy remains with the small fellow who works for that small man—the little fellow whose week's wages will barely buy a few pounds of oatmeal; a bag of coal; and nothing more luxurious than a 39-cent shirt for his Sunday best. That's the small fellow I am worried about.

Codes are fair competition, and if fair competition means anything—and I think it does—let competition in industry be a competition in improved methods of production, in the quality of goods produced, in the better use and not the wasteful use of advertising, in honest merchandising methods—on any legitimate basis whatever—but don't let it be competition based upon debasement of labor; don't let it be competition to see who can make toil more hopeless and unbearable for the wage-earner.

If you have any fault to find with NRA, I will defend your right to find fault and to criticize. That is your privilege and your duty; but bear in mind that there are hundreds of thousands of people in this country who, in spite of ineffective enforcement, have benefited to a tremendous extent because of this very NRA. I am not talking so much of the large centers of population, because organized labor can pretty much take care of itself. I am talking about the millions of people outside of your direct control who do not belong to your organization, but to whom you owe just as much a duty as you do to your own members, which surely you must realize. The code administration, frankly, has not been perfect, nor perhaps has the enforcement been as strict and effective as it should.

No man was ever born fully matured, nor do babies walk before they crawl. We have just commenced to tackle, in the short time of NRA's existence, the great problems of co-ordination and administration. We have found a great deal of overlapping, a great deal of misinterpretation, a great variety of problems which require straightening out. We have found that some trade practice provisions require revision, restatement and clarification. We have found that some hours in some codes are not uniform with those in others of competing industries. We have found that some minimum wages for employees doing exactly the same types of work, under different codes, are different. I believe that the administration of NIRA knows as well as anyone in the United States what the troubles have been and what great efforts still remain to be made.

The job of NRA is not an easy one. It is not one that can be done in a day. Perhaps it can't even be done in a year, but remember this: time in the past was spent principally in formulating codes and there were no plans or specifications in existence to go by. NRA was built in a Forest Primeval. Now, we have progressed into the position where NRA is administering the codes. Our President has recently created an able Board for this purpose.

The duty of capital and labor is plain and apparent. Realizing the problem, theirs must be the willing hands, constructive and helpful, loyally supporting with their efforts and energy the leadership which seeks a sane and balanced relationship between labor and capital.

The National Recovery Administration is determined to go forward in its great work. It cannot be swayed or deterred from its purpose by innuendoes or aspersions cast upon the honesty and sincerity of its motives. Its codes are neither infallible nor inflexible, and just as a scientist watches the experiment for its successful completion, so the President carefully regards the workings of the National Recovery Administration in order that industrial peace in even greater measure may be brought forth, and in order that all members of our society may reap the benefits intended to be conferred upon them under a code of fair competition.

The Recovery Administration cannot be threatened or coerced by that type of self-seeking, self-styled leaders of industry, or of labor, whose fundamental purpose it is, principally from political considerations, to harass and destroy rather than to put their shoulders to the wheel in an effort to help and co-operate.

No successful industrial experiment can be accomplished by actions or psychology tending to destroy the welfare of the overwhelming majority of the employers and employees of any industry. The people of our nation must recognize that the codes and the economic bases upon which they rest are meant for good and must achieve constructive ends.

I ask that labor, in convention here assembled, recognize that the path of industrial progress lies forward and not in retracing our steps.

In conclusion, I submit to you that the codes enacted into law under the NIRA are entitled to the sympathetic and constructive co-operation of our people. In order that the results sought to be obtained for the benefit of labor, industry, and the consumer in the first instance may be achieved; in order that the aims and aspirations of the President's recovery program may be accomplished, and, finally, in order that our people may hereafter be saved and safeguarded from the dire calamities which have overtaken

us in the past, and from the mire of which we are now struggling to escape.

President Green: Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt came all the way from Washington for the definite and express purpose of bringing this inspiring message just delivered to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The fact that he came here, honored us by his presence, is very deeply appreciated. We are grateful to him for his inspiring, instructive and educational address. It will be included in the permanent proceedings of the convention, and I know there are a great number of delegates present who will read it, digest it and analyze it carefully.

I know that I but feebly express your feeling of deep appreciation and gratitude when I say to Divisional Administrator Rosenblatt that I tender to him the sincere thanks of the officers and members in attendance at this convention for his magnificent address and for his visit to us.

Now we will continue the regular order of business. The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Organization.

Secretary Burt continued the report of the committee as follows:

Negro Workers' Status in Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 141 — By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, the Negroes constitute one-tenth of the population of the United States, representing a larger population than Canada, and with a ratio of working population exceeding the ratio of their racial population;

WHEREAS, There is widespread unrest among Negro workers in particular and the Negro people in general with the existing status of Negro workers in the American Federation of Labor, and with its policy toward the organization of Negro workers, contending that the many resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor, throughout the years, in convention after convention, declaring the desire of the American Federation of Labor to have all workers join it without regard to race, color or nationality or creed, while very splendid and of

high moral value, obviously do not frankly and effectively face and solve the problems of organizing Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, All of the International and National unions connected with the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, with the exception of the Teamsters and Longshoremen, have color clauses in their constitution or color pledges in their rituals, such as, "Only sober and industrious white men are eligible for membership," which sets these railroad organizations, namely, the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of North America, the Switchmen's Union of North America, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and an actual color bar exists, if not in name, it does in fact, in a number of other National and International unions such as the Plumbers and Electrical Workers, in utter and flagrant violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The color bar among trade unions is unsound, defenseless, undemocratic, illogical and un-American, which only serves to divide the workers upon the industrial field upon a basis of race and color, thereby weakening the forces of Organized Labor, and rendering it a victim to the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the employers; and

WHEREAS, The discrimination against Negro workers joining the trade unions attaches to Negro workers in particular and the Negro race in general the stigma of inferiority, which is unjust, unfair and unscientific; and

WHEREAS, The industrial strikes throughout the history of America and of recent date indicate that only the workers are deceived and taken in by the fiction of race difference and superiority, as shown by the fact that the big capitalist employers will exploit white men, white women and white children in the mills, mines, factories, on the railroads and farms, just as readily and with as much severity as they will exploit black men, black women and black children; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record for the elimination of the color clause and pledge from the constitution and rituals of all trade and industrial unions affiliated with it, and pledges to expel any union which violates the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by maintaining said color bar; be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and instruct President William Green, who has publicly said that the

American Federation of Labor should deserve to perish should it discriminate against workers on account of race or color, creed or nationality, to appoint a committee of five or more delegates to this Convention, to investigate the whole question of the status of Negro workers in the National and International unions, Federal unions, and the general policy of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of organizing Negro workers, and report to the next Convention its findings with recommendations as to future policy in relation to Negro workers.

The American Federation of Labor for the last 50 years has made it plain that all workers, irrespective of creed, color, nationality, sex or politics, are eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor, however, cannot interfere with the autonomy of National and International unions. The American Federation of Labor cannot say who are eligible or who are not eligible to membership in National and International unions. That is the right of the National or International union itself, of which it cannot be deprived. To overcome this condition the law of the American Federation of Labor specifies and provides in Article XI, Section 6, of the Constitution that "separate charters may be issued to Central Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the trade union movement to do so."

Your committee, therefore, nonconcur in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and members of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: We are fully aware of the various resolutions that have been adopted by this convention from year to year on the question of Negro workers becoming members of the various organizations. We are also aware of the fact that these resolutions have not effected the desired results; in fact they are meaningless because of the fact that they have made certain declarations without any actual attempt being made to translate these declarations into concrete facts.

We all know that color clauses and color pledges still exist in constitutions of National and International organizations, and therefore no effort, I think, is being made to organize the Negro workers; in fact, as a result of these color bars a psychology is created among white and black workers that makes effective organization of Negro workers more and more difficult.

We are also aware of the fact that a provision has been made for the development of Federal unions of Negro workers, but there is no systematic movement to that end; therefore this resolution is offered to provide machinery in the form of a committee to study and investigate the whole question of the status of Negro workers in the National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. And, in order that we might have the facts and know what the conditions are that exist with regard to Negro workers and the American Federation of Labor, the creation of this committee is important and indispensable. We need the facts in order to provide an intelligent policy, mobilize and organize opinion in the interest of bringing the Negro workers into the American Federation of Labor.

As a matter of fact, if we go on from year to year and merely concur in the resolutions, saying we are in favor of Negro workers joining the unions and nothing is done to put the resolutions into effect we will not get very far.

We note that there are strikes here and there where conflicts occur between white and black workers. You do not have in the various constitutions of corporations and trusts any clauses preventing Negro workers from working in those industries. If the corporations and trusts do not have constitutions preventing Negro workers from working for them, then organizations of labor should not permit color clauses and pledges to exist in their constitutions to prevent Negro workers from joining with white workers in the trade unions.

As a matter of fact, that policy causes competition between black and white workers, and the employers are taking

advantage of this condition to exploit and oppress groups of workers. That competition engenders and inculcates and fosters race prejudice. We find places in the South, in the mills, where white women and white children are being oppressed and exploited and outraged by white employers, indicating that the race question is not fundamental there.

It is important that the white workers realize these facts, in order that the white and black workers may be able to join hands to grapple with this problem. If solidarity is to be developed, it can only be developed by all the workers realizing that they must come into one organization and that all discrimination against any group of workers must be done away with.

A committee ought to be created that will go into the subject. Let the committee hold hearings in different parts of the country, let people appear before the committee and give information with regard to the colored workers. When you are able to do that you can form a policy that will bring results. I think it is unwise not to create the committee that has been suggested in this resolution. It is a sound and feasible method of handling this question and no other method will bring the same results.

I hope that these delegates will go back to their unions and talk about this question, because it is vital, it is fundamental to the advancement of the labor movement. No white workers are safe until the black workers are safe. And that all may be free they must fight together for one common goal. I thank you.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: What was the final recommendation of the committee?

Delegate Burt: The committee non-concurs in the resolution. The report of the committee is that the American Federation of Labor has, for the last fifty years, made it plain that all workers, irrespective of creed, nationality, sex or politics are eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L., however, cannot interfere with the autonomy of National and Inter-

national Unions. The American Federation of Labor cannot say who are eligible and who are not eligible to membership in National and International Unions. That is the right of the National or International Union itself, of which it cannot be deprived. To overcome this condition the law of the American Federation of Labor specifies and provides in Article XI, Section 6, of the Constitution that "separate charters may be issued to Central Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interests of the trade union movement to do so.

Your committee, therefore, non-concurs in this resolution.

Delegate Hutcheson: I quite agree with the report of the committee, but at the same time I think there is some merit in the resolution as introduced. I may say, representing one organization represented in this convention, that our brotherhood accepts the membership of the colored worker the same as we do the white. I believe there is merit to the request that a committee be appointed to investigate the conditions of the colored workers in this country and report to the next convention.

Therefore, I move as an amendment to the committee's report that there be a committee of five appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the conditions of the colored workers of this country and report to the next convention.

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Speaking for the Seamen, I want to tell you something on this question that has a very serious bearing upon it. The International Seamen's Union of North America has never for one moment made any distinction but when we accept the colored man and put him on an absolute equality with the white man as to wages and conditions, we create thereby a situation whereby the employer accepts the white man only. We could get no employment for our colored workers if we had to pay the same wages and give the same conditions. The result was that the colored men as a whole left our organization and accepted the employment with less wages.

However, we have in the organization separate colored organizations, colored men organized separately, and they are

subject to our laws, and that arrangement has to some extent been successful.

You are dealing here with a practical question that always is the most terrific force in the whole of human life, the question of race, and when it is aroused it disregards politics, religion and economics. When it is really aroused it disregards life.

I think the American Federation of Labor policy as it has been enunciated is fundamentally correct. I think that what it has done in the direction of bringing about a feeling of equality is good, but I believe that the Federation, in the interests of the black race itself, in the interests of our Negro brothers, is bound to go slow—not to stop, not to cease working for the colored worker, but to go slow.

I don't see any particular objection to an investigation, but I think it ought to go to the Executive Council of the Federation instead of to a special committee. I think we can get information from such an investigation that may prove valuable to the black man. I do not recognize any distinction under the right of the pursuit of happiness. We are all entitled to life, but there is something here that has got to be dealt with with some care, and for that reason I am in favor of referring the investigation to the Executive Council, with instructions to make a report upon it at the next convention. As a matter of human freedom in this and every other country, I am in favor of it to that extent.

Delegate Malsus, Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 18232:

Mr. Chairman, I feel that the amendment of Brother Hutcheson will not fulfill the needs of the Negro people at the present time. I say that these clauses of discrimination, as Brother Randolph has pointed out, are the means of preventing unity among the workers, and the need of the American Federation of Labor at the present time is for solidarity, whereby the white workers and the colored workers can be brought together. I therefore say that the amendment as brought forward by Brother Hutcheson is not sufficient, and also that the recommendation of the Committee on Organization is not sufficient. I ask for the voting down of these two and the whole-hearted support of Brother Randolph's resolution.

Vice-President Duffy: This question of recognition of the Negro worker has been before the Committee on Organization for the last twenty years. It has been dealt with from the very formation of the American Federation of Labor. All of the declarations from 1831 down to the present time are in favor of organizing the

colored workers; in fact, all classes of workers, irrespective of creed, color, nationality or sex.

At the convention in Cincinnati two years ago, the Committee on Organization went into this matter in detail, so that the delegates would have all the declarations and actions from 1831 up to that time. It covers eight printed pages in the report of that convention. Then again, we had it last year at the convention in Washington, and we reiterated our former actions. We re-endorsed and re-endorsed, over and over again, our former actions.

The delegates representing the colored workers in this convention go a little further. They ask in the first resolve that the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record for the elimination of the Negro clause and pledge from the constitutions and rituals of all trades and industrial unions affiliated with it, and pledges to expel any union which violates the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor by maintaining said color bar.

That same matter was before the convention in Montreal, and after an investigation had been made, the then President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, took the floor and wanted to know what unions, national and international, admitted colored workers, and those that did not. The committee said: "We have at the present time, according to Secretary Morrison's report, 109 national and international unions, and at least one hundred of the national and international unions represented here admit colored workers to membership, entitled to all of the rights and benefits of their respective organizations."

It may be that something may be done, but I can't see how, to expel national and international unions who will not admit colored workers. At the convention in Montreal your Committee on Organization went so far as to say that any national or international union that would not admit colored workers, then the American Federation of Labor should organize them

and grant them charters, and the American Federation of Labor would be the national or international body. That became law.

The second resolve is that President Green appoint a committee of five or more delegates to this convention to investigate the whole question and status of Negro workers in the national and international unions, Federal unions, and the general policy of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of organizing Negro workers, and report to the next convention its findings and recommendations as to the future policy in relation to Negro workers.

Your committee gave that second resolve a good deal of thought. We came to this conclusion: If you appoint a committee, is that committee to remain in session during the year and make all these investigations? Would the members of that committee be back here at the next convention?

And as Delegate Furuseth has said, if this is to be referred to a committee, I believe it ought to be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make this report and submit it to the convention a year hence. The American Federation of Labor has done everything it possibly can to show recognition to the Negro workers and all workers, not only mechanics but the unskilled workers in the past. The question is, how are we to reconcile the Negro workers so that they will have the same rights and privileges as the white workers have?

Your committee thought that over very carefully, and we were under the impression that it should be referred to the Executive Council and not to a committee of this convention. I hope if any reference is made at all it will be referred to the Executive Council for investigation. We have no objection to making investigations. God knows, we have investigated for twenty years, and here we are at this point now.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, as the mover of the amendment I want to call the attention of the

Chair to the fact that the amendment provides that the President of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint a committee of five. I did not designate definitely that it should consist of the members of the Executive Council. I left that to your own good judgment, thinking that perhaps outside of the members of the Council you might want to appoint someone else and, in doing so, you would naturally pick someone who has attended these conventions at least for a few years, and will no doubt attend them for a few more.

The amendment offered by Delegate Hutcheson was adopted.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

President Green: I express sincere regret because the seating facilities of this hall are altogether inadequate for this occasion. In fact, they do not meet our ordinary requirements, but this morning we have with us a large number of visitors and delegates who came in for the purpose of listening to the address of the distinguished speaker who is here just now. So I must apologize, in behalf of the officers and delegates, because of our inadequate seating facilities in the hall this morning.

All of us have been looking forward to this very pleasing event. I recall when I announced at the opening of the convention that the Secretary of Labor would meet with us and deliver an address, there was an immediate evidence of a feeling of supreme pleasure and satisfaction over the announcement. We all appreciate the honor of a distinguished member of the President's Cabinet making the trip all the way across the continent from Washington to meet and greet those in attendance at this congress of labor. It is an honor that we appreciate more than words can express.

Then, in addition to that, this distinguished Cabinet Member presides over a department in which the men and women of labor are deeply interested. Her position is a most peculiar one. She deals in her daily work with priceless values. The aim and the purpose of the Depart-

ment of Labor is to promote and advance the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation, so that she is engaged in that most sacred work of attempting to develop, and to enhance human and intangible values, those things that after all count in the history of a nation—free in a large way from materialism and materialistic influences, for I can conceive of nothing being of greater value to our great country, to our political institutions, to the advancement and promotion of the interests of the masses of the people.

Now I am pleased indeed to present to you the Secretary of Labor. She possesses a social outlook. She is noted because of the administration of her Department in a most humane way, constantly attempting to advance the social and economic interests of the workers. During all the time she has served in this position she has rendered labor very great service, and in the promotion of the policies of the NRA we find that she has rendered service of immeasurable value.

I am happy because I am privileged to be the instrumentality through which she is presented to this convention. I introduce to you the distinguished Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins.

MISS FRANCES PERKINS

(Secretary, Department of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, I cannot thank you enough for the very kind and cordial words with which you have received me and with which you have welcomed me to this distinguished, important and significant meeting of the American Federation of Labor. I cannot forget, nor can anyone in this broad continent which we call a nation, that this American Federation of Labor represents the largest group of organized workers and also represents the oldest group of organized workers in the United States of America. It therefore represents the conservative, solid, consistent effort of a group of our citizens to propose to Government and to society at large the efforts of one group of citizens to find a good way of life for themselves and for their children.

I am delighted that I am here today and I am delighted that I have had your invitation and that I have been able to accept it. I am free to say that I am delighted for more than one reason.

Those of you, like Mr. Green and Mr. Morrison, who have worked in Washington for the last twelve months know with what delight any officer of government faces the prospect of a nice, clean, comfortable, restful trip across the continent. One of the best things the American Federation of Labor has done, so far as I am concerned, is to have the Fifty-fourth Convention in the City of San Francisco, for at least it has taken me almost three days to come here, and they have been three days of indescribable peace, comfort and security. Mr. Green knows it is practically the only vacation anyone in the Department of Labor has had in the last year and a half, and I am free to say that it was a very good idea your coming to San Francisco.

There has been no time in which the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in the purposes of government has been more necessary or more appreciated than it has today—appreciated and necessary because of the fact that this is the oldest body of organized workers and the largest body of organized workers, and because it is the oldest and largest body of organized workers it has long accepted the idea that it had a peculiar responsibility, not only to the workers of the United States of America, but to all of the people of the United States of America. The one thing that I want to emphasize today above all others is that organized labor has a responsibility and a mission to all the people of the United States, to the workers, to the middlemen, to the professional classes and to the employers. This is an organization which, in its fundamentals, is devoted to the common good and the common welfare, and insofar as this ideal is maintained through the years, just insofar is the value and the validity of this organization sustained before the American people.

I am truly appreciative with regard to what has been going on here and with regard to what grave and significant problems, not only for the labor movement, but for all the people of the United States you have been thinking of, that you have been considering and that you will be considering through the next days of your convention.

I want to say in the beginning that I don't think it is the place of Governmental officials to advise you about what should be your internal policies, nor do I think it would be wise for any group of people who represent the Government of the people of the United States, a Government which rests on the consent of all the voters and of all the people, to tell you what you ought to be thinking or what you ought to be doing. Rather, it is our duty to listen to what is your conception of your problems.

And surely there was never a time in the history of the United States of Amer-

ica when the Government of these United States, which represents all of the people, more needed the honest, the clear, the conclusive and the significant thinking of the groups which represent different activities and different functions of people of the United States of America.

Your internal management and your internal policies are not a matter on which the Government should advise you, and the most important thing today is that your group of citizens should express itself freely upon the subjects with regard to which they have special information, special knowledge and with regard to which their selfish interests will make them more than ever acute to express themselves significantly and profoundly.

My duty is to hear, to digest, and to reconcile and to transmit for further reconciliation those thoughts and ideals, those aspirations which come out of this old, solid, traditional body of organized working men and working women in the United States of America.

I am happy that I have the opportunity at this time to transmit to all of the other agencies of Government what are the hopes and aspirations of this great body of organized workers in the United States of America.

All we Americans have a habit of expecting the millenium overnight, and we are apparently confirmed in our habit of expecting the millenium out of a law, out of a statute or out of some particular official or group of elected officials. It takes longer than a year or two, it takes more co-operative effort than can be represented by just one or two officials to really put into effect the hopes, the ideals and the highest aspirations of the people of the United States of America.

And so I want to say to you, as I have said to every other group of Americans to whom I have spoken this year, we cannot expect the Roosevelt Administration or any other administration to give us the millenium on a silver platter. Rather, the millenium will come to us only out of the honest, co-operative activities of many groups of citizens, carried on through long periods of time, and the deliberate purpose to work out on this continent not only a new nation dedicated to great principles of brotherhood, but out of an honest purpose to work out upon this continent a program of human betterment, we can make perhaps the greatest progress that any people have ever made toward capturing all the benefits of civilization and yet retaining all of the benefits of individual activity.

When I think of what has been expected of the Administration of which I am a member I am sometimes appalled. I do not want to apologize, I do not want

to explain. I think it is right and proper that the people of the United States should expect a lot of us.

I want to remind you that it is of importance that this organization, with its significant contributions to American life, should retain its opportunity and its platform from which it speaks to the Government and to the people, its honest wishes and desires, expressing not only self-interest, but expressing its profound conviction that in the welfare of the workers lies the welfare of all the people of the United States of America.

I believe it has been established beyond peradventure of a doubt that insofar as the pay envelopes of America are full insofar will America be a prosperous, successful and happy country. In the year 1929, the payrolls of the United States of America amounted to \$11,000,000,000 and the cash income of the farmers amounted to \$11,000,000,000. In the year 1932, the cash income of payrolls had sunk to \$5,000,000,000, and the cash income of farmers had sunk to \$5,000,000,000. Year after year for twenty years, the cash incomes of the farmers and wage earners have been just about the same, and that is the great purchasing class of the United States of America. In those 49,000,000 persons who are gainfully occupied lies the purchasing power of the United States of America.

That loss between the \$22,000,000,000 and the \$10,000,000,000 in the years between 1929 and the year 1932, in that loss lies the shrunken markets of the United States of America.

It is in the building up of this great internal market of wage earners and farmers that the future prosperity and future hope and future effectiveness of this great constitutional democracy which we call our country and to which we are all devoted lies.

Now I want to review with you, if I may, some of the things which have happened in the last year. I had the privilege and the honor of meeting with you at your last annual convention in Washington, in the District of Columbia. I want to review some of the things which have happened since that time. After all, twelve months is a short time, and yet it is a significant time in a period like this. I want to point out to you and I want to remind you of things which you already know, that in the development of the National Recovery Administration, more commonly called the NRA, the position of Labor and the position of the Labor Advisory Committee has been constantly stronger and more important and more significant. I want to remind you that the position taken by the Labor Advisory Committee has been a reasonable position, that it has been an exposition of the solid statesmanship of which Labor is capable when it is confronted with a

great public problem. And I want to congratulate you upon the success, the ability, the reasonableness and the constructive character of the contributions which have been made by that Labor Advisory Committee to the development of the NRA.

And while I speak of that I want to remind you of the fact that for the first time, perhaps, in the history of this country, the Government of the United States has asked Labor to advise as to what its policies should be on certain requirements of hours, wages, collective bargaining, employment of children, and the employment of apprentices and sub-standard learners.

Let me remind you also that the Government has put at the disposal of this Labor Advisory Committee a staff selected by themselves, a staff of people who could be working and finding out the facts upon which Labor could base its case. Out of that relationship, facts with regard to Labor honestly presented under the supervision of labor people themselves, there has come, I think, a very great enhancement of Labor's position with regard not only to the National Recovery Administration but with regard to the whole program of Government activity.

I want to say in passing here that in the reorganization of the NRA, which is now under way, I think it is of utmost importance that Labor should retain these same advisory staffs, and should not be swallowed up in a general advisory committee in which its clear voice cannot be heard. It is of the utmost importance that those who represent Labor in participation with Government programs should also feel themselves responsible to and should report to, occasionally, a group of people who are continuously developing the point of view and the aspirations of Labor groups themselves.

On behalf of the Government, I want to thank those members of your organization who have served so faithfully, so well, and so intelligently on the Labor Advisory Committee of the National Recovery Administration. There are many of them here today, and they will tell you better than I can just what their struggles have been and with just what problems they have dealt. But they have dealt with them consistently, from a statesmanlike point of view, and from the point of view of the welfare of the industry which was under consideration, from the point of view of the welfare of all the American people.

That, I think, is Labor's great contribution to this year of 1934, that in this time we have seen the opportunity and the possibility of contributions of groups which were ordinarily expected to move only in the direction of self-interests, we have seen their contribution to a program of welfare which related to the welfare

of all the people of the United States. That is what I call statesmanship.

Now with the development of the NRA, you have had not only Labor taking the place of Government officials, Labor having an official relationship to the development and the management of the NRA, which has been the Government's greatest enterprise for recovery, but you have had also Labor constantly consulted with regard to the development of the codes in individual industries. There has been no single code adopted under the NRA—and the codes, as you know, are a novel device for the development of a national labor law, as well as a policy of equalizing competitive costs between industries and between manufacturers in an industry. You have had Labor's contribution to this program in a significant way. You have had labor representation in some instances, not all, but in some instances upon code authorities, and where this representation has been made possible you have had a code authority which really was a self-governing institution for the industry. So long as Labor has no place on the code authority, just so long the self-governing possibilities of that particular code authority are under question by the people of the United States of America.

You have had gradually evolving out of the last six months of conferences between the labor advisory boards and NRA a program of labor representation upon the Industrial Relations Boards in industry. The Industrial Relations Boards within the industries have more and more come to be in the pattern of the codes and of the program within the NRA, and this is probably a sound and wise situation. Nevertheless, only when Labor is represented in some way or other, either through direct labor representation or, as has so wisely been held by the Advisory Committee, by selected labor representation, when the industry was not organized, only by such representation can you have labor relations boards which really represent impartial, well-balanced organizations for carrying out the details and for exploring the details of what ought to be a harmonious relationship between employers and people who work for them in their great industries. This is more and more, as the Labor Advisory Board has come to be influential, coming to be the position which has been taken in the codes.

Then the influence of this Labor Advisory Board upon the codes has been inestimable. Not only have we had the establishment of minimum wages, but we have also in recent months tended to go further than that, and have had through the codes themselves the establishment of certain minima for wages above the level of the minimum and for wages in what would ordinarily be called the skilled or semi-skilled groups. In other words, there has been a tendency, through

the ministrations of the Labor Advisory Board, to come into a kind of unofficial, perhaps unrecognized, but nevertheless realistic form of collective bargaining in relation to what are the minimum requirements of wages and hours in all classes of skill in the codes.

This is a matter of great practical importance, not only to the labor movement, but to the industries of the United States of America, for many industries have had employers who have for long years thought—and I want to underscore the word thought—had thought that they did not want to deal with Organized Labor, and they have found that, on the whole, it was easy and peaceful and constructive to deal with Organized Labor with reference to the development of the wages and hours of workers, the question of child labor and of apprentices in their particular industry. This, I think, has been one of the constructive items of statesmanship which has been contributed by your leaders in this year of haste, in this year of new ideas, in this year in which we were called upon to deliver the goods even before we had thought out what were the objectives and what were the particular needs of the occasion.

Then I want to point out to you, too, that Labor has had a voice in the NRA, in the provisions for sub-standard workers, and in the provisions for apprentices. I want to point out to you that Labor has had a voice and has exercised it in writing into the codes safety provisions for the protection of the life and health of the workers in more than five hundred codes, and that your Labor Advisory Committee's contribution in this field has been of the utmost significance.

I want to point out, too, that Labor has had a voice in determining policies with regard to code violations, and that Labor's voice has been heard, and heard effectively with regard to these matters. Labor participation is now firmly established in the NRA, and it should not be lost in the reorganization, or in any other way.

The American Federation of Labor stands for high principles in its public and industrial relations, and I don't think that thought ought to be lost sight of either by this body or by the Government, or by the employers of the United States. It has always stood soundly for the highest principles in American life, and for that this country has great reason to be profoundly grateful in these years which, in other countries, have meant so much of havoc and of disturbance. The responsibility of this union to this great Republic and to the public at large and to its members is almost immeasurable, and I am certain that following its sound traditions, the Federation will discharge this new responsibility with its usual statesmanship.

Employment and payrolls in the United States of America have increased since your last convention and it is to be hoped that President Roosevelt's recovery measures will continue to show increasing gains between now and your next meeting. We still have obstacles to overcome before we can fully recover from the devastating effects of the depression which left so much misery and so many broken hopes in its wake.

But with wage earners, employers and investors co-operating for their mutual benefit we can and will conquer the forces of economic havoc and emerge as a more united people, with greater understanding of and sympathy with the problems which confront different groups. The American Federation of Labor stands for high principles in its public and industrial relationships. The responsibility of those unions to this great Republic, to the public at large and to its members in these days is almost immeasurable and I am certain that following its sound traditions the Federation will meet and discharge this new responsibility with real statesmanship.

As profits increase employers are bound to recognize that workers must receive increased wages and have shorter hours of work in fair proportion to the increase in earnings of the industry if we are to maintain the balance between purchasing power and productive power now so obviously necessary to maintain an internal market. Business should have the opportunity, as I know you will agree, of making a profit for the savings of many people are invested in industry and they are entitled to expect the maintenance of profits. But by the same token it must be recognized that workers are entitled to expect fair and continuing wages.

Purchasing power, which is the life-blood of trade and industry, is increased and maintained through the employment of more men and women at wages which put them in the class of steady purchasers. Profits will be maintained by keeping this market for goods open. The close relation between good wages and steady profits is very clear in our American economy. To create prosperity we must develop opportunities for work and wages; we must stabilize the incomes of wage earners; we must create opportunities for leisure out of which in itself flows a market for new goods for use and service in leisure time. The eight-hour day and the general use of the automobile came at the same time and the relation is not accidental. Without these we cannot have the purchasing power necessary to balance our great production capacity. Upon these are dependent a steady flow of consumption demand without which, in the last analysis, the wheels of industry cannot keep turning.

All citizens have a responsibility in doing their part that recovery may con-

tinue at a quickened pace so that we shall again have job and economic security with the doors of opportunity open to all those willing and able to work. The responsibility of wage earners is increasingly greater as the laws and agencies of Government dealing with industrial and labor matters rely more and more upon the co-operation of Labor and for effective development in the interest of wage earners, business and the general public. This new challenge for labor statesmanship is everywhere meeting with response from American wage earners.

It is generally recognized that there can be no sound and lasting prosperity if the unemployed are not reabsorbed and their jobs and living made secure by ample and continuous purchasing power with which to buy the products of American factories and the produce of American farms. Nor should we forget that a stable and healthy industrial life cannot be built unless a sound and co-operative relationship exists between those who manage our industries and those who labor for them.

The Industrial Recovery Act is an experiment in co-operation. It provides for self-government, under a partnership which the Government shares with Labor and industry. The Government merely provides the general principles and sanctions the reasonable rules of self-regulated industry in this partnership. Through the codes there has been provided rather generally the elimination of unfair trade practices, destructive price cutting and the abolition of child labor, a shortened work week and a minimum wage for the lowest skilled. It has given to business, on the one hand, and Labor, on the other, the right to combine for common beneficial purposes, for which both have been asking for years. In the administration of NRA the great talents of Hugh Johnson have been used magnificently in the public service and over and over again he has given his help to sustaining Labor's position of influence in NRA.

The opportunity of collective bargaining is established, the Act providing that "employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor or their agents in the designation of such representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aids or protection."

Now the words "collective bargaining," it is fair enough to assume, presuppose some kind of organization of employees. The different interpretations put upon the words "free from interference and coercion of employers," as organizations are set up, has brought relations between employers and employees to a transitional stage. Disputes are inevitable as necessary readjustments are being made.

But now the Government has established boards to make judicial findings of fact and to arbitrate if both parties to a dispute agree, and to maintain continuously machinery for effective industrial relations in cases where the principal parties cannot quickly and peacefully agree. It seems fitting, proper and reasonable that this system should be given every trial by all parties should differences arise. The National Labor Relations Board, a judicial Board interpreting the law and the codes as they affect employer-employee relations, the Steel Board, the Textile Board and the Longshoremen's Board, of which the First Assistant Secretary of Labor, Edward F. McGrady has played such an important part in the last six months, all quasi judicial and empowered to make findings of fact in disputes, in addition to the Conciliation Service, headed as you know by Hugh Kerwin, whom most of you have known for years, whose services are more general and not judicial in any sense, are among these agencies and they have already accomplished much good in the interest of wage earners, employers, investors and the general public. The Boards constitute the machinery with which disputes can be settled as to which union and what representatives have been chosen to represent the employees and they can arbitrate as impartial agencies of Government when so requested. The Conciliation Service can and does daily make hundreds of adjustments that prevent strikes and conciliates and mediates between the parties, its main purpose being to bring them together in such a way that they may settle their own differences by agreement and accord and therefore avoid the more formal recourse to the Boards which function when there can be no agreement in a reasonable time.

While the Government does not prevent strikes or prevent employers from closing down their industries it would be a forward looking step, where differences arise, to utilize the services of the impartial agencies set up as constituted groups for the purpose of keeping industrial peace for the benefit of employers and Labor and in the public interest. I am confident that these agencies will gather authority by custom, by habit and by the sanctions of common acceptance, just as our system of civil courts has gained through the centuries. Moreover, the necessity of making a sober, reasonable factual presentation and argument before the Boards will bind together the membership of both workers and employers' organizations in order to secure the benefits of able presentation of their cases. It is bound also to bring out facts and the real purposes of labor will be served by that.

Such authority over the class of cases which now go before the courts were once settled by private war. Originally these courts had less prestige, but the sanc-

tions of custom and usefulness have made us all willing to submit to their decisions. In time this authority of social sanction will have accrued to these special labor adjustment boards.⁴ This technique is not as useful as a genuine bargain made willingly and lived up to in good faith between employers and their organized workers, just as the resolve to go to law in business is not so good as a bargain made and kept, but it will be increasingly useful in unorganized trades, in temporary employments and in solving questions which cannot be answered by agreement.

I am convinced that once the parties to a dispute can voluntarily sit down with intent to reach an agreement, that a fair and satisfactory solution is possible. The place of the mediator is to bring this about, to act as interpreter of principles, to clarify the issues and make suggestions for short-cuts based on practical experience as to methods, practices and procedure. His duty is to add the sanction of a third party to honorable agreements between honest men.

I believe that agreements with or without the assistance of mediation and arbitration will be voluntarily substituted for long and costly strikes more and more as the years go by and it becomes demonstrated that these methods hold sound and fair advantages for both sides. To be truly effective both employers and workers must turn to these methods willingly. Compulsory arbitration would effect no useful purpose for while coercion might avert impending trouble it would not prevent outbreaks in the future.

Neither Labor nor Capital can or should be coerced. There is often confused thinking on this point and one hears many loose statements about the Government taking a two-fisted attitude in industrial disputes. One group wishes the Government to coerce employers and force them to do certain things in a dispute and the other group wants Government to coerce Labor to stop strikes and go back to work and let things alone. In order to preserve the democracy under which we live Government should not dictate actions of any one economic group and it is folly to allow hysteria to lead us to these immoderate appeals to Government dictation. Arbitration is more in American character. There the parties submit the points on which they cannot agree to an agency for arbitration and abide by the decision. This is often a wise and constructive method and a short cut out of another expensive controversy.

The present agencies constitute a pattern which should prove of lasting value to the Republic, for they point the way in future disputes, where collective bargaining breaks down, to bring about adjustments speedily, harmoniously and in keeping with the American tradition of

fairness and justice to all. When disagreements arise and the parties concerned can voluntarily agree to submit the issues to arbitration the machinery will be available for them to use in their own best interest and that of the public as well, but it should not take the form of compulsion.

Disputes are inevitable in this period of readjustment, and I want to point out to you, as I have to other audiences, that although it is perhaps the popular opinion that there has been an epidemic of strikes in the year 1934, so far as the experience of the United States of America is concerned, it has been a very mild epidemic of strikes.

I checked up with my office in Washington after I got here this morning, so that I might be sure that any figures that I gave today would be correct and unimpeachable, for I do not want to say this lightly. Strikes are always unfortunate. Strikes are always hard on the people who go on strike, harder on them than on any group in the community, and those of you who have had the realistic relationship to the Labor Movement for years know that. No man or group of men ever calls a strike without a solemn examination of his own heart and his own conscience to find if there is any other way out. No man is irresponsible of the lives and the happiness and the welfare of the people who look to him for leadership.

And so I know that there is responsibility with regard to the calling of strikes on the part of those of you who are old in the labor movement. But because the popular opinion has been that strikes have been called lightly and frivolously, I think we ought to check up actually as to what has been the position with regard to strikes in America in the last year. The year 1919 was a year which may be taken as comparable in a year of recovery after the depression with 1934. We also had another period of recovery in 1921, but because the figures for 1921 are much more a picture of harmony and peace than are the figures of 1919, I have not thought it fair to take that basis in comparison. The year 1919 is taken as the last comparable year of recovery after the depression. In 1919 there were twice as many strikes, beginning each month, as there were during the months of the first half of 1934, and nobody ever thumped his chest about Labor's unreasonableness in 1919. In 1919 there was an average of 292 strikes per month, beginning each month, and in 1934 an average of 121 strikes, beginning each month.

In the first half of 1919—and this is the only period for which we have figures—1,300,100 men were involved, and in the first half of 1934 we find 523,000 men involved. In other words, the strikes of 1934 have been just about half as numerous and half as serious as the strikes of 1919.

Up until July 31 of this year there came to the National Labor Board 4,447 complaints from groups of workmen with regard to some phase of industrial relations. Out of that 4,447, 3,950 were complaints that their employers had violated Section 7-a of the law of the land. I think we all ought to remind ourselves of that. A complaint of violation of Section 7-a, which is that law which gives to Labor the opportunity to bargain collectively, and which expressly provides that Labor shall be free from the coercion or influence of employers in choosing its representatives for collective bargaining, that violation was the cause of about two-thirds of the matters which came before the attention of the National Labor Board, whose duty it was to adjust strikes if possible.

During the first six months of 1934, 1,500,000 man-days per month were lost in strikes, and during the first six months of 1919 8,250,000 man-days per month were lost in strikes. In July of this year, only seven persons out of every 1,000 at work were involved in strikes. In the year 1921, which was also a year coming out of a depression, the average strike lasted 51 days, a little over a month and a half. In 1933 the average strike lasted 14 days, and in 1934 the average strike lasted 27 days, which is identical with the average strike length in the year 1927, which is a year in which the American public recognized that there was practically none of what was commonly called by the newspapers "strike problems."

In 1919 the people on strike lost an average of 23.8 days per month. In 1933 they lost seven days per month. In 1934 they lost 11 days per month. The severity of the strikes, as well as the number of strikes in 1934 does not begin to compare with the number and severity of strikes in 1921 and 1919. I say this to you because I think that you, as a responsible and reasonable body, have had a great part to play in the orderly, systematic settlement of strikes. It has been because the labor groups generally have been willing to accept the mediation and the conciliation, and sometimes the arbitration, services of the Government, that these strikes have been brought to a prompt close without undue disorder, without undue lengthening.

And it is because there have been techniques of mediation and arbitration; it is because there have been techniques of solving the problems in which Labor and Industry did not see eye to eye that we have been able to come out of this period of recovery and readjustment without the epidemic of serious strikes which some people feared and thought of. We should not be misled by the popular desire for red pepper and hot stuff into believing that we have had an epidemic of serious and disastrous strikes in the United States of America. We have not had that. We have had rather an orderly acceptance by Labor, by employers, and by the

general public of the significance of the Labor Movement, of the significance of Labor's right to an orderly acceptance of the fact that through mediation and conciliation, and sometimes through the technique of arbitration, where the points at issue could not be solved in any other way, we have had a method of settling disputes between employers and employees which can go far towards developing in this country of ours a new method of bringing all of our people into a better and a more realistic concept of brotherhood.

The fact that the Government has established boards to make judicial findings of facts and to arbitrate if both parties to a dispute agree to arbitration, and to maintain continuously machinery for effective industrial relations in cases where the principal parties cannot quickly agree is a significant move forward in a program for sound labor policies in the United States of America. It seems fitting and proper and reasonable, also, that this system should be given a fair trial by all parties when differences arise.

At this point I want to express to those of you who are here my own very real gratification that so many of the labor groups throughout the United States have expressed openly and frankly in times of dispute their willingness to accept the mediation services of the United States Department of Labor, the conciliation services of the National Labor Board, or arbitration by either of them when that was proposed. I think that has been a very reasonable index of the sober and reliable citizenship of this group of workers who know their rights, who know their purposes, and who yet intend to remain political as well as economic citizens of this great Empire which we call our Nation.

There is another forward and significant step which has been taken in the past year for an improvement in industrial conditions. The various regional conferences and the interstate conference on labor laws held in Washington last March, under the auspices of the Department of Labor, should go far toward bringing about better and more uniform State labor legislation. Proposed co-operation between the United States Department of Labor and the Labor Departments of the various states should serve to raise standards of legislation and enforcement and administration to a desirable common level, and to develop a Government policy in regard to working conditions from which the Republic, the individual wage earner, employer, investor, and taxpayer all will reap benefits.

Modern industry has done much to improve working conditions, but much still remains to be done to provide for greater physical protection of the men and women who work in factories, mines, and stores. Many occupational diseases can and must

be prevented, and various methods of preventing lead, benzol, chrome and other industrial poisonings must be substituted and maintained generally throughout the industry. Dust and fumes must be removed at their source to provide a real measure of protection.

Greater efforts should be made in the interest of accident prevention. There are still altogether too many accidents in many of our industrial plants. With proper safety devices a large percentage of them could be avoided, as is proved by the excellent records of some plants and industries which have successfully overcome this hazard by taking proper precautions.

It has been estimated by a competent authority that 98 per cent of industrial accidents are preventable if employers provide proper safeguards. Increased safety efforts are not only right from the humane viewpoint, but they are sound from a business standpoint. Much can be accomplished by providing better lighting, ventilation, fire escapes, fireproofing, sanitation, rest rooms and other improvements in the interest of workers of the community, for they will pay dividends to management and investors. Such reconstruction would improve property, put idle mechanics to work on installation, and prevent the maiming of thousands of men and women in the future with the resultant tremendous cost in health and money. These physical responsibilities are the responsibility of Government, State, city and industry, and the co-operation of Labor to this end is important. The misery and suffering of the injured workers and their families and the great costs to industry constitute a challenge to mobilize all the energy and resources available to bring about a reduction of accidents in industry. Furthermore, the efforts of the individual agencies in the field must be co-ordinated into a joint attack on the problem. No individual alone can provide this protection for himself.

An effective method within the individual states is for employers and workers to get together with the proper State authorities and agree upon the adoption of safety codes, specifically prepared for the industries affected. This is one of the most direct and desirable methods of handling the situation, and if extended to a larger number of industries and adopted by more states, is bound to bring highly satisfactory results.

There will be a continuation of the policy of regional conferences and interstate compacts between several neighboring states, adopting more uniform measures of industrial safety in the several states. This technique of the regional conference may also lead rather promptly to a program of equalizing the benefits under the compensation laws in the various states, and bring about a

greater similarity between the laws of the states and more co-operation in their administration.

Wage earners are interested in improvements in working conditions and employers are becoming more and more so from humane as well as economic concern. By the same token there is widespread interest at present in the Housing Administration's plans which promise to become an important factor in the recovery program. As so many of you here know, there are thousands and thousands of homes in this country in need of repairs and improvements. There is also need for the building of many homes of low cost rental possibilities, and the elimination of slum districts.

This program, already under way, will give employment to skilled and unskilled labor, will be a real stimulus to the producer goods industries, will bring a permanent social improvement in the Nation, and will add greatly to the national wealth. The building trades with their great number of skilled mechanics will benefit greatly from the program. Wage earners owning property and landlords of vision and enterprise can increase the value of their holdings by taking advantage of the Housing Administration program.

Durable goods industries have lagged behind consumers goods and they must be revived before we will begin to see our way clearly out of the present economic situation. The Housing program and that of Public Works point the way by which success may be achieved with thousands of men being put back on jobs at living wages and a corresponding increase in purchasing power from which everybody in the Republic will benefit.

While these and other recovery measures continue to gain momentum, plans are being made to prepare a program designed to afford protection to the individual in all hazards likely to involve him in distress and dependency. The Economic Security Committee, named for this purpose by President Roosevelt, and of which I am Chairman, is studying social insurance which will further the security of the citizen and his family. It will embrace some form of unemployment insurance and of old age pensions.

Social insurance is not entirely unknown in this country. Forty-four states now have workmen's compensation laws which afford at least limited protection in cases of industrial accidents, and in some instances, of occupational diseases. Forty-six states have mothers' pension laws which directly benefit in the neighborhood of 100,000 families without wage earners and with 250,000 dependent children. Twenty-eight states have old age pension laws which, while based on need rather than contractual rights and in

many cases operative only in a part of these states, have removed a considerable number of the aged from the uncertainties of relief.

The first unemployment insurance law in this country—that of Wisconsin—has recently gone into effect and there has been considerable experience with trade union and industrial unemployment funds and benefit and pension systems. Through relief and other agencies some provisions are now being made for medical and hospital care to indigents, and maternity and infancy welfare, fortunately, are no longer entirely neglected. If unemployment insurance had been inaugurated in this country in the years before the crash of 1929, it would have put a bottom to the fall of depression and unemployment. While we have only estimates to show what would have happened under such a system of reserves, these are by competent actuaries and cover not the whole country but reasonably small areas. An interesting study was made in Ohio, for instance. It revealed that if that state had begun setting up unemployment insurance funds in 1923, totalling 3 per cent of payrolls with benefit payment lasting sixteen weeks, after a short waiting period, and amounting to 50 per cent of normal wages, the fund would have remained solvent through the first two years of the depression. Moreover, there would have been a balance of \$11,000,000 at the end of 1931 and the fund would not have been forced to borrow until the end of 1932.

Then again, take the estimates for Minnesota. These were made on the basis of a plan calling for a fund of 4 per cent of payroll (half from employers and half from employees) with benefits amounting to 40 per cent of normal wages. Benefits were to begin after an eight weeks' waiting period and to be paid for forty weeks. If the plan had been started in 1926 with benefits beginning in 1927, the fund would have reached more than \$46,000,000 in 1930 and at the end of 1932 would still have been fully solvent with a net surplus of \$20,705,344.

The plans for social insurance will not retard recovery but will mean the development of a more stable income which should put a bottom to any future depression as it has done in other countries. We must realize, it would seem, the necessity of setting up such reserves during times of full employment and relative prosperity so that in the future they may take the place of the breadline or other charities. We also must solve the problem of making some systematic provision for those who are too old to work.

The United States Department of Labor, as you all know, is dedicated to the service of the working people of the Republic and is being administered for their economic advancement and for the promo-

tion of their interests. The department, in the words of the first Secretary of Labor, the Honorable William B. Wilson, was "created in the interest of the welfare of all the wage earners in the country, whether organized or unorganized."

You will be interested, I am sure, in connection with the work being done by the department that our division of Labor Service and Labor Standards is now functioning. Its job is to study the problem of industrial health and safety, wages, working hours, housing, education and many other factors which bear upon the worker's life.

Beginning this month a regular monthly bulletin will inform wage earners of living and working conditions in the country, summarizing briefly general labor and economic facts of interest to all workers. It will supply them with unbiased and scientific information covering not only conditions in their own particular industry but also on the larger issues affecting the welfare of all workers and the nation as a whole.

Before another convention of this body is held we ought to be able to report legislative progress toward job insurance and economic security. American workers will do their part in the coming days of the long, slow, steady pull to further recovery. Character and perseverance, which we Americans have to such a marked degree, will be demanded in the coming months and the call will be heeded in the interest of building a new, and, let us hope, a lasting prosperity for all the people of this broad land.

We can look forward confidently, if we all work together, to the time when there will be increased profits for industry with workers receiving fair wages and having better working conditions and with wage earners not haunted by the fear of job insecurity and old age want. All this will be a continuing satisfaction for employers paying living wages, for workers receiving them and for Americans, common sense, vision, ingenuity, co-operation and native courage.

Minimum wage laws, child labor laws, and laws for shortening hours of labor for women will be introduced in 20 states this year, and should have the support of local Labor.

There is one other field in which legislation should be and will be of great benefit and assistance to wage earners in their struggle not only for protection but in their struggle to come into a kind of economic parity with the rest of the groups of the United States of America, and that is the programs of social security which have been referred to by the President in a message to Congress, and which are now being worked on by a large and well-staffed commission which he has

appointed—programs looking toward unemployment insurance, which will serve to equalize and stabilize income to those who are unemployed during periods of depression, programs which will look toward stabilization of incomes to the aged, programs which will look to the assistance of those who are put in the poverty class because of invalidism and illness over which they had no control, programs which will look toward the development of continuing and continuous work, programs based on social needs—in short, a program headed toward the development of this country in the interests of all of the people of the country, a program headed toward the prevention of erosion, a program headed toward the full utilization and production of our river courses, our waterways, our water supplies, a program headed toward the utilization of our land and water for social purposes; a program headed toward the utilization of our great open spaces for the real recreation and the proper use of leisure by the American people, free from the devastating effects of long hours and low wages.

I want to say this to you in all humility, because we can never perform as well as we hope, but nevertheless, this Administration is looking forward continuously to a better life for every man and woman and child in the United States of America. If we don't have that better life together under the auspices and principles of brotherhood, if we don't have that life together there is very little hope of preserving upon this continent that nation which our forefathers brought forth with high ideals.

It is because there lies inherent in the whole principle of the American democracy, and even more important, in the social principle of American life, that essential oneness of one man with another, that essential brotherhood of all, that we can look forward with assurance that we shall pass through this transition period successfully.

It is because we are soundly grounded in American life in the spiritual principles of brotherhood that we can go forward through this long and rather hard period

of bringing all of these factors into that adjustment out of which there can come a united people.

(The delegates arose and applauded the speaker.)

President Green: I wish to express to the Secretary of Labor our gratification and high appreciation of this inspiring and educational address which she has delivered. You have shown how eagerly you received this message and how deeply appreciative you are of it by this fine demonstration you indulged in just now. But, indeed, it was wonderful for the Secretary of Labor, wonderful on her part, a wonderful compliment to the American Federation of Labor, to choose this city and this setting created by this convention for the transmission of such an important address.

We realized as we listened intently that she has taken advantage of this opportunity to outline in a more detailed and simple way, simple of understanding, the recovery program of the Administration. We understand it better; we think we know now the aims and purposes of the Administration. She has sounded a note of encouragement and inspiration this morning, and I want to assure her with all the sincerity I possess that I pledge to her and to those working with her the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor. We are profoundly impressed by the important words she has uttered, by the convincing message she has brought to us. We are charmed by her presence and we thank her for her visit.

At 1:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 3 o'clock p. m.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees — Alteire, Ames, Augustine, Bailey, Bale, Billet, Bower, Covert, Cuthbert, Davison, Dent, Doane, Doll, Dowd, De Long, Draper, De Vese, Ellis, Fay (Geo. V.), Flores, Freng, Gavlack, Garibaldi, Gorman (B. A.), Gornio, Graham (Fred J.), Gresty, Graham (James D.), Hampton, Hatch, Heck, Helle, Holland, Horan, Horn, Holmes, Hirschfeldt, Hoocker, Iglesias, Jackson (Geo. B.), Jenkins, Joel, Lewis (J. C.), Lowry, Luchi, McInroy, McMahon, Manash, Meyers, Mitchell, (Humphrey), Mitchell (Richard A.), Money, Murch, Nathan, Nickols, Nelson, O'Brien (Paul), O'Brien (T. J.), Olander, Pitner, Quinn, Restine, Rice, Ryan (Jos. P.), Schwartz (Harry), Schwartz (H. W.), Shave, Smith (Sam M.), Strebel, Swan, Tuohy, Volkers, Wagner, Walsh, Watson (Spencer), Wolfe, Wood (R. T.), Woods, Yarnett, Yetta.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials reports that R. J. McNally, Secretary-Treasurer of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, will serve as delegate from that organization instead of J. C. Lewis, and we recommend that Mr. McNally be seated with one vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following announcements:

The Workers' Education Bureau of America, through the services of Spencer Miller, Jr., will conduct a round-table discussion on workers' education and the emergency education program of the Government at 8 o'clock this evening, Friday, October 5, in the Roof Garden of the Hotel Whitcomb.

Representatives of State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, and Federal Unions are cordially invited to be present.

The meeting will be opened to those interested in education.

There will be a special Mass next Sunday morning at 11 o'clock at St. Mary's Cathedral, Van Ness Avenue and O'Far-

rell Street. Right Reverend Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, will preside. A special sermon will be given by Reverend Thomas Burke on the subject of "Labor."

Secretary O'Connell of the local Entertainment Committee announced that, starting at 9 o'clock Saturday morning, the delegates and visitors would be taken for a trip up Mount Tamalpais, and that refreshments would be served in Muir Wood.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Secretary Burt continued the report as follows:

Proposing Assessment to Finance Organization Campaign

Resolution No. 184—By Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon; Fred Lumm, Loggers' Union No. 18742.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Industrial Recovery Act by Congress, the opportunities for organizing the unorganized is greater than at any previous time, while the treasuries of most labor organizations are depleted by reason of unemployment of members over a long period of time; and

WHEREAS, The need for protection and security to the organized workers makes it imperative that we immediately inaugurate a vigorous campaign to organize and educate the unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish this purpose it is necessary for well-laid plans and a well-filled treasury to execute the plans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we authorize the Executive Council to levy an assessment of one cent (1c) per member per month on the entire membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; the assessment to extend for a period of twelve months, and the revenue derived therefrom to be used exclusively for the promotion of organization work; the fund to be expended directly under the super-

vision of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in such manner as they may deem advisable to secure the best results.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution and recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue its present intensive organizing campaign, which, according to reports made to this convention, show a gain of hundreds of thousands of members. It further recommends that National and International Unions, City, Central, and State Bodies be requested and strongly urged to cooperate in this work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Burt: This completes the report of the committee up to the present moment.

President Green: The committee will be continued.

Secretary Morrison read the following supplementary report of the Executive Council:

Supplementary Report and Decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Convention, upon the appeal of the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America from the decision of the Building Trades Department with reference to affiliation of these organizations with the Department.

San Francisco, California,
October 5, 1934.

The Executive Council herewith transmits a supplementary report dealing with the serious internal controversy which has arisen in the Building Trades Department and which so seriously affects the relationship of building trades organizations.

It has ever been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to unite all building trades organizations eligible to affiliation, into a strong, united, effective Building Trades Department. The

economic and industrial welfare of building trades' workers calls for the establishment of solidarity, co-operation, and united effort on the part of building trades organizations.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide for the establishment of a Building Trades Department and for the eligibility of building trades organizations to become affiliated with the Department. There is nothing, however, in the law which compels building trades organizations to accept affiliation. It all rests upon voluntary action on the part of building trades organizations.

In order to achieve solidarity and to establish strength and unity in the Building Trades Department, efforts were put forth by the Executive Council to bring about the affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. These organizations had withdrawn from affiliation with the Department. Recently it became quite apparent, particularly because of the development of an industrial code of fair practice for the construction industry, that there was a most emphatic need for the return of these organizations into affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

On June 14, 1934, an agreement was reached providing for the reaffiliation of these organizations with the Building Trades Department. The President of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the representatives of the three organizations named to unite with the Building Trades Department. The appeal was accepted. The President of the American Federation of Labor submitted the application of the three organizations for affiliation, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously agreed to approve the application of the three organizations named for reaffiliation with the Building Trades Department. The entrance fees required by the law for affiliation of organizations with the Department were promptly paid

and accepted. It was understood and agreed that these organizations in becoming affiliated with the Department would be entitled to exercise and enjoy all the rights and privileges of organizations affiliated with the Department as provided for in the laws and constitution of the Building Trades Department. The record clearly shows that every requirement of the constitution of the Building Trades Department necessary to secure affiliation was met by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America when they became affiliated with the Department.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that these three organizations were an integral part of the Department, were affiliated with it, and entitled to representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department as affiliated organizations when it convened in this city on September 26, 1934.

To the amazement and surprise of the Executive Council, the convention rejected the credentials of the delegates duly elected by these three organizations, denied them seats, and the organizations representation in the convention.

An appeal was made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the three organizations named from the action of the Building Trades Department convention in denying them representation in the convention. The Executive Council heard and considered this appeal as well as the answer made by the representatives of the Building Trades Department. The Executive Council has weighed carefully all the facts and all the information available. It holds that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is clothed with authority by the laws, procedure and customs of the American Federation of Labor to direct and conduct the business of the Building Trades Department in the interim between conventions.

The Executive Council also exercised its mediation influence in an effort to compose the differences and to bring

about a settlement through agreement with the representatives of the Building Trades Department and of the three organizations affected.

Inasmuch as no settlement could be reached, and in accordance with the authority conferred upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the following decision is reached and recommendations transmitted:

It is the decision of the Executive Council that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America were legally affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor when the Building Trades Department convention convened in this city on September 26, 1934. For this reason, these organizations could not be legally denied the right of representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department. The reasons assigned in the records of the Building Trades Department convention for the rejection of the credentials of the duly elected delegates of the three affiliated organizations were not valid, legal or justifiable. As evidence of this fact, the following quotation is submitted as the reasons why the convention rejected the credentials of the delegates of these three organizations and denied them representation in the convention:

"The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

"We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and co-operation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and co-operation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and co-operation prevailing.

"We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversa-

tion among the delegates; we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

"Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which is so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation be denied."

(Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report, from printed proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention.)

There is nothing in the reasons assigned charging violation of any law of the Department or any failure on the part of the three organizations named to comply with the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, or with its laws, which prescribe the requirements which building trades organizations must meet in order to become affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that the Building Trades Department, created and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and subject to its laws, can not arbitrarily and without valid, legal reason exclude a building trades organization from affiliation with the Department or deny an affiliated organization representation in conventions of the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that because the Building Trades Department convention excluded legally affiliated organizations from representation in the convention and denied the right of the legally chosen delegates of organizations seats in the convention, that all action taken by the convention is illegal and can not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council will continue its efforts to compose the differences existing between the Building Trades Department and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and to reach a settlement of the differences which exist. In the event a settlement is brought about and an agreement reached satisfactory to the executive officers of the Building Trades Department and the three organizations named, it shall be approved and accepted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In the event, however, that no such agreement is reached a convention of the Building Trades Department shall be called to meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in the City of Washington within forty-five days from the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of transacting the business of the Building Trades Department in a legal manner and in accordance with the laws, principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor; the call for this convention to be issued by the President of the American Federation of Labor to all organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department as determined by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at said convention, and the action taken at said convention to be regarded and accepted as the legal action of the 1934 convention of the Building Trades Department. The business transacted at this convention in accordance with the laws of the Building Trades Department shall be regarded as legal and binding by the American Federation of Labor upon all affiliated organizations, and the officers elected by the convention shall be recognized as the legally elected officers of the Building Trades Department.

By Direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Delegate McDonough, Plasterers: As President of the Building Trades Depart-

ment I am authorized to appeal to have this matter referred to the proper committee so that the officials of the Building Trades Department can protect the interests of the organizations in affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

President Green: Do I understand that you appeal from this decision of the Executive Council, President McDonough?

Delegate McDonough: Yes.

President Green: That being the case, in accordance with parliamentary procedure, the report of the Executive Council and your appeal will be referred to the Adjustment Committee for consideration and report.

Vice-President Rickert: On behalf of the Committee on Adjustment I desire to announce that the committee will meet at 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon on the roof garden of the Whitcomb Hotel. The committee would like to have present the representatives of all these organizations interested, and also to have before it parties interested in resolutions that have been referred to this committee.

President Green: We have with us this afternoon one of the foremost of American educators, Dr. Meiklejohn, who will speak to us for a few minutes. He was formerly President of Amherst College, and later became Director of the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin. After a lifetime spent in the education of youth he is now devoting himself to adult education. He is now at the head of the School of Social Studies in this city. Men and women of Labor are tremendously interested in adult education.

We are glad to have with us one who is regarded as one of the foremost educators of this land, Dr. Meiklejohn.

DR. A. MEIKLEJOHN

Ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor: I am glad to be here this afternoon to say a word of welcome to the Federation as it comes to this city. As for my speech, I am afraid I have got a hard job on my hands. As I see the situation, you were expecting

a fight, a good, solid, human situation, with a scrap involved in it. What you got is a college professor who is going to talk about abstract principles, and just how to deal with that situation I am not sure. While I catch my wind and try to get you to forget what you are expecting here, I think I had better tell you a story. This story is about something that happened to me in my own early years, many years ago, when I was young and fresh. I'll tell you how young and fresh I was. To become president of a college you will either have to be young and fresh or else old and weighty.

I went to Minneapolis to talk to a group of business men. I tried to explain to them, at a luncheon, what I wanted to do in college. I remember that I looked at the papers next day to see if I had been reported. I don't do that any more. I found that I had been reported through the good offices of an alumni on the front page. I went home very happy. When I got the clipping and gave it to my secretary she said: "Have you noticed the headlines?" I said: "Oh, no I haven't noticed that." She said: "Then you had better read it; here it is." This is what it said: "Amherst President Shows Need of College Training!" That was a pretty hard experience for a youngster and I have never quite got over it.

Today I have a very simple and direct subject. President Green has asked me to speak for a little while about adult education. I have got something to explain. All my life now for the thirty years I have had to work, I have been teaching boys and girls in American colleges here and there. Now I am on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin, giving up my teaching of philosophy to the boys and girls because I want to teach men and women in America. It seems to me more important, it seems to me an essential job that we should undertake the teaching of the men and women of America about some things of which they needed teaching.

In the first place, let me tell you what I mean by education and then we can go on to adults. I think a person is educated if he knows what is going on in the world, if he knows what is going on around him. I don't care how he gets it, whether he gets it out of books or from his parents, or playing games, or in a shop, or out of his own wit. There is a fundamental difference in people. Some people have an eye to what is going on about them and some people do not. And my definition of an educated person is a man or a woman whose eyes are open, who is aware of what is going on in religion, in politics, in the arts and in literature. Whatever is important in human life, an educated person is aware of it.

The opposite of an educated person, I think, is a slave, a man who is going through this world without knowing what is going on about him. If he does any-

thing, he does it not because he knows about it, but because somebody who knows about it gets him to do it. Somebody buys him or gives him something he wants to do, something he doesn't know. That man, it seems to me, isn't educated, and I should call him a slave. And so we want education in America.

The particular point that I am driving at is that we want education for men and women. Why is it essential that the men and women of America should be educated? I have two reasons I want to give. In the first place, the thing that is interfering most in America today with our education of the youngsters is that the older people are not educated. The men and women, the parents, don't know what is going on, and all the time we are fighting against the tides of American life when we try to interest you in the activities of education, and we have got to get the older people going right.

The second reason, which is very important for us this afternoon, is this: I don't believe there is any possibility of realizing the purposes of America except when we can get education established among the older people. For that reason I want to tell you what is the purpose of America. I think America comes in the world's history as the first real start we have had for the making of democracy. It has been tried ever since men came into civilization. Greece and Rome and England all have tried it, but they have tried it with little success. Now people have the start here to try to make a democracy, and it is for the sake of that I want adult education.

Now, what is democracy? Sometimes people say democracy is a country or a community in which people are all equal. Of course that is quite impossible if one means equal in ability. You and I know people are not all equal in ability. Just as one man can run faster than another, so one man can think faster than another. What we do mean by democracy is that every man shall have a chance to make of his mind what it is capable of being made. If you ask me for the real test of democracy in America, I will give you the one a schoolmaster would give.

I find many people hostile to democracy in America and they say: "We Americans ought to have two kinds of schools, one set for people who are going to work and another set for people who are going to think."

And so I find people recommending all throughout our communities two kinds of education. They say we should have vocational schools and most of the people should go to them, and then we should have institutions of higher learning and a few people should go to them where they can learn how decisions are made; that they should learn what to think and the people in other kinds of schools should learn how to work with their bod-

ies, learn their trades in order to be able to be the servants of others. In my opinion that is the most hostile influence to democracy in America, because it rests on the supposition that there are two kinds of people, and one kind of person can use his mind—he is alive from the neck up, and the other person hasn't any mind to use—he is alive from the neck down.

To my mind there is no such difference between people. We all have abilities, and the purpose of democracy is to so educate a people that every member of the community, in the measure of his ability, shall take his share in the making of the common decisions, shall know what is going on, shall be alive intellectually in the life of his people.

I want adult education. I mean by adult education to attempt to take our older people and fit them for life in a democracy. How is it going to be done? We Americans already have a great deal of adult education going on, but we are not satisfied with it. We are looking around for expansion. Denmark, some thirty or forty years ago, had a critical situation in her activities. At that time there came into Denmark a great educational leader, and he summoned the people of that agricultural nation to come together in groups and read and think and play together. They did, and transformed the life of Denmark and made it a democracy in very large measure.

About forty years ago, following up the activities of the co-operative movement in England, there began to grow up tutorial classes. The teachers of Oxford and Cambridge said to the labor men of England: "If you would like to study things that are of interest to the laboring man we will be glad to study them with you."

It has always been of very great interest to me that the first of those classes was held in the town where I was born, Rochdale. That thing began in Rochdale some thirty or forty years ago and now they have over 300,000 students in those classes. And as one watches the building up of the English Labor Party into a powerful influence in the life of England, I think one can honestly say that the work of those tutorial classes has had as much to do as any single influence with fusing and welding the British Labor party and its intellectual friends into the fighting unit that has known where it was going, that has found out what England had to do and has played a part in it. I know they are having trouble now, I know the Labor Party has had hard days, but out of those studies has come a Labor Movement that is not done for but which has just begun.

Now for America and I'll be done. What are you going to do here? I want to see the men and women in the Labor Unions and outside of our Labor Unions studying American life. How shall we do

it? I don't think myself, in spite of what I am doing now, that it does much good to talk to people. I don't believe very much in mere discussion, people just getting together and airing their views, and each man taking out of here what seems to be the truth and trying to lick the other fellow with it. And so we have been looking around for another way of doing it. Here is a way that I think is essential.

With regard to the Labor Movement in England and in America, we have had great minds at work, we have had great students studying human life and I think the thing we need to do is to bring men and women in America into active touch with the best thinkers in England and America. We have them here. We have Hoxie and Hamilton and John R. Commons and Selig Perlman and many another man who has given his life and great ability in trying to understand the Labor Movement as friends of that movement. And there are the Webbs, and Tawney and Laski and Cole and Hobson and the rest. These are great men, they are trying to understand the problems and they have done the studying necessary for the understanding of the problems that you and I and this American Federation are grappling with.

Now what do we propose as a method of studying here? Small groups of people coming together, not more than a dozen at a time, to read what those men have to say, to think about their books, to consider those books together and year after year to study the problems of America and the problems of Labor, the problems of right living. And that is what I would like to plead for before this American Federation of Labor.

I watched your tactics, and I know you are students of tactics and I know that as a fighting organization you have got to have tactics. I don't deplore that. It is a hard and difficult task the American Federation of Labor is carrying on and you have got to be wise and shrewd about it. You stand for one set of interests in American life, and over against you is another interest, and that interest is strong and powerful, and often ruthless in its conflicts.

I know you have got to do everything you can within the limits of the law—I am not arguing against that—but what I would say is this: That deeper and more fundamental than either your tactics or your fighting is the necessity of understanding what you are doing. I tell you you are dealing with a difficult problem. There never was a more complicated thing in the world than American life is today, and so I say in every Labor Union in America there should be groups of students reading the best books, thinking of the best ideas.

One hundred and fifty years ago in America there was a piece of good thinking done. The men who made our Con-

stitution, the men who fashioned the political life of this country, were great men, and they thought out a scheme of Government which is the greatest thing ever thought by men, but for the last 100 years we Americans have been sitting on our hunkers doing practically no thinking at all. We accepted what was given us. Each one of us has gone about his separate business looking for his own separate interests, and the time has come when America has got to begin thinking again. I want to see the American Federation of Labor lead the way in that thinking, and that is one reason why I am interested in adult education.

President Green: You were very interested in this address. You listened so well. I can tell by the expression on your faces that you are deeply interested in the logic and in the analysis, and in the presentation made by Dr. Meiklejohn in his address. We will be glad to have it incorporated in the proceedings of the convention.

I thank you, Dr. Meiklejohn, for your visit and for your address.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Teamsters: I desire to correct an injustice, that in my judgment, occurred here the other day. For that reason I want to offer a motion that all references to the Attorney General of the United States and the Department of Justice, as appearing in the third day's proceedings on page 298, be stricken from the official records of the American Federation of Labor.

There appeared in all of the newspapers throughout the State and throughout the country headlines similar to this: "Labor Hits Cummings." This is a copy of the "Chronicle" of October 4. Now, I fully realize that the gentleman who made the statement was not a delegate to this convention. I also realize that the expressions of a visitor are not the expressions of this convention nor the voice of the Organized Labor movement.

The expressions I refer to on the page I mention are made by Joseph Fadway of Wisconsin. One of the sections in that page reads: "But today the Attorney General and his department, by inactivity and constant refusal to act, are giving support to the employers in their disrespect for and refusal to comply with NRA."

I hold that is not a truthful statement: I hold that it is an injustice to this officer of the Government to have such a statement made where the individual is unable to defend himself. As a matter of fact, the Department of Justice is just as anxious to get an opinion from the highest court in the land as any man in here on this all-important

question. But some of us at least know that the Department of Justice is not quite sure of its ground as to whether or not this law will be sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. Some of us know—all of us ought to know—that the Supreme Court of the United States recessed in June and I don't think it has reconvened up to the present time.

Further on other remarks were made which would almost throw out the impression—the impression has gone through the nation—that the Attorney General of the United States is the enemy of Labor and is despised by Labor, which is an injustice to the men of Labor who speak for Labor legally, and an injustice that should be resented.

It has been my fortune, or misfortune, for the last twenty-five years to have to meet many of the Attorneys General of the United States. I don't know how many of you men on the floor know what the men of Labor have had to undergo with the Department of Justice in order to protect our organizations from Attorneys General in the years that are past. One time during the Wilson administration an attempt was made to destroy our organization in the City of Chicago by an organization outside of the American Labor movement. Strikes were being called, drivers were being beaten up, the law was being violated in every shape and manner, so much so that the United States District Attorney in Chicago called officers of our union to Chicago and informed them that he would co-operate with us in preventing a destruction of legitimate trade unions in that city at that time.

At the request of the first great Secretary of Labor, that wonderful old miner, Bill Wilson, we went to Washington and interviews were granted us by the Attorney General, and he almost insulted the delegates that went to see him and although the President of the United States at that time was friendly to Labor. The Attorney General told us plainly—Mr. Gompers was present—that the American Federation of Labor would receive no consideration in his office while he was Attorney General.

Later on you men know what happened in the Harding administration. I want to make the statement that for eight years the labor movement had been suffering with an unfriendly cabinet officer in the Department of Justice. The man is still alive that acted so bitterly against the Labor Movement in those days.

In 1920, under the Harding administration, you know what happened. The head of the Department of Investigation was the man who endeavored to destroy the Labor Movement, made history for himself, built up a fortune for himself by persecuting the men of Labor during his time in private and in public office—the late William J. Burns.

A man sat on this platform this morning who for many years was the volunteer legal mind of the American Federation of Labor, and sat with us in councils in Washington, where we were endeavoring to prove that the Department of Justice itself, and the Cabinet officer in charge of that Department, had violated the law by the appointment of a man as chief of the Secret Service of the nation who was charged with crime in the State of California at one time.

We went along and suffered in that regime. During the Coolidge administration another distinguished lawyer from Vermont was appointed Attorney General, and under him served a great legal mind from the State of New York. I refer to Mr. Sargent, the Attorney General, and Mr. Donovan, the Assistant Attorney General. During their regime they tried to use violation of traffic laws against us because some of our men on strike tried to influence the strikebreakers to become members of the organization. They practically delivered the Department over to the Employers' Association of New York.

Now we come down to our present Attorney General. During all those years there was no welcome for the men of Labor who were fighting for the masses, who were striving during those years to hold their organizations together. The present Attorney General of the United States, as you know, was appointed because of the death of Senator Walsh. He had not sought the position; he was enjoying a very substantial practice in his State, Connecticut, but when he came into the office I happened to be one of the group representing Labor where he made his statement that while he would fulfill his oath of office, while it was his duty to observe the Constitution and carry out the laws, nothing unfair or underhanded would take place in his office against Labor.

Let me cite one thing. During the sessions of the House and the Senate last year there was a group of eight or nine bills presented. The group was bunched, as they call it down there, and they passed unanimously the whole bunch, in the United States Senate. There wasn't a dissenting vote in the Senate against any one of those bills.

Our office in Washington sent me a copy of the bills. Eight of them were directed or intended to give more power to the Federal Government in the prosecution of crime. The other one was so far-reaching and so dangerous that no organization in any way connected with interstate traffic could fight them if the subject-matter of the bill became a law.

I wired President Green for further information. He gave me what he had. I wondered why the legislative officials of the Railroad Brotherhoods, with whom I got in contact, hadn't noticed this dangerous piece of legislation. I wired to the

Attorney General for a conference. He immediately invited us to a conference. President Green, some representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods and myself sat in that conference. Some of the best minds available were put at our disposal to see that the bill was made reasonable. I know that there is not the slightest intention on the part of the Department of Justice to have enacted a law that would injure the legal, bona fide Labor Movement of our country.

The other bills became laws, the bills to punish criminals, giving the Department of Justice greater power to punish kidnapers, gunmen and murderers, and the Department of Justice was well informed that the Labor Movement in many districts and many of its officers were suffering severely from that condition.

If Homer Cummings never did anything else for Labor except to help put through that legislation to protect the men of Labor, he has done something we should never forget, we who have been in the battlefields fighting for justice and for our lives.

I ask this convention not to do anything that would weaken the friendship of that Department towards Labor. It was a pleasure for me to hear Judge Stevens say he would be happy if Mr. Green would come to lunch with him and discuss legislation in which the workers might be involved. Not any men could I cite in the entire Department, from which we were at one time thrown out, who were not friendly with us in accordance with their positions as officials of the Government. No one has a right to ask an official of the Government to violate his oath of office.

Of course, there is a reason for this. The whole atmosphere and outward appearance of the American race has been changed in recent years, and because the men running the Government know and fully understand that you are the men who can elect or reject candidates for office, every Department of the Government is friendly to you. They know and I know that it was not Democrats or Republicans that put the present administration over; it was the 12,000,000 men and women of America that were hungry that wanted a change. They brought about a change and they have the power to change it again if the promises made are broken during this administration.

They have found the men of Labor on the level. I am not speaking of the unfortunate degenerates that exist here and there in the Labor Movement, but the great rank and file and the National and International officers are clean, wholesome and honest and the several Departments of Government fully understand that and they support Labor because of that.

But we have no right, because someone comes here and makes statements, to al-

low an impression to go out that we are enemies of some official of the Government, because someone wants to advertise himself in the name of Labor.

I ask this convention to vote for this motion, which is to expunge from the records the statements I read to you. I read one. There are two. They are unjust, untrue, because they give Labor a black eye amongst the officials of our Government.

Delegate Ohi, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates—I hope that the motion made by Delegate Tobin will not prevail. I have listened attentively to a number of talks before this convention and I, too, dissent in some particulars from some of the remarks that have been made by some of the speakers, but I don't think that they, even though I disagree, should have their remarks expunged from the records of this convention. They are invited speakers.

I think, too, that Mr. Padway will be very willing to be responsible for everything he has said. Had Mr. Padway not said what he did from the platform last Wednesday, I would have done so, because we in Wisconsin know something about what the Department of Justice has done and what it has not done. I don't know what Mr. Tobin's relations are with Mr. Cummings, but in order to show their friendliness the Department must do something different from what it has done in some cases.

The Bear Brand Hosiery Company operates in Wisconsin. It is owned by Henry Pope, of whom you have all read. There was a controversy among the workers and persecution of American Federation of Labor members. The Chicago Regional Labor Board took up the case. Mr. Pope refused to come to the hearing. The Chicago Regional Labor Board came to a decision, Mr. Pope told the Labor Board, in effect, to jump in the lake.

The Regional Labor Board said if a case ever had a right to be taken before the Department of Justice that was one of the outstanding cases. I am very deeply interested in the disposition of some of these cases. I spoke to Mr. Rice and there were others present, and Mr. Rice told us that this matter had been referred to the Department of Justice and they had refused to act. That may have been their judgment, but it was not ours. Today Mr. Pope is keeping his factory closed, and that was the basis of one of the actions. The Attorney General's Department refused to act. That company lost the Blue Eagle, but there isn't anything being done about it.

We have a National Recovery Act. I listened with a great deal of interest to what Miss Perkins said. She said her Department had no authority to deal with these things. I agree with her. The en-

forcement is not there, and thousands of our people are suffering because there does not seem to be the will or authority on the part of enforcement agencies to safeguard the rights of the workers.

For several years before this Administration the Department of Justice issued injunction after injunction against Labor. Now we are supposed to have a new charter of rights which no one will be permitted to violate, and yet the employers of labor violate it with impunity and defy the Act.

I hope the motion does not prevail.

Delegate Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I first wish to say that as a friend of Judge Padway I resent the insinuation that he came to this convention and made his speech in order to advertise himself. He was an invited guest of the officers of this Federation and he came because of that invitation, and for no other reason, in order to discuss his viewpoint on "Labor and the Law," because he has had many years' experience in Wisconsin. He is acting as the attorney for Labor in Milwaukee and in the State. He needs no advertisement to show where he stands in that respect.

Now we are afraid that this so-called attack upon the Attorney General might lose for the Federation and its affiliated unions the friendship of the Department of Justice. I don't feel that any such assertion is a very high compliment to the Department of Justice and those at the head of it. I believe that as public officials those persons are subject to criticism and subject to differences of opinion in the Labor Movement and in the American nation. I believe they are bigger than that.

Let me point out to you that just this morning Secretary of Labor Perkins said she did not come here to tell Labor what to do, but that she came here to listen to what Labor thought about these matters. Now, Labor feels there has been some lack of activity on the part of the Department of Justice. We know that activity has not been as great as it should have been. President Ohl mentioned one case. There are many other cases. Although the National Recovery Act states that it is a criminal offense to violate the Act, no action has been taken by the Department of Justice. Judge Padway pointed out that only one injunction proceeding had been started, yet there have been hundreds of cases that might have been acted upon.

It may be true that the Department of Justice is friendly to Labor. We don't say it is not, but friendship must extend further than not acting against Labor. It must act for Labor. We feel it is not so much a matter of the Attorney General violating his oath of office, but asking him to comply strictly with his oath of office

and begin prosecutions in all these cases under the laws of the United States. We do not feel that it is just to say that the Attorney General's Department may be proceeding cautiously because it does not know if the law will be upheld by the courts. If that is an argument, it is a poor one, because if the law cannot stand the test of the court, let us find it out. Don't say we will not enforce the law until we find out whether or not it is constitutional. Let us ascertain that as soon as possible, and then if it is declared unconstitutional proceed to get a law that will stand the test of constitutionality.

The motion is an affront to officers of this Federation. It should not pass. The remarks of Judge Padway were applauded by the delegates. No record can expunge that. I do not want to have the remarks expunged because I feel they were right and just.

President Green: May the Chair take advantage of this opportunity to make a brief statement and if possible clear up what seems to me, and I think to some other delegates in this convention, some misunderstanding. The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are open forums, particularly where during the sessions of the convention we extend invitations to distinguished speakers to address us on various subjects. If there is any place in the land where free speech is practiced and upheld it is in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We place no restrictions upon speakers who we know are authorities on the subjects handled. We ask them to speak to us frankly. Their addresses are printed in the daily proceedings of the convention. It does not mean because a speaker expresses his opinion or gives voice to his judgment that what he says or what he utters becomes the expressed opinion of the convention.

Judge Padway addressed us recently. He delivered a most interesting and illuminating address, but he spoke as Judge Joseph N. Padway, an attorney who had served the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor faithfully and efficiently. In a very fine way he expressed his opinion on "Labor and the Law." His voice was not the voice of the American Federation of Labor, and we cannot help what the newspapers said about him. We have no control over the headline writers for the newspapers.

Now is there anyone here who could interpret the address of Judge Padway as the voice of the American Federation of Labor? He was a distinguished speaker who came here to address the convention. We do not want anything that will lessen the influence of the American Federation of Labor; we want to uphold our traditional policy, the standard we set that men may come here and speak freely and that the principle of free speech will forever be upheld.

Judge Padway can answer to the Department of Justice for the remarks made if those remarks are challenged. There is no call upon the American Federation of Labor for any answer whatsoever. Now I make this explanation because I think my good friend, President Tobin, placed a wrong impression upon the address of this speaker, and that is largely because of the headlines in the newspapers. I am going to ask him to help us out of this situation by withdrawing the motion.

Delegate Tobin: Mr. Chairman, I am not satisfied with the explanations made by the previous speakers. The intent to besmirch an official of the Government is there. I want to say to the President that I fully explained that the gentleman making the remarks was not a delegate, but do you think we ought to invite people to come in here and say anything they want, even members of the Communist Party? Every newspaper in America of any importance carried the story that the American Federation of Labor was naming Attorney-General Cummings to the cross. I say this: Having dealt for 135,000 members, fully understanding what is on when we were trying to get the NRA enacted into law, fighting Senators and Congressmen, I fully understand the nature of the situation in Washington, where we had twenty cases from our International that we could not get action on. I tried to explain to you why they wanted to build up the biggest and best case possible before they go to the Supreme Court. They are a little doubtful as to the action of the court. In order not to go any further on this thing and have a roll call vote, because there is no International union represented here that could afford to vote against the motion, I believe I have accomplished my purpose by having my statement in the record.

I therefore withdraw my motion.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: In former conventions we have taken a moment of our time for the purpose of paying a tribute of re-

spect to the many of our members who have departed this life during the past year. The records show that a large number of beloved, active, efficient men, able representatives of the American Federation of Labor, have passed away during the past year. We are saddened when we read the list, because it seems to be increasing. I am prepared to submit a list of the names of our departed brothers who passed away during the last year. And then after we have read the list of names I will ask you to arise and stand for a moment as we pay solemn, sad and silent tribute to our departed members, officers and leaders.

Secretary Morrison read the following list:

List of Labor Officials and Representatives of the American Federation of Labor Deceased Since the 1933 Convention, With Date of Death:

- H. F. BROENING, President, Baltimore, Maryland, Federation of Labor; member, International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada. Died, November 9, 1933.
- EMMETT L. ADAMS, member of Lodge 174, International Association of Machinists, and served as Business Agent of that local. Died, December 13, 1933.
- G. P. SODERBERG, General Secretary-Treasurer, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. Died, January 11, 1934.
- JOSEPH O'MALLEY, National Representative of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. Died, January 27, 1934.
- THOMAS NOLAN, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. Died, January 30, 1934.
- DAN CLEARY, Trustee, Benefit Association, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America. Died, February 2, 1934.
- C. N. IDAR, General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Died, February 3, 1934.
- G. W. PERKINS, President, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor. Died, February 5, 1934.
- HARRY H. KAVILLE, Special Grand Lodge Representative, International Association of Machinists. Died, March 5, 1934.
- THOMAS J. McNAMARA, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers. Died, April 4, 1934.

- CHARLES DICKIE**, Secretary-Treasurer, Division No. 4, International Association of Machinists; representing all railroads in Canada. Died, April 13, 1934.
- L. D. BLAND**, International Treasurer, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. Died, April 17, 1934.
- MATT ROBERTS**, Special Representative of John Morrison, Advertising Manager, American Federation of Labor. Died, April 19, 1934.
- JOHN J. FOOTE**, member Executive Board, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y. Died, April 21, 1934.
- FRED W. SUITOR**, Secretary-Treasurer, Quarry Workers' International Union of North America. Died, May 10, 1934.
- W. B. WILSON**, First Secretary of Labor; in 1900 was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. Died, May 27, 1934.
- J. L. WINES**, General Secretary-Treasurer, United Garment Workers of America. Died, June 2, 1934.
- R. L. REEVES**, Secretary, Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. Died, June 4, 1934.
- JOSEPH M. RICHIE**, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor; Secretary-Treasurer, Stained and Leaded Glass Workers' Local No. 556. Died, June 15, 1934.
- S. N. BERRY**, President of the Order of Railway Conductors. Died, June 27, 1934.
- HUGH FRAYNE**, General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Died, July 13, 1934.
- JOHN J. MANNING**, Secretary - Treasurer, American Federation of Labor Union Label Trades Department. Died, July 17, 1934.
- GEORGE S. LEVI**, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Died, July 27, 1934.
- HARRY JOHNSON**, 5th Vice-President, Jewelry Workers' International Union. Died, July 30, 1934.
- JOHN P. WHITE**, former President, United Mine Workers of America. Died, September 21, 1934.
- A. J. ROGERS**, Secretary Joint Local Executive Board, Brewery Workers, San Francisco, Calif. Died, February, 1934.
- JOHN HOEHN**, Secretary of the Joint Local Executive Board and Representative of the Union Label Trades, Pittsburgh, Pa. Died, July, 1934.
- JOSEPH FESSNER**, General Executive Board, Brewery Workers, St. Louis, Mo. Died February 23, 1934.
- JOSEPH PROEBSTLE**, member Executive Board, Brewery Workers. Died, February 23, 1934.
- JOHN HUGHES**, Past President of the Indiana State Federation of Labor and Business Agent of the Molders' Joint Conference Board. Died December 23, 1933.
- WILLIAM H. GRIEBLING**, Secretary - Treasurer Iowa State Federation of Labor, member of Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Died September 18, 1934.
- COLLINS HARDIN**, Secretary Los Angeles Building Trades Council. Died, May, 1934.
- J. MAHLON BARNES**, Washington, D. C., a former official of the Cigar Makers' International Union.
- HARRY McLAUGHLIN**, President Ohio State Federation of Labor and Cleveland Federation of Labor. Died, November 11, 1933.
- ALBERT E. HILL**, Editor, Labor Advocate, Nashville, Tenn., First President of Tennessee State Federation of Labor, Speaker of State Senate, Member of Typographical Union.
- JOHN GAY**, Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America, District 13.
- ED. KOCH**, Secretary Meat Cutters, Seattle, Washington.
- FRED ROSS**, member Railway Carmen, Local 268, Portland, Ore., Attorney for Oregon State Federation of Labor. Died September 19, 1934.
- C. E. McLAUGHLIN**, Representative International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. Died, June 18, 1934.
- HERMAN GRASSMAN**, President International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Died, March 12, 1934.
- JAMES DELVIN**, Treasurer National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America. Killed, December 25, 1933.
- ROBERT HENDERSON**, International Representative Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, Boston, Mass.
- L. B. LEAVITT**, Voluntary Organizer American Federation of Labor. Died, October 28, 1933.
- EDWARD W. PARLEE**, Voluntary Organizer, American Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' League of America. Died, May 16, 1934.
- L. B. CLIFTON**, Vice-President Order of Railroad Telegraphers. Died, September 18, 1934.
- WALTER YARROW**, former President International Association Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers. Died, January, 1934.

ROBERT HENDERSON, Boston, Mass., International Organizer, Boiler Makers. Died, September 1, 1934.

JOHN J. FANNING, Vice-President, Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, September 10, 1933.

CHARLES C. SHAY, former International President Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, March 4, 1934.

LES G. DOLLIVER, Assistant International President Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, February 28, 1934.

HARRY L. SPENCER, Assistant International President Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, October 1, 1934.

WILLIAM A. DILLON, International Representative Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, June 27, 1934.

WILLIAM RUSK, First Vice-President, Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machines Operators of the United States and Canada. Died, March 18, 1934.

The delegates and visitors, at the request of President Green, arose and stood in silence for one minute in tribute to the deceased members.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Bugniazet, chairman of the Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Bugniazet: Mr. Chairman and delegates, Secretary Martel will read the report of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee had before it those portions of the Executive Council's report, pages 85 and 170 to 173, referring to Puerto Rico and the enactment of minimum wage laws in the various states.

Puerto Rico

Your Committee has carefully gone over the Executive Council's report on the

above subject, and feel sure the membership of the American Federation of Labor will be pleased to note the increased membership of the Puerto Rico Workingmen's Federation, as well as the many improvements in their economic conditions.

We urge that every effort be made to have the next session of the Insular Legislature pass a Workingmen's Compensation bill eliminating the defects in the previous bill so the Governor will sign the bill and it will become law.

We also urge that the next session of the Insular Legislature rectify the existing situation that makes the recent enacted law for Widowed Mothers' Pension inoperative.

We are pleased to note that finally the administrative affairs of Puerto Rico have been transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

Your Committee shares the opinion that with continued organizing activities and the general educational and publicity campaign that the welfare of the Puerto Rican workers will continue to improve.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the report.

Minimum Wage Laws

Your Committee has carefully gone over the subject matter, and recommends that all State Federations of Labor be urged to co-operate with each other, and urge their respective State Legislatures to enact minimum wage laws, so as to properly protect the interest of the workers.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the report.

Respectfully submitted,

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman,
FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary,
WM. MCCARTHY,
JOHN BOYLAN,
JERRY HORAN,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
PATRICK GORMAN,
HERBERT RIVERS,
WM. E. WALTER,
GEO. SPOONER,
GEO. W. LAWSON,
J. GOLDSTONE,
T. N. TAYLOR,
J. B. PREWITT,
Z. L. FREEDMAN,
A. E. WILKERSON,
GUSTAVE STREBEL,

Committee on State Organizations.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Duffy of the Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Burt, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Organizing Culinary Workers

Resolution No. 17 — By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the unorganized condition of the hotel, restaurant and cafe employees employed in establishments receiving the patronage of the trade unionists; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to advise all of its affiliated International and National Locals and Federal Unions of the existence of an organization which has jurisdiction over culinary workers, bartenders, and beverage dispensers employed in hotels, restaurants and cafes, i. e., the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That their co-operation be requested to bring about the organization of these employees in the establishments in their particular localities.

Resolution No. 17 was referred back to the Committee for further consideration. Your Committee, after further study of the Resolution, again concurs in the Resolution and also recommends that all organizations involved in the subject matter as expressed in the Resolution be included in its provisions.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Chairman McDonough of the Building Trades Department has

requested that a copy of the appeal made by the three organizations from the decision of the Convention of the Building Trades Department, and the reply of the officers of the Department to that appeal, in connection with the supplementary report of the Executive Council, be included in the proceedings of today's convention. Are there objections? If there are no objections the request will be granted. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The documents referred to by President McDonough are as follows:

Appeal

September 28, 1934.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, California.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America desire to present to you a statement relative to our affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and to the action of the Convention of the Building Trades Department which has been in session in this city since Wednesday, September 26, 1934.

When we decided, on the request of the President of the American Federation of Labor, to consider reaffiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, it was with the distinct understanding that we would obtain and enjoy all the rights and privileges of all regularly affiliated organizations in the Department.

We were guaranteed these rights by President Green of the American Federation of Labor, and in compliance with that part of the Constitution of the Building Trades Department governing affiliation, we carried out our part of the agreement to the letter; were admitted to membership and given certificates of affiliation on June 14, 1934.

In due time we were notified that the Convention of the Building Trades Department would be held in San Francisco beginning September 26, 1934, and we received credentials from the Building Trades Department, after which we elected our delegates to the Department and brought them to San Francisco, California, at considerable expense, with the full belief that there would be no question about their being seated in accordance with the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, and our agreement and understanding with President Green at the time of our application for reaffiliation.

We did everything that was required of us in accordance with the request of President Green, and in accordance with the laws of the Building Trades Department.

When we appeared before the convention, representing our International Unions, the convention refused to seat our delegates.

We now appear before you and demand fulfillment of the agreement that was entered into between our respective organizations, the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor.

We ask that this Executive Council insist that the agreement with us, made through President Green, be carried out in full.

We demand that this Executive Council notify the officers of the Building Trades Department that the refusal of the delegates to the Convention of the Building Trades Department to seat the delegates from our respective organizations was a violation of the agreement, and of the laws of the Building Trades Department, and that their procedure, as a convention, was illegal.

We insist that you notify them, through this Council, that it is the order of this Council that the Convention of the Building Trades Department be reconvened immediately, and that all acts of the recent convention of the Building Trades Department be rescinded. That the convention, as one of its acts, seat the delegates from our respective organizations, and that we proceed with the work of the convention in accordance with the understanding that was entered into when we became affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

Said understanding, or agreement, we repeat, was guaranteed by President Green representing the American Federation of Labor.

We desire to also request of this Executive Council to inform the Building Trades Department officials that unless arrangements are made within twenty-four hours for reconvening of the convention, and our delegates seated, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall deem it necessary, and will, in the interest of the preservation of this solemn and binding agreement, recommend to the American Federation of Labor Convention that the charter of the Building Trades Department be revoked.

WM. L. HUTCHESON,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners of America.

HARRY C. BATES,
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

D. W. TRACY,
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.

Reply to the Appeal

San Francisco, California,
September 30, 1934.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor,
Mr. William Green, President,
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We are in receipt of your communication of September 28 containing copy of charges presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers concerning the action taken at the recent convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. We herewith quote the action taken by the Building Trades Department convention dealing with this particular subject:

"Affiliation With the Building Trades Department of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

"The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

"We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and co-operation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and co-operation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and co-operation prevailing.

"We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was **not** the subject of conversations among the delegates, we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

"Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which is so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation denied."

Answering the charges made by these three organizations, we question the right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to hear an appeal from organizations which are not in affiliation with the Building Trades Department and which have been denied affiliation with the Building Trades Department by an action of the convention of the Building Trades Department.

These three International Unions agreed to conform to all of the rules and laws of the Department. Since the applications were received, the attitude of these three organizations has been such that at no time did they show any desire to carry out that which was agreed to with President Green. The following communication dated June 25, 1934, over the signature of William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was sent out to all of their Local Unions:

"United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

"Information to Members of Our Brotherhood

"To All Local Unions and District Councils:

"For several years our Brotherhood has not been affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

"Recently, upon the solicitation of Wm. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, the Electrical Workers' organization, the Bricklayers' International Union and our Brotherhood, decided to again affiliate with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and on June 14 were admitted to the Department.

"In doing so, however, it was agreed by the three organizations that the Tri-Party Agreement existing between the Electricians, Bricklayers and our Brotherhood would continue in existence.

"While we are now again affiliated with the Department, our membership, if desiring to affiliate with local Building Trades Councils, should keep in mind that they should affiliate through their District Council, where a District Council exists.

"They should also bear in mind that the laws of the Building Trades Department provide that no strike of a Building Trades Council shall be called because of a jurisdictional dispute. In other words if a jurisdictional dispute arises between two trades the Building Trades Council is to remain neutral and not enter into the controversy by taking sides with either one or the other of the organizations.

"Our members should also keep in mind that if they affiliate with a Building Trades Council it does not in any way change our jurisdictional claims, nor do we, nor can we, permit a local Building Trades

Council to determine what our jurisdiction shall be.

"Fraternally yours,

"WM. L. HUTCHESON,
"General President.

"June 25, 1934."

The above communication without question demonstrates that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners did not have any intention of developing solidarity and co-operation among the Building Trades organizations.

We desire to call your attention to the fact that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners violated Section 5 of the rules governing Departments. This section provides that the organizations should pay to the Department per capita tax on their full membership. The records of the American Federation of Labor disclose that they have paid on 200,000 members to that body and have paid on 150,000 members to the Building Trades Department.

Again, we call your attention to the violation of Section 28 of the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has refused to submit a copy of their jurisdictional claim to the Building Trades Department.

We again call your attention to the repeated refusals of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to comply with Section 37 of the Constitution and By-laws of the Building Trades Department, they having refused to assign a representative to meet with representatives of other organizations to adjust jurisdictional disputes.

Again, we call your attention to the violation of Section 6 of the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the credentials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were not submitted until September 25, 1934.

It might be of interest at this time to relate the past relationship of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners with this Department.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners affiliated with this Department in 1908. Refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the Building Trades Department Convention held in Tampa in 1909, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were suspended at the convention held in St. Louis, Mo., in 1910, after every effort had been made by the officials of the Department to have this organization comply with the decision. They reaffiliated in May, 1912, on a two-thirds vote of their membership, and withdrew after the convention held in Seattle, Washington in 1913, again refusing to comply with the convention decisions of 1909 awarding hollow metal

trim to the sheet metal workers. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners re-affiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1915, after the American Federation of Labor Convention and decided by a yea and nay vote that the manufacture and erection of hollow metal doors and trim was the work of the sheet metal worker. The Carpenters rejoined the Building Trades Department in 1915, as stated, and at that convention the Machinists and Boiler Makers were put out of the Building Trades Department. A motion by President Hutcheson prevailed in the Department Convention, abrogating the Tampa decision awarding the erection of hollow metal doors and trim to the sheet metal workers. In 1921, refusing to abide by decisions made by the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners seceded from this Department. They re-affiliated with the Building Trades Department at the Los Angeles Convention in 1927. At the 1929 Convention held in Toronto, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners advocated a reduction in the per capita tax. The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously recommended that there be a reduction in the per capita tax. The convention repudiated the report of the Executive Council. Again, the Carpenters seceded from the Building Trades Department.

We also desire to call to the attention of the Executive Council that the Building Trades Department has a signed contract with the National Association of Building Trades Employers which obligates the affiliated organizations of the Department to carry out all decisions of the National Board of Trade Claims. This contract is in effect at the present time and will be until December 31, 1934. The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have most emphatically refused to be governed by the decisions of the National Board of Trade Claims.

Aside from these definite and specific reasons, it was common knowledge among the delegates to the convention of the Building Trades Department that since June 14, 1934, there has been a campaign of barter and intimidation carried on by these three trades to bring about the disruption of the Building Trades Department.

With reference to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, this organization affiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1916 and, refusing to comply with the decisions rendered by the Building Trades Department, seceded from the Department in 1927.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers joined the Department in 1908. The President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers participated in the drawing up of the agree-

ment for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the Building Trades Department and the National Association of Building Trades Employers in 1930. When the Boston convention of the Building Trades Department, held in 1930, approved this agreement, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers seceded from the Building Trades Department.

These are some of the reasons why the delegates to the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department refused to accept the applications of these organizations for affiliation.

Referring to the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of the Building Trades Department—Boiler Makers and Machinists—on page 282, proceedings of the 1918 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers ruled as follows:

" . . . that, 'Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions.' He emphasized the fact that the section provides that organizations 'SHOULD be a part of their respective Departments and SHOULD comply with their actions and decisions.' He stated that if it is voluntary for an organization to become affiliated with a Department it cannot be made compulsory for a Department to accept an organization; that it is either mutually compulsory or it is mutually arbitrary."

The delegate from the Building Trades Department to the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1931 submitted a resolution to amend Section 5 of the General Rules Governing Departments, as follows:

"Strike out all the words beginning with the word 'should' in the sixth line and including and ending with the word 'subject' in the eighth line, and insert in lieu thereof the following: 'shall be required to be part of such respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions or be subject to forfeiture of their charters in the American Federation of Labor, all being subject however . . .'"

This resolution was not concurred in.

In checking the records of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the membership paid on by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union to the American Federation of Labor, from October, 1933 until March, 1934, this organization paid on a membership

of 35,000; in April, 1934, 45,000; in May, 1934, 45,000, and in June, 1934, 65,000.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers paid on a membership of 92,000 in July, August and September, 1933; 110,000 from October, 1933 to May, 1934, and in June, 1934, they paid on 130,000 members. Notwithstanding this, at a conference held in March between the officials of the three outside organizations and representatives of the Building Trades Department, the Carpenters' representatives stated that they would pay per capita tax on 200,000 members; the Electrical Workers on 110,000, and the Bricklayers on 45,000.

In the face of the terribly depressed conditions in the building industry and which is universally recognized, this increase in membership we believe is fictitious, and it is quite obvious that it was created for some ulterior motive—to control the affairs of the Building Trades Department to suit their own selfish ends, and especially when we take into consideration the past history of at least two of these organizations that have never in their history given true co-operation in any way to the building up of a solid, sound Building Trades Department.

We contend, along with the foregoing, that in accordance with the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, and which is a general rule with all similar bodies, the delegates to a convention have full and complete power to not only decide who shall be accepted to membership as affiliated organizations, but on all other questions affecting the administration of the Building Trades Department. In other words, they are recognized as the supreme power and the supreme body whose actions are conclusive and from which there can be no appeal.

We want to assure you that it is now and always has been our ardent desire to have every building trade affiliated with the Building Trades Department. Our actions in the past have proven this by maintaining the Building Trades Department in all the years, and especially in later years, through sacrifice, adversity, and suffering, and without the aid of those that are now seeking admission. While it is our supreme thought at all times and especially in the present controversy that the three organizations herein named will become affiliated with the Building Trades Department, they

must become affiliated in accordance with the Constitution and the customs governing the administration of the Building Trades Department, in which they are well versed, and with a sincere and honest intention that they claim is theirs to build up a strong and substantial Building Trades Department wherein progress and advancement for the building trades and the labor movement generally that we all desire and have spent the best part of our lives to achieve. On these enlightened principles of co-operation, we would welcome them as members and affiliates of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) M. J. McDONOUGH,
President,

WM. C. O'NEILL,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Building Trades Department.

President Green: The Chair will inquire if there are now any other committees ready to report, either partially or complete. It does not appear at the moment that any of the other committees are ready to report. The Chair will therefore recognize Secretary Morrison for announcements.

Secretary Morrison again announced the round table discussion to be held under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau on Friday evening.

President Green announced that various delegates, in response to invitations extended by the churches of the city, would appear in the pulpits of a number of the churches at the services on Sunday next, October 7.

There being no further business to come before the convention, Delegate Martel, Typographical Union, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 8. The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 4:50 o'clock p.m.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

San Francisco, California,
October 8, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Freng, Horn, Horan, Nelson, Lucchi, Ryan (Jos. P.), Hannah, Olander, McMahon, Hatch, Fay (Geo. V.), Rogers, Mastriani, Iglesias, O'Brien (Paul), Hirschfeldt, Schwartz (H. W.), Cuthbert, Groner, McInroy, Mitchell (Humphrey), De Witt, Woods, Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ellis, Rice, Graham (Fred J.), Shave, Quinn, Gornito, Draper, Jackson, Bower, Davison, Wright, Holmes, Wood (R. T.), Franklin, Garibaldi, Higgins, Mitchell (Richard A.), Ryan (James), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (Harry), Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (Sam M.), Duyungan, Nathan, Townes, Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Roll, De Long, Flores, Wolfe, Tuohy, Manash, Bertucci, Watson (Spencer), Holland, Hampton, McElligott, Dent, Yetta.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined the credential of Virgil S. Duyungan, representing the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers' Union No. 18257, Seattle, Washington, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

Your Committee reports that upon the authority of Secretary-Treasurer Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, we recommend the seating of T. J. Lloyd, as delegate in place of M. J. Kelly.

We have received a communication from President Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America, requesting the seating of George Larsen in place of Delegate Victor A. Olander, who will be unable to attend the sessions of the convention. We recommend the seating of George Larsen in place of Delegate Victor A. Olander.

We have also received a communication from President John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, stating that he finds it impossible to attend the convention and requesting that Frank C. Barnes, Jr., be seated in his place. We recommend the seating of Frank C. Barnes, Jr., in place of Delegate Burke.

Also we beg to report that we have received a communication from Secretary-Treasurer Robert B. Hesketh of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, advising that President Edward Flore will be unable to attend the convention on account of business reasons of vast importance to their International Union, and requesting that their International Vice-President Hugo Ernst be seated in his place, from Monday, October 8.

Your Committee recommends the seating of Hugo Ernst in place of Delegate Flore, who will not be able to attend the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Chicago, Illinois,
October 5, 1934.

American Federation of Labor
Convention,
San Francisco, California.

The Socialist Party sends fraternal greetings to your convention. It stands ready to aid in every way possible. It hopes the convention will sound clear call for action on economic and political fields which will enable the workers to build a movement sweeping everything before it on the road to power.

LEO KRZYCKI, Chairman,
CLARENCE SENIOR.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

New York, N. Y.,
September 26, 1934.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Whitcomb Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

To the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, President William Green and Delegates, Greetings: We convey to you our best wishes. May God help you in your deliberations to bring the best conditions to the workers so they and their families may enjoy life. The American Labor Movement is the greatest army of industrialists in the world and such an army is entitled to the best life has to offer. Long life to the American Federation of Labor.

I. W. HASHKINS,
General Auditor, United Garment
Workers of America.

New York, N. Y.,
October 4, 1934.

American Federation of Labor,
Civic Auditorium.

May your deliberations lead to further advance for American Organized Labor movement.

CUSTOM TAILOR BRANCH,
NEW YORK AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING WORKERS OF
AMERICA.

New York, N. Y.,
October 4, 1934.

American Federation of Labor,
Civic Auditorium.

Accept our best wishes for a forward looking convention.

LOCAL 63, AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING WORKERS OF
AMERICA.

New York, N. Y.,
October 5, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Civic Center Auditorium,
San Francisco.

Greetings from the New York and Eastern Cap and Cloth Hat Manufacturers. It was unanimously resolved in conference today that though this is an industry affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that you at the head of it will assist the five thousand workers in this industry by appealing to your leaders now in conference to urge all workers in the United States to foster

employment for the Cap Workers by encouraging them to wear caps and hats. Hatlessness is a curse to our industry and millions of your members are supporting this scourge. We appeal to you that you bring this matter before the convention as it is of utmost importance that we have their fullest co-operation at this time.

CAP AND CLOTH HAT
MANUFACTURERS OF
THE UNITED STATES,
ISAAC ROSS, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.,
October 6, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Whitcomb,
San Francisco.

Doll and Toy Workers' Union of New York sends fraternal greetings to the delegates at the convention and wishes them every success in their deliberations. In the march of progress of Labor our small union is courageously doing its share. We have established legal precedent in State Court of New York for the benefit of Labor generally by sustaining the validity of the closed shops under Section 7-a and upholding the legal sanctity of industrial arbitration. We are the first to have taken injunction proceedings against runaway employers. Our case goes to trial this coming week. In the meantime runaway employer instigated injunction proceedings against himself in Federal Court of Massachusetts to restrain operation of closed shop. Matter is of serious and paramount importance to the entire Organized Labor movement. We appeal to the convention to authorize financial assistance and aid us in material way to vindicate Labor's rights. Our own funds are exhausted and we cannot further compete with the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce who are conducting and financing the fight on behalf of the runaway employer against us.

DOLL AND TOY WORKERS'
UNION,
ALEXANDER RAVITCH,
Secretary.

President Green: We have at this day's session of the convention the representative of the American Legion, who will address us a little later. I want to appoint a reception committee to escort Governor Mabey to the platform where he will deliver his address at a convenient time. I appoint on that committee Harvey C. Fremming, Claude Babcock and Michael Collins.

I am informed that the Committee on Executive Council's Report is ready to submit a partial report.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: If the Committee on Executive Council's Report is going to report on the matter involving the Brewery Workers' jurisdiction at this time, I would like to have a little more time. We did not expect we would report at this time.

President Green: I think not. Vice-President Wharton, Chairman of the committee will make a statement.

Vice-President Wharton, Chairman of the committee: It will be the intent of the Committee on Executive Council's Report to report on all matters before it except the question affecting the matter involving the organizations involved in the Brewery Workers, Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen. It will be the purpose of the committee to ask for a special order when the report will be made on that portion of the committee's report in order that all delegates will be fully advised.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Executive Council's Report, presents the following partial report for your consideration.

Trade Union Benefits

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 66, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council calls attention in this part of its report to the benefits paid for the year 1933 to members affiliated with the American Labor Movement, presenting in detail the amounts paid by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated international unions and describing the various forms of benefits to which the total amount expended was applied.

As noted in the Executive Council's report, a decline of \$11,000,000 was ex-

perienced in these fraternal contributions, due, not to a lessening of the needs of members, but to shrinking incomes of the employed. It should also be noted that the total of \$40,692,112.72, expended for this purpose, does not include the additional millions of dollars paid by local unions to affiliated members.

The facts recorded in this section of the Executive Council's report is not only a tribute to the American Labor Movement, but a refutation of the false and misleading statements regarding the expenditure of labor union funds which have been given publicly.

Your committee recommends that all affiliated organizations be urged to continue these benefit features and thereby lessen to a degree suffering and distress among the membership.

It is encouraging and pleasing to note that the number of members working the five-day week was increased 100 per cent during the year covered by the report, indicating a gradual extension of the shorter work week. We recommend that the Executive Council and all affiliated organizations continue their efforts to secure the shorter work week for all workers, which, in the opinion of your committee, is the only effective remedy for the alarming unemployment situation prevailing today.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization and Collective Bargaining

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 100 to 110, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption, the Executive Council sets forth in a clear and concise manner developments experienced to date in connection with efforts to secure compliance by employers to Section 7-a of the Recovery Act and the agencies which were created for solution of problems arising thereunder and in connection with adjustments of industrial disputes.

None will deny the many and keen disappointments of workers, who in innumerable instances were sadly disillusioned in regards the assurance given of the right to organize for collective bargaining, free from restraint, or coercion by employers or their agents as announced in this section of the Act, the inclusion of which is mandatory in all codes.

It indicates that while accepting with alacrity the benefits bestowed by the Act, through the relaxing of anti-trust laws, and relief from unbridled and destructive competition, employers in all too many instances undertook to deny to their employes by devious and subversive means the rights and privileges granted to them under Section 7-a.

Instead of freedom, workers found themselves forced under compulsion of dismissal to either refrain from joining bona fide unions of their own choosing, or to enroll into company controlled unions, unable to function for their protection or betterment.

It is also pointed out that the National Labor Board, the first agency created for the settlement of disputes arising under the Act, while successful in many instances, found itself with insufficient power to secure compliance by employers to Section 7-a, or to establish principles necessary to cope with the controversies which develop and which led to the introduction in the Senate by its Chairman, Senator Robert F. Wagner, the so-called "Wagner Labor Disputes Bill," which proposed the outlawing of company unions as agencies for collective bargaining and the empowering of the National Labor Board to hold elections of employes in any establishment to determine the collective bargaining agency to represent them.

The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill failed of enactment, Congress passing in lieu thereof Joint Resolution No. 44, authorizing the President to create a Board with broad functioning power, which is fully set forth in the report of the Executive Council and which Board was appointed by Executive Order of President Roosevelt on June 29, 1934.

This new agency, known as the National Labor Relations Board, is connected with the Department of Labor. It is at present composed of Lloyd Garrison, Chairman, Henry Alvin Mills and Edwin S. Smith and differs from the original board by being non-partisan in character instead of bi-partisan under a neutral chairman.

As pointed out by the Executive Council, the National Labor Relations Board, which has been functioning since July 9, has moved with dispatch and decision to establish certain fundamental principles in industrial relations, chief among which is the right of the majority union to bargain and contract for all employes in a given craft, or establishment, in which regard attention is called to a number of favorable decisions which have been rendered.

The Executive Council also calls attention to the possibilities provided under Section 7-a of the Recovery Act, the intent of which is to encourage the establishment by mutual agreement between employers and employees, standards of employment to prevail in any trade, or industry, which section, if included in codes, and applied, will provide a more equitable basis for labor to deal with organized industry and give protection to skilled workers, who have, in many instances, suffered from the lack of standards, or low standards of present code provisions.

Your committee is of the opinion that this part of the report of the Executive Council is highly enlightening and voices appreciation for the manner in which the subject matter is set forth.

Your committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Relations Board

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 106 to 110, the committee reported as follows:

Of the many important agencies necessary to the proper functioning of the

National Industrial Recovery Act, machinery for prompt action and adjudication of disputes is essentially important to the employees. On pages 106 to 110, Executive Council's Report, will be found a summary of experiences with Industrial Relations Boards in the Cotton Textile, Bituminous Coal, Automobile, Petroleum and Construction Industries.

While industry has been given the opportunity to "write its own slate" on matters vital to industry, Labor has not been afforded the same opportunity and it is the judgment of your committee that practically all of the strikes which have occurred can be charged to:

(a) The failure of employers to recognize the right of employees to organize into bona fide Labor organizations of their own choosing, without interference, or coercion of employers;

(b) The discrimination and discharge of employees by employers, because of joining bona fide Labor organizations;

(c) The refusal of employers to recognize and make effective the principle of collective bargaining;

(d) The refusal of employers to negotiate agreements with the representatives chosen by the employees, members of bona fide Labor organizations;

(e) The failure of employers to cooperate with the agencies of the Government and the employees in setting up machinery to promptly hear and decide disputes;

(f) The refusal of employers to observe the Labor provisions of the law, or place into effect decisions rendered by constituted authority that were favorable to employees, while at the same time demanding and accepting all of the benefits accruing to industry under the same law.

These charges are not to be construed to include the many forward thinking, fair-minded employers, who have rendered constructive and helpful service and advice.

Organized Labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, will not

be satisfied until it has won its right to equal representation and equality in every respect with that of the employer on all boards, or agencies, established for the purpose of dealing with, or disposing of questions affecting the fundamental rights and interests of the workers.

We commend the officers of the American Federation of Labor and those associated with them for their untiring efforts to secure the recognition justly due Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Income

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 121, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council presents in a summarized, yet comprehensive manner, an existing situation which affects and concerns all wage earners.

Attention is directed to the declining national income—increasing national debt—the dangers of currency inflation and the increasing charge for debt service.

Your committee urges that this section of the Executive Council's report be carefully studied and analyzed by all officers of national and international unions, so that the organized workers, through their leaders, will be prepared to successfully meet any and all new conditions developing out of the present financial situation referred to in that part of the general report.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Some Problems of Recovery

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 122 to 127, the committee reported as follows:

In this part of its report the Executive Council makes a comprehensive, detailed and interesting analysis of the cause and results of the business depression experienced in its various fluctuating phases since 1929 and the manner in which the worker and working class was affected. It also points out the steps and adjustments which will be necessary to bring about correction and avoid recurrence, if Labor is to enjoy security and an equitable measure of the fruits of its production.

The report clearly indicates that as an economic group the wage earner suffered a far greater set-back from the depression than is generally realized, and that only by a clear understanding of his economic position, under present day industrial set-ups and production methods, will it be possible to regain lost ground and avoid similar experience in the future.

We commend the Executive Council for the conclusive manner in which this entire subject matter has been dealt with and recommend a careful study of this part of its report by all workers and worker groups, so that adequate steps might be taken to bring about the necessary remedies, avoid recurrence and be assured proper protection and security for the future.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Regimentation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 143, the committee reported as follows:

Industry, we find, has adopted a verbiage by which employes are classified and recorded by numbers, instead of name; the use of which the employer contends is intended for a convenience in book-keeping. Another oppression which has found its way into industry is the arbitrary dismissal of workers who have reached the age of forty-five years and

their continued denial of employment in industry.

Both of these practices are, of course, intended to ignore the personality and human value of the workers and at the same time escape the responsibility of recognizing the efforts of Labor as human contributions to industry.

The regimentation of the workers should not be allowed a place in American industry and its practice, wherever encountered, should on every occasion be condemned and protested by the representatives of Labor.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Official Changes

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 144, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council announces the resignation of James Wilson, Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee noted with regret the termination of Mr. Wilson's service as an Executive Officer of the Federation after many years of loyal, faithful and commendable service to the Organized Labor Movement and to the cause of Labor in general.

His resignation as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is a great loss to the entire Labor Movement.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United Textile Workers—International Ladies Garment Workers

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above cap-

tion, page 152, the committee reported as follows:

It is indeed pleasing to learn of the satisfactory settlement reached in the long-standing jurisdictional controversy between the United Textile Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

It is the opinion of your committee that the understanding reached and agreements prevailing will serve to advance and promote the interest of these organizations and that the Executive Council and others having participated in the conferences leading to an adjustment of the controversy should be commended for this helpful achievement.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Building Trades

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 152, the committee reported as follows:

Since the preparation of that part of the Executive Council's report submitted under the caption of Building Trades, there have been new developments in relation to the subject matter reviewed under this heading of the report, which developments have been reported to this convention by the Executive Council in the form of supplemental reports which were referred to the Committee on Adjustments.

In view of this condition your committee is of the opinion that the original report of the Executive Council, relating to the reaffiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers' International Union of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is fully covered by the foregoing comment of the committee.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Trade Union Auxiliaries

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 154, the committee reported as follows:

The Committee on Executive Council's Report has given careful consideration to the proposal to recognize the National Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries, with headquarters in St. Louis, as representing all trade union auxiliary groups and to grant that organization representation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor by a fraternal delegate.

As a result of its deliberations your committee has reached definite conclusions which are embodied in the following comment and recommendations:

(1) The committee, while in full accord with the purpose of the Executive Council's recommendation, is of the opinion that the action proposed should be deferred until it appears that the trade union auxiliary movement is more fully organized and more firmly established;

(2) The committee recommends that this convention be recorded as favoring the formation of a strong and effective Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries;

(3) We urge that all affiliated unions encourage the formation of local and international trade union auxiliaries, under the guidance of local and international unions;

(4) We recommend that at such time that these international, national and local trade union auxiliaries have been formed into a representative and effective national federation, that the recognition proposed by the Executive Council be then accorded and extended to the trade union auxiliary movement.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

American Federation of Government Employees

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 154, the committee reported as follows:

In that section of its report captioned "American Federation of Government Employees" the Executive Council directs attention to the remarkable growth and development of this newly formed organization and points to some of its achievements during the year.

The activities of the American Federation of Government Employees, as reviewed in the Executive Council's report, we believe, merits the support of all affiliated unions. We therefore commend them to you for that consideration.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Memorial to Deceased Trade Unionists

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 154, the committee reported as follows:

Acting under instructions contained in Resolution No. 60, adopted at the Washington convention last year, the Executive Council conducted an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the feasibility and possibility of establishing as a memorial to deceased trade unionists a chair in a university of standing for the study of industrial problems as affecting the wage earners and the human values in society.

As a result of that investigation, the Executive Council reports that the cost involved in establishing such a memorial is entirely too great to be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee concurs in this finding of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Father Charles E. Coughlin

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 155, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee joins with the Executive Council in expressing regret over the Executive Council's inability to comply in full with the instructions contained in Resolution No. 61, adopted by the Washington, 1933, convention of the American Federation of Labor and thereby failing to bring about an amicable adjustment of the conditions set forth in that resolution.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, a year ago the trade unionists of the city of Detroit brought before this convention the attitude of the Rev. Charles Coughlin toward the trade union movement. Two years prior to the commencement of his latest building venture he erected what is known as the Shrine of the Little Flower. It was the first major construction job in that locality in which Organized Labor was confronted with an attack on its wage structure. The contract had been given to the firm of Cooper-Little, a notorious non-union contracting firm. The work was done under non-union conditions. Many of the employees working on it were commuting aliens from across the river.

When the representatives of local labor in Detroit sought to confer with Father Coughlin on these matters they were treated in a most unfair and ungentlemanly manner. Father Coughlin threatened to denounce them as racketeers in his regular weekly radio sermon.

A year ago when he was engaged in erecting the new church, a similar labor policy was being followed. The same contractors, Cooper-Little, were given the job in spite of the protests of Labor, not only in Detroit, but throughout the country.

Despite the pronouncement of Father Coughlin that a proper wage scale would be maintained on the work, the majority of the trades employed on the job were working from 25 to 40 per cent less than the union scale in operation in our territory. Repeatedly efforts were made to get the work straightened out and because of our inability to come to a satisfactory adjustment with Father Coughlin, we brought this matter to the attention of the American Federation of Labor through a resolution introduced at the Washington convention. That resolution was supported by Brother McDonough of the American Federation of Labor Building Trades Department.

There was read into the record at the time the correspondence between Father Coughlin, the officials of our local Labor Movement and Mr. Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor. A reference to that correspondence will show the contempt with which Father Coughlin holds the American Federation of Labor and its officers.

We understand that following the convention of the American Federation of Labor wherein this matter was referred to the Executive Council, Mr. Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, appointed a committee of high ranking officials of the Federation for the purpose of conferring with Father Coughlin on this matter, in an effort to get it straightened out, in an effort to see that the attacks on the wage structure of the trade unionists of our community ceased so far as his building operations were concerned. We have been reliably informed, although the report does not say so, that Father Coughlin did go so far as to make an engagement to meet this committee, but that he failed to meet the committee at the appointed time, left no word that he would not meet them, but left it with his secretary to inform them that when they arrived in Detroit he had to leave the city, and that since that time he has sent no word to the office of the American Federation of Labor expressing his willingness or desire to meet a committee of trade unionists for the purpose of discussing his activities in the erecting of

the Shrine of the Little Flower and his new church.

So, my friends, that is how the matter stands today. Father Coughlin has written his own record so far as Organized Labor is concerned. It is in the proceedings of the Washington convention and this convention.

There is one other thing, however, in connection with his activities that I would desire to direct your attention at this time. It was announced at the close of his radio activities this year that undoubtedly he would not be able to go on the air with a fall campaign. It was also announced that undoubtedly they would have to stop operations on the new church for lack of funds. A month or so later when the radio announcer from Royal Oak was attacking the President of the United States because of his refusal to increase the price of silver it was disclosed that Father Coughlin was one of the gamblers in silver, that he was the owner on margin of some 500,000 ounces of silver, trying to shed himself of the responsibility of gambling in the public coinage by saying the silver was held by Miss O'Connor, his secretary, through his organization. When the price of silver took a jump because the President, in his wisdom, saw fit to increase the price later on, Father Coughlin's assistant announced they had made sufficient profit on the increased price of silver to guarantee the completion of the church and to guarantee the radio programs for at least another year. Then the next day the Reverend Coughlin announced that there was an error, that they had made practically no money on the increased price of silver, only a few paltry thousand dollars, as they had turned in to the Government their silver holdings.

I want you to judge who was telling the truth on his gambling in silver in the light of the statements that he has made to you and to the people of the United States in his relationship with the trade union movement and his non-union building operations on his new church.

As far as I am concerned, I will not bring this matter before the attention of

the American Federation of Labor again unless there are further attacks on the trade union movement by Father Coughlin. The record is in the proceedings of this convention and the Washington convention. It speaks for itself and Father Coughlin stands convicted as the enemy of the trade union movement of America.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, Page 171, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee read with interest this part of the Executive Council's report, which sets forth developments and the experience had in connection with Workmen's Compensation legislation for the District of Columbia, and which has resulted in an amendment being introduced in the United States Senate by Senator McCurren, providing for a State fund, which we are advised has the support of contractors who previously insisted upon private insurance carriers.

This change in the attitude of employers toward State funds in this regard is encouraging and we recommend continued effort by Organized Labor to secure acceptable enactment assuring to workers adequate and reliable protection against injury or death.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schmal: This, Mr. Chairman, completes the partial report of the committee.

Vice-President Wharton: There is an important question before this committee on which a large number of the delegates may desire to be present when it is disposed of. Owing to the fact that a large number of delegates are still working on committees, and in the belief that it would be inadvisable to introduce that portion of the committee's report at this

time I move you that a special order of business be set for 2:30 o'clock tomorrow, Tuesday afternoon, when the question involving the dispute between the Brewery Workers, the Teamsters, the Engineers and the Firemen be brought before this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I am very much pleased to be privileged to present to you Governor Mabey, Vice-Commander of the American Legion. He is here in his official capacity, bringing to this convention the sincere greetings and felicitations of the officers and members of the American Legion.

Ever since the formation of this great patriotic organization we have exchanged fraternal delegates. The American Legion has delegated some of its outstanding representatives to attend our conventions and meet with us; in return, the American Federation of Labor has sent representatives to attend every convention that the American Legion has held. This year the American Legion will meet in the city of Miami, Florida, and will convene on October 22. Brother Harvey Fremming, an outstanding Legionnaire, President of an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, will attend that convention as the fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor.

It appears to me that this fine relationship established between these two great organizations has tended to serve the best interests of the masses of the people, the masses of the American Legion. It has served to bring to the attention of the American Legion the philosophy and the aims of the American Federation of Labor. There are many members of the American Federation of Labor who are members of the American Legion, for during the World War our members, the men of labor, served on the battlefield. They are eligible to membership in the American Legion. Many are members for that reason. There is a bond of interest and a bond of sympathy existing between the two great organizations. It is clearly understandable how it is pos-

sible for us to differ in some things, but I happen to know that there is an agreement between the two organizations on so many matters and we have found it possible to co-operate and work together.

When complaints have been brought to my attention about what some of our members consider ill-advised action on the part of American Legion members in some places I have promptly brought it to the attention of the officers of the American Legion. When I have done so, in every instance, I received a hearty response to the complaint and it was adjusted quickly. And in like manner when the officers of the Legion brought to my attention some matter about which they complained, on the part of some local representatives of Labor, I have taken it up and it has been adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned.

We have wanted to develop understanding and co-operation because these two organizations working together, standing together, can agree among themselves to stand unalterably opposed to those subversive movements in our life that seek to destroy our American institutions.

Now, my friends, I have the pleasure to present to you the duly accredited representative of the American Legion, Governor Mabey, Governor of Utah between the years 1921 and 1923, and I recall when he was Governor of that commonwealth that we were so impressed with his liberalism, his progressive attitude, his broad vision, that we commented upon it and complimented him as one of the progressive Governors of our country.

HONORABLE CHARLES R. MABEY

(Vice-Commander, American Legion)

President Green, my fellow Americans: I cannot tell you how grateful I am for this privilege, for the kind words your esteemed President has uttered in behalf of the organization which I am honored to represent.

Thirteen years ago last June, in the city of Denver, a distinguished comrade of mine appeared before you as the first good-will ambassador of the American Legion. You returned the compliment the

same year at Kansas City by sending us your own genial, talented George L. Berry.

I am here today to present to the American Federation of Labor the greetings of our revered commander, Edward A. Hayes, and of the eight hundred-odd thousand Legionnaires whose ideals parallel so closely those of your own order.

I admit that I feel some trepidation in presenting these ideals, for each of the gentlemen who has preceded me has been a man of real worth and undoubted patriotism. I also recognize the fact that when a speaker appears before an audience that audience withholds judgment until it hears what is said. In that connection I am reminded of a story related of a Yankee soldier billeted in England during the World War. Time hung heavy on his hands, as it often does with soldiers, so he decided to visit a cemetery alone. After reading a number of epitaphs he ran across one which read like this:

Oh, stranger, pause ere you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I,
As I am now you soon will be,
Prepare for death and follow me.

The Yankee scratched his head a moment, reached in his pocket, pulled out a piece of red chalk and underneath the epitaph he wrote:

Wher'er you are I wish you well,
If up in heaven, or down in hell,
To follow you I'll not consent
Until I know which way you went.

And so I feel that you all will not follow me until you know which way I am going.

Our two organizations are huge in size and sometimes it may seem to those on the outside that we are unwieldy and don't know the course we wish to take. There are also many people always who are willing to misinterpret our purposes and publish those misinterpretations to the world. We have always been secure in the rectitude of our own intentions and have gone on in our way, and eventually have won the approbation of a vast majority of this nation.

From the beginning of time almost men have endeavored to lift their standard of living. Forever arrayed against them have been the sinister shadows of graft and greed. If these have been overcome on one field of battle they have arisen Phoenix-like on another and have had to be fought all over again. It is a truism of history that "they have rights who dare maintain them." The American laboring men have had to organize that they might protect their own rights, or else have them taken away and they would be reduced to the level of the working men in less favored lands.

I for one am grateful for the splendid history of your organization in the more than fifty years since it was founded. I cannot hope to catalogue the number of your achievements, nor is that necessary. You are more familiar with these than am I. Improved working conditions, shorter hours of work, compensation, unemployment insurance, abolition of child labor, a decent wage for a fair day's work—all these have been your aims and many others, and in the main they have been accomplished.

I am old enough to recall the days when you fought for an eight-hour day, and the consternation in some quarters when you finally won. You stated then that you would have better work and increased production, and your prophecies have been justified.

The American Legion's child-labor program goes hand in hand with your own ideas about the abolition of child labor. It is written that "whosoever offends one of these little ones, it were better that a millstone were hung around his neck and he were tossed into the sea." The nation that does not provide good home surroundings, good schools and good playgrounds for its children is sowing the wind and most assuredly it will reap the whirlwind.

I wonder, President Green, if I might ask the patience of this convention for a moment to tell some of the aspirations of the body I represent. Like you, we have been endeavoring to ameliorate conditions since the World War. When the last throaty notes of our cannon ceased on that flaming line from Flanders to Switzerland there was such jubilation throughout the world as no one in recorded history had even seen or heard of before. There were thousands and thousands of your own members in that line, and other hundreds of thousands of them at home participated in that jubilation. There were other thousands of men for whom the war will never cease. They are sightless, eyes burned out in the fires of battle; others with their reason destroyed because of the hell of shell fire; others with maimed, torn and twisted bodies; the widows and orphans of those who poured out their life's blood upon the field of battle. For them the war will not cease.

The American Legion has taken a solemn oath that it will not take its hands off the plow long enough to spit on them until the Government of the United States has taken care of every widow, every orphan, and every maimed and disabled man who served in the World War.

For your information, may I now say that but eight per cent of the members of the Legion are drawing any kind of compensation from the United States

Government, or ever have drawn any kind of compensation. That ought to satisfy the slime-slingers.

Two years ago we had one-fourth of all the men who served in the World War milling about the streets of our great cities looking for work. Eleven hundred thousand of them, 75,000 of whom were disabled and getting no help from the Government. It has been our endeavor, President Green, to find labor for these poor, unfortunate men who were promised when they returned from the hell of fire that nothing here was too good for them. And many of them had cynically said, "The statement is true; nothing has been too good for us, because nothing is exactly what we have received." We have tried to keep in the hearts of those men, and have, a love for the flag we all adore.

The American Legion has been thrilled to the core at the frequent pronouncements of your body regarding the sacredness of our form of government. Some years ago the immortal Samuel Gompers stated: "These two organizations stand together against any influence or force, inside or outside of this nation, whose purposes are to destroy this republic." The Legion has felt that here was an ally that would never bow to defeat, and we have watched with beating hearts and with a sure hope when onslaughts have been made against you by the influences that Samuel Gompers mentioned, and have been pleased to see you come out each time unhurt.

It has been the policy of this nation to permit men and women to enter its shores by the millions. Some of the best blood that has come here has become part of the melting pot of America. We said to them: "You may travel to our shores and work out your temporal salvation in your own way. When you have done your day's work you may sit in peace under your own vine and fig tree and watch the day die out of the sky. But when you come here you must leave your old world hopes and feuds behind you. There is room in America for one language only, the English language, one constitution only, and one flag, the American flag."

Lately there have been some coming to our shores in rags and tatters, like beggars, mendicants asking for help, and then they have endeavored to pull down around their own heads and ours the roof that sheltered them. We say to such people: "If you don't like America you know what you can do. Go back to your homeland, wherever it may be, but you shall not destroy our cherished heritage."

The American Legion hates to think in terms of war. It abhors war. The members thereof know what war means; but they also know that the human race has not yet reached a stage wherein war is

not likely to come. It believes, however, that if this nation will destroy or do away with the possible profits that come out of war we will have accomplished more in the abolition of it than all the talk of all the peace societies in ten thousand years.

It says: "Uncle Sam, you are embarrassed. You piled up huge debts in the last war. The nations of the earth borrowed untold millions from you. The maimed and disabled are asking that they be taken care of. This is an immense drag on the public treasury. If you wish to save yourself this embarrassment in the future, we say unto you, 'Uncle Sam, pass a law so that in the next war every man, woman and child in the Republic will be at the call of the President of the United States.' You freeze capital so that in the next war it will serve. Give it the same pay, make it wear the same clothes as the soldiers who serve."

Here I am, Charles R. Mabey, here is William Green, two of us twenty-one years of age—I mean a few years ago—we have grown up in the same community, have gone to the same schools. To all intents and purposes we are physically fit. The nation is at war. We are called up to the draft and thereby hangs an interesting story. A certain soldier said: "They call me a private. I have been in this man's army ninety days. I have been stripped naked forty times and examined by every surgeon in the United States Army. Private! Hell, there is nothing private about me!"

We are called up to the draft and we are examined, we are gone over from head to foot—feet, limbs, torso, and head. He is called up first, and after this minute examination the surgeon pats him on the head and says, "Young man, you are fit. Get into that deloused uniform and go out and fight."

My turn comes. The surgeon goes over me, as it were, with a fine-tooth comb. He finds I have flat feet and says, "Maybe, you can't go to war." To Comrade Green he says, "We will pay you a dollar a day. Out of that much money, if you are married, fifty cents will go to your wife, twenty cents will go for Liberty Bonds, twenty-two cents for insurance, and you can have the rest to spend!"

Then he says to me, "You can go back to your bank and get \$150 a month. Oh, we forgot! We are in war and we will raise your wages." For being fit and going to war, William Green is penalized, and because I am not fit I stay at home. Nothing more asinine or unfair was ever practiced by any nation on earth. The life of a young man of twenty-one is as dear to him as the life of an older man is to him. We have amassed in the United States Treasury the largest pile of

gold ever put together in one place. Old and decrepit as I am, I would rather have my life than all the gold in the Treasury. So the Legion says, "Uncle Sam, you pass the universal draft act and you will do away with this embarrassment we have now, and possibly there will be no more war."

My friends, I have talked long enough. I thank you, President Green and the members of this great organization, for the privilege of representing the organization I love so well. The National Commander wired me that he wanted me to express his regret at not being able to come here, and hoped that you would have a successful convention in this great city of San Francisco.

I thank you.

(All the delegates arose and applauded the speaker.)

President Green: I merely wish to express to Governor Mabey the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for his visit here and for his inspiring and instructive address. We want to assure him that it is our purpose and determination to strengthen the bonds of understanding, good will and fraternity that exists between the two organizations. Where we differ on policy, and differ we must, we will do it in a manly fashion; upon those policies in which we are in agreement, we shall cooperate to the fullest extent.

I wish to publicly announce that we have commissioned an outstanding Legionnaire, the president of a great International Union affiliated with our American Federation of Labor, a native Californian, one whose home is at Los Angeles, President Harvey Fremming, of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, to convey to the convention of the American Legion, which will be held at Miami, Florida, beginning October 22, the fraternal greetings of this convention to the American Legion convention. We thank you sincerely for your visit to us this morning and for your inspiring address.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Delegate Gainor, Chairman of the Committee: We are now prepared to submit the report of our Committee on

Shorter Work Day. This report is not voluminous because only two resolutions were referred to the committee and they are, to a large extent, non-controversial. And, in addition thereto, we present the report of the committee, which declares the policies of the American Federation of Labor on what we can say to be the paramount issue that will come to you for consideration in this Convention.

I hope, in order that we might get a cross-section of organization opinion, some delegates will conclude to contribute their opinions to this discussion.

Delegate Simons, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee, in submitting this report to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, desires with all the earnestness possible to stress the compelling need of an immediate reduction in the hours of labor, coupled with restoration of purchasing power as the one and only means of relieving the present dire unemployment situation and effecting the restoration of prosperity. This is an issue of commanding moment before the country. It presents a situation that must be answered and answered promptly. Reaffirming with renewed emphasis the sound declarations made on this subject by the American Federation of Labor in preceding conventions, and pointing with pride to the progress achieved thus far in response thereto, let us briefly survey the general business, industrial and economic situation as it now presents itself.

For fully five years our country has been caught in the grip of a depression, unprecedented in scope and intensity. This depression, which broke at a time when productive efficiency had attained its highest development, has not been due to any dearth of national resources or to any lack in the actual or potential capacity of our producing agencies. Dislocating economic processes to a point where nothing escaped its ravages, this depression has caused a social loss so great as to defy estimate, and it has left millions of unemployed in its devastat-

ing trail. Indeed its operations have presented a glaring paradox of plenty causing want. In response to this menacing economic debacle, strong and definite action was taken. Confronted with boundless productivity on the one hand and workless millions on the other, the National Recovery Administration was set under way in a sweeping recovery program to restore the balance between production and consumption through higher wages, shorter hours and enlarged consuming power. That record is now before you. Taking the hard experiences of the past five years as a basis of reckoning, coupled with the record of the National Recovery Act in practical operation for the past year and more, we can now more wisely appraise conditions and thus point the road that the course of national recovery should take.

In summarizing this situation, it is plain that the heart and center of the present economic upset lies in the vast and steady expansion of productive efficiency and in the added fact that the workers' wages have not been increased and labor hours shortened in anything like just proportion to this sweeping production trend. In response to the impulse for large and larger profits, and dating back many years, industry has concentrated its efforts on increasing production through machine refinements and improved means and methods based primarily on labor displacements and reduced labor costs, without any regard as to what effect this policy would have on consuming power or the public welfare.

Naturally, this blind and self-centered program finally brought about general business prostration and an economic collapse. In turn, these conditions set in motion a vicious circle of wage cuts, reduced consuming power, maladjustment of labor hours, and nationwide unemployment, which has now reached such proportions as to dwarf all other social and economic problems in its menacing possibilities. The American Federation of Labor, confronted with this dire situation at its two preceding annual conventions, took prompt and definite action. Reaffirming its moving philosophy of higher wages and shorter

hours as the one and only answer to the mechanization of industry, the American Federation of Labor in stirring declarations demanded the early adoption of the five-day, six hour work week without any reduction in wages as its chief objective, and called upon the American people everywhere to join their efforts in translating this high purpose into effect.

This declaration of policy was sound and timely then. It is sound and timely now. Each succeeding day confirms its wisdom and compelling necessity. It should now be proclaimed again and with added force. While the National Recovery Act, moving steadily in the right direction, has accomplished much in shortening hours, raising hourly wage rates, and reducing unemployment totals, it is plain that this recovery program falls far short of meeting the needs of the situation. According to American Federation of Labor compilations, some 1,700,000 men and women were absorbed back into industry by the operations of the National Recovery Act. During the past year, however, the total number of unemployed exceeded 10,000,000 in each succeeding month and no progress whatever has been made in putting these unemployed back to work. That is the situation now.

This is a depressing and disconcerting picture. It is a situation that calls for prompt and definite action. Addressing himself to this same subject, President Roosevelt in his radio talk of September 30, declared:

"Demoralization caused by vast unemployment is our greatest extravagance. Morally it is the greatest menace to our social order. Some people try to tell me we must make up our minds that for the future we shall permanently have millions of unemployed just as other countries have had them for over a decade. What may be necessary for those countries is not my responsibility to determine, but as for this country I stand or fall by my refusal to accept as a necessary condition of our future a permanent army of the unemployed."

Aside from the multiplied miseries and depressed morale that unemployment inflicts on the workless, the nation suffers a material loss so staggering through

these millions thus sentenced to involuntary idleness as to make all other items of governmental expenditures appear inconsequential in comparison. Dating from 1929, our national income has dropped from a high of \$85,000,000,000 to less than \$40,000,000,000 in 1932, and increasing slightly to some \$40,000,000,000 in 1933. This drop of \$45,000,000,000, or an annual loss in our national income of more than fifty per cent, means that there is that much less wealth production for social distribution. These figures tell their own story. All have lost. Unemployment has no beneficiaries.

Stressing the need for an immediate reduction in labor hours, we warmly commend the following declaration made by President Green in his address to this Convention on its opening day when he urged the thirty-hour work week as an essential labor advance.

"There are still approximately ten million workers idle. What shall we do? What does the nation propose to do? We can only make one or two choices in this matter and what shall we choose? Shall we resign ourselves to the maintenance of an army of unemployed, who, with their dependents number approximately fifty million people. Is that to be the fate of America? Are we to resign ourselves to the fact that this army of unemployed shall exist as a menace to our social order and to the maintenance and perpetuation of our free institutions?

"Labor does not believe in that. * * * And so we propose what we believe to be the only practical remedy. We insist that the hours of labor in America shall be reduced to a point where the slack of unemployment shall be taken up, and for that reason we stand unflinchingly for the application of the six-hour day and the five-day week in this country."

Your committee, in concluding this survey of widespread and persistent unemployment, sharply decreased consuming power and the ravages of the pending depression, all of which so vitally affect every individual and avenue of our national life, now declares that a drastic shortening of labor hours presents the only practical remedy for this dire problem. Such reduction in labor hours, we further declare, should carry with it no reduction in weekly pay. We would stress the importance of that phase of the situation over and over again. To order shorter hours on a basis

of comparable weekly wage reductions would contribute nothing to mastering this depression or solving the unemployment situation. It would mean nothing save a sharing of work and poverty, and would add nothing to the consuming power of the workers. We also declare that advancing wages should keep steady step with expansion of productive efficiency, not only as a matter of social justice, but also as an inflexible requirement to promote economic health and maintain an economic balance between production and consumption.

We must come to grips with realities. A condition, not a theory, confronts us. Desperate situations call for drastic remedies. Unemployment, like the Old Man of the Sea, if not promptly relieved will drag us down to the depths. The workless man contributes nothing to social production. He must be kept by the man that labors. The monetary loss our country is now suffering from this cause and which all of us must bear defies calculation. For the past three years our national Government has been operating largely on borrowed money, due to this very situation. This cannot go on indefinitely. Heavy taxes, heavier than anything we have yet experienced, loom darkly on the horizon. And let us have no illusions about the matter. This depression will not pass on, nor will willing workers be restored to jobs by the sheer play of economic forces. The entire situation must be answered by a definite policy, a policy resolutely and consistently carried through, and one that will harmonize naturally with our present social environment and the certain trend that industrial evolution must take.

With these conditions confronting us we must present a specific program. We must ground our recommendations on the rock of economic truth. We must master modern producing agencies and make them serve the public welfare. Therefore we declare that the right to a job is a fundamental right, and on society is imposed the high obligation of giving vitality and application to this right. We further declare that only on a basis of lessened labor hours and enlarged con-

suming power can an economic balance be achieved and prosperity be restored to our country.

With these facts before us your committee recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the five-day, six-hour work week and in doing so record itself in advocacy of and as proposing to the country the universal adoption without delay of this program. We further recommend, and for the unanswerable reasons hereinbefore stated, that such reduction in labor hours should carry with it no reduction in weekly pay. We further recommend that this objective of the six-hour day and five-day work week should now be declared by this convention to be its paramount purpose, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor should be directed to spare no effort in giving scope and direction to this program and in enlisting the support of all the people in its behalf.

Mindful also of the thirty-hour work week legislation introduced in their respective Houses by Senator Black of Alabama and Representative Connery of Massachusetts, and which was passed by the United States Senate but failed of consideration by the House, your committee now desires to urge on this convention the timeliness and compelling need of having the five-day, six-hour work week written into the laws of our land. We therefore recommend that the Executive Council be directed to spare no effort to have legislation enacted that will give mandate and vitality to the thirty-hour work week and that they be invested with discretionary authority to do the things best calculated to achieve this end.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman Gainor: Delegates to the convention: I would not feel justified in trespassing upon your indulgence at this

moment did I not also feel that this subject was of such importance to all the people of our country that it should not be passed over without any impressive record. I am also going to advise President Green now that I will request him before this report is disposed of to also address himself to the considerations of the subject.

We cannot overstate the magnitude of the problem. No matter what angle you address yourselves to, it affects everything and every institution in our country. These facts are set forth here in the report, a report that could be made much more voluminous if the situation required.

From a monetary standpoint America is producing just half as much wealth as it did five years ago. That is pointed out in this report. For the past three years this country has been running largely on borrowed money, due to this very situation. And of course that situation cannot indefinitely continue. There is no way in which the emergency can be met, except by taxation, or indeed, by inflation.

The loss of production due to unemployment, which cut the national income in two during the past five years, a loss that all of us have to bear and that needs to be supplied by taxation far beyond anything anticipated, or indeed the possibility of inflation might be in the not far future. In fact, this problem is of such importance that the President of the United States declared that it is our greatest extravagance. And he said he will rise or fall by insisting that there shall not be a permanent army of unemployed in the United States.

President Green, in his opening address, submitted a challenge to the country in offering the five-day week as the only way of restoring prosperity and bringing about a parity between production and consumption. This report also goes a step further, and that is in recommending to write a five-day week, six-hour day into the law of our land as a necessary foundation on which to build for the future prosperity of our country.

I feel there is such unanimity of opinion on this subject that it does not provoke any sharp controversy in this convention, but that does not detract anything from its importance. It is for that reason that I again express the hope that some of the delegates will discuss the question, and I now formally request that President Green, before this report is disposed of, to address the convention on the subject.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I am glad to say a few words on this question. The fundamental law of the United States guarantees to every citizen equal rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There can be no pursuit of happiness for the fifty millions of people who live on charity. Among them are men in the best years of their life, attuned mentally and physically to certain specific methods of production, taken out of the productive world, thrown into involuntary idleness.

So they go from day to day and in a year's idleness it becomes very difficult for a man to go into his usual occupation and give an honest, fair day's work, such as he was able to do before. Why? Because the social conditions, the industrial conditions, have taken away from him the possibilities of years of useful work. If it goes on for more than one year, then it becomes more and more difficult.

It is not only a question of economics, it is a question of life, and the Declaration of Independence makes it the duty of every citizen to move onward to remedy this crying, nation-destroying, race-killing evil.

Of course there are thousands of men living by uninvested money. There are thousands of families living on it, but the time is coming when the ceasing of production, necessarily followed by the ceasing of employment, will fail to provide any interest on their invested money and the overcapitalization which is likely responsible for our terrible condition now will simply reduce itself to this: That our credit at last will vanish in spite of all their opposition to the real fundamental Americanism, which they now stand for.

There can be no question here; there can be no doubt, as in 1856, 1857 and 1859 and 1860 when there ran through this country the cry that slavery must be abolished, until the people were of one mind about it, and when it could not come otherwise it came through bloodshed and terror.

You have a similar position and a similar cry gradually going through this country today, and it will grow and grow and grow until, if we cannot possibly get the condition so amended, so ameliorated and so changed that the unemployed can be provided with employment—and God forbid it shall go that far—if it cannot be done in one way, then God help America, surely it will be done in some other way. If there be a man in this Convention who has given some thought to this fundamental point of view, I hope I am one. I know what it means to be taken out of productive work. I have seen men who were soft and flabby after years of unemployment, mentally and physically deteriorated. Whose fault was it? I hate to use language of this description, but it was the fault of the people who always considered their own interests first and forgot the interests of all the people.

We cannot be too serious in this matter. The right to the pursuit of happiness is guaranteed. It is by that declaration that America is judged. It is by that declaration that humanity is judged. Let us beware, and let the people who stand in the way beware lest there come again the pronouncement by the Nazarene who, when He looked at the tree, said: "No fruit will grow on you again."

President Green: I deem it advisable and perhaps necessary that, as the presiding officer of the Convention, I should speak upon this very important report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day. First of all, I want to commend the committee for the splendid, logical, unanswerable report it has made to this Convention in support of the six-hour day and the five-day week as a constructive remedy for unemployment. When the report was submitted to the delegates I observed immediately by your manifestations of approval that the report was

acceptable, and for that reason I can understand that the delegates in attendance at the Convention are reluctant to engage in an extended discussion upon a report which meets with universal approval.

But it does deal with a subject that is a vital part of the fundamental policies of the American Federation of Labor. It presents it in the most convincing way, and I know that you are now saying to yourselves, "the committee's report meets with my approval, I am ready to vote to adopt it, and supplementing that I am ready to go out from this American Federation of Labor Convention, back to my home, back to the workers I have the honor to represent, and back to my community, ready to fight for the enforcement of the six-hour day and the five-day week."

When the American Federation of Labor first offered this economic reform as a remedy for unemployment it met with tremendous opposition from those outside the labor movement. It was considered revolutionary. Much misunderstanding existed. Many whom I thought were reasonable charged the American Federation of Labor with an attempt to force the acceptance of an economic reform that, in operation would mean that men would work less. They did not catch the spirit and purpose of our proposal. The facts were then as they are now, that we pioneered in offering this proposal, not for the purpose of enabling men to work less but for the purpose of creating work opportunities for more and as a remedy for unemployment. And it is upon that sound foundation that we eternally and immovably stand.

And so that there may be no misunderstanding here or elsewhere, I wish to declare with all the emphasis that I possess that it is the unalterable, uncompromising purpose of the American Federation of Labor to drive onward and forward until the six-hour day and the five-day week are universally accepted and universally applied. We shall secure it by one of two methods, or perhaps through the application of both. We shall secure the six-hour day and the five-day week through the mobilization of our eco-

conomic strength, through its continuous pressure upon industry and upon the owners of industry, or we shall secure it by legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States.

A few years ago I announced that if we were unable to secure the six-hour day and the five-day week through the use of our economic strength, through persuasion—first of all, through an appeal to the heart and the conscience and the judgment of the employers of labor and of the people of the nation—if we were unable to secure it through these methods then we would bring into play the force and the strength of our organized movement. I said that we would, in my opinion, select a closely knit organization, one that represented an industry 98 per cent organized, and the great American Labor Movement would enlist the support of that organization in a spirited drive to establish the six-hour day and the five-day week. I had in mind then the use of a closely knit organization in the building trades industry. I refer to the Elevator Constructors' organization, one where the workers employed in the installation of elevators in the buildings of this country are 98 per cent organized. I am happy to announce now that this organization comes here to this Convention, with the announcement made to me by its President that last week they negotiated an agreement with their employers providing for the six-hour day and the five-day week for that industry, with the reservation in the agreement that the Elevator Constructors' splendid, closely knit organization, a key organization in the building trades industry, is at liberty to support any other building trades organization that may determine to make a fight for the six-hour day and the five-day week in the building trades.

So we are moving forward along economic lines. Our report shows to this convention that the number of members working the five-day week was increased 100 per cent during the year covered by the Executive Council's report. That is what the American Federation of Labor is doing in the furtherance of the acceptance of this vital economic reform.

A few years ago we presented our request to the Congress of the United States, and in response to that request the six-hour day and the five-day week was embodied in a proposed statute introduced by Senator Black of Alabama and Congressman Connelly of Massachusetts. We pressed for the enactment of this law and we secured its passage by the Senate of the United States. It was sent to the House of Representatives, and through the application of parliamentary tactics, designed to delay, it stopped there. The National Industrial Recovery Act was substituted and passed, and for that reason the six-hour day and the five-day week measure, introduced in the Congress of the United States, has remained pending in the Congress.

But this year we are making a concentrated drive. We are asking the candidates for Congress: Where do you stand upon this economic measure? What will you do if you are elected? And we are going to inform the masses of the people in every Congressional District what the answers of the Congressmen are to the inquiry we shall make.

I make this report just now because I want you to know what we are doing. This is a great reform that lies close to my heart. I know it is necessary. If we are to overcome unemployment we must distribute the amount of work available among all those who are willing and ready to work. We must not and cannot maintain in America an army of unemployed upon which there may be depending men, women and children to the amount of fifty or sixty millions. Sixty million impoverished, starving, hungry, living on relief! Can that be tolerated in America? Where is there a man that will dare stand up and say to the world that he is willing to resign himself to that fate? Labor never will, and will never be contented until we find a remedy for this social evil.

Now we know what amount of wealth should be distributed in order to create buying market for goods manufactured and produced by the industries of the United States. It may require fifty or sixty billion dollars in wealth. It may

require the expenditure of that amount of money in order to consume and use the goods which industry and agriculture produces, but I maintain that whatever amount is necessary and whatever amount is just as a fair wage for the working people of this nation, it should and must be distributed in the way of wages and buying power so that the people can buy the goods which industry produces.

It will be of little avail if we have the most perfect industrial equipment. We can have our machinery, our technical apparatus, our improved facilities of production so perfect as to challenge the admiration of all. They may stand beautiful and perfect, but they mean nothing unless back at home there is a buying market where the goods manufactured by these perfectly equipped manufacturing plants may be sold and consumed.

It is for that reason we couple with our demand for the six-hour day and the five-day week a proposal that there shall be no reduction in wages to the working man who may become the beneficiary of that reform. We cannot offer a remedy and with it a supplemental proposal that would at once destroy the efficacy of the remedy itself. We cannot propose a shorter work-day and a shorter work-week with reduced earnings, because that would destroy the buying power, and we must develop buying power to the point where we can find a market for the goods which industry produces.

Our proposal, therefore, is for shorter hours, a shorter working week, thus creating millions of work opportunities for millions of idle men, a pay envelope that will enable the workers to buy the goods which industry produces, and then march to work with every man and woman given a job and an opportunity to earn a decent living. It is upon that solid foundation we stand, and we will not be moved. We will mobilize the economic and the spiritual strength of the workers and of their friends in support of this great economic reform. We are not asking it for a class. We are not beseeching the employers or the Government to give it to us for a special group.

We say it must apply to the workers in private industry and in the Government as well, so that all can share in its benefits.

There is the position of the American Federation of Labor. We offer it as a challenge to industry and to the Government. Out from this convention will go a determined, united army, mobilized and strengthened and enlisted for the purpose of driving home the acceptance of the six-hour day and the five-day week, and nothing will stop us in our realization of this economic reform.

(The entire delegation arose and applauded the statement of President Green for some little time.)

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by a unanimous vote.

Delegate Simons, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Favoring Federal Legislation to Enforce Shorter Workday Without Pay Reduction

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It is a well established fact that the only real remedy for unemployment is continuous purchasing power of the people; and

WHEREAS, The continuous purchasing power of the people cannot be maintained without continuous employment; and

WHEREAS, It is also a reasonably established fact that continuous employment of the workers cannot be maintained under our present form of machine production and distribution. Therefore, as before said, the real solution is the maintenance of the steady employment and purchasing power of the workers; at the same time it is absolutely necessary to reduce hours without reducing wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the enactment of Federal legislation reducing working hours without reducing wages; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything possible to

bring about the adoption of such legislation.

Your committee fully concurs in the subject-matter of the resolution and recommends the adoption thereof.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Eight-Hour Day for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, It is now universally recognized and admitted that, in order to maintain the normal status of workers in this "Machine Age," to help restore jobs to millions who are unemployed, and to prevent future wholesale stripping of jobs from workers, it is essential that hours of labor be reduced in all lines of work; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the fire fighters of the United States and Canada are still working eighty-four hours per week, or an average of twelve hours per day, seven days a week; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the fire departments of all cities of the United States and Canada will help to relieve the distress of unemployment by creating jobs for many thousands of additional fire fighters; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in its convention held in August of this year went on record as favoring an eight-hour day, with one day off in seven, for all members of fire departments in the United States and Canada; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-fourth Convention, in the City of San Francisco, does hereby endorse the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its endeavor to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters of the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member Local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when a campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trade unionists are

hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as is in keeping with Labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Simons: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the committee, which is submitted and signed:

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman
JOHN SIMONS, Secretary
L. A. BEAUDRY
MICHAEL HARTNEADY
JAMES P. MEEHAN
L. O'KEEFE
PERCY THOMAS
ROBERT B. HESKETH
J. J. FARNAN
JOSEPH MCNERNEY
JOHN PELKOFER
WILLIAM LEWIS
LOUIS ALTEIRE
ISRAEL FEINBERG
SOL COHEN
JOHN L. COULTER
M. S. MAXWELL

Committee on Shorter Work-Day.

Delegate Simons moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair desires to express to the committee the deep appreciation of the convention for the services rendered. The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Vice-President Rickert, chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, announced that the committee would meet at two o'clock Monday afternoon in the Roof Garden of the Whitcomb Hotel for the purpose of considering the building trades controversy, and requested all parties to the controversy and all interested delegates to appear before the committee at that time.

President Green announced that the official convention photograph would be taken on the steps of the City Hall immediately following the noon adjournment.

Secretary O'Connell, local Entertainment Committee, announced that the ladies of the city of Oakland had provided an entertainment for the wives of the delegates and the lady visitors, and asked that they register at the hotel headquarters so that the number who wished to take advantage of the trip

could be ascertained. He stated that thirty-four ladies had registered, that entertainment had been provided for two hundred, and urged that the full number register as soon as possible.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Freng, Mullaney, Merlino, Horn, Kasten, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Altaire, Hillman, Strebel, Bellanca, Lucchi, Brown, Ryan (Jos. P.), McInerney (Jos. A.), Hannah, Sullivan (H.), Hatch, Fay (Geo.), Taylor, Rogers, Iglesias, Bailey, O'Brien (Paul), Gresty, Hirschfeldt, MacDonald, Schwartz, Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh, Campbell, Gross, Restine, McInroy, Mitchell, De Witt, Meyers, Woods, Watson, Augustine, Ames, Kennedy (J. S.), Ellis, Rice, Graham, Buzzell (J. W.), Shave, Quinn, Gorro, Ball, Campbell, Jackson, Draper, Hoocher, Bower, Davison, Wright, Dorsey, Holmes, Woodmansee, Wood, Mercer, Franklin, Covert, Kontas, Schwartz, Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith, Duyungan, Nathan, Townes, Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Murch, Doane, Costello, Whitson, Roll, De Long, Flores (M. V.), Wolfe (J. A.), Tuohy, Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Bertucci, Watson, Holland, Hampton, McElligott, Dent, Garibaldi, Ryan (Jos.), Lufano, Yetta, Higgins, Moore (F. E.).

operation which you and your fellow officers, in particular, gave to the National officers of our organization.

Organized Labor is now due for its greatest rise and growth since its existence. Upon the American Federation of Labor will rest the economic success of our country. You can depend upon all postal workers affiliated with the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to be with you 100 per cent.

You have been generous and gracious with our National officers: Gil Hyatt, Legislative Representative; Leo Georga, National President; William Otte, Secretary-Treasurer, and John Torka, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer. You listened attentively to them when they went to you for assistance in legislative work.

I again wish you and your great organization continued success for the coming year. May the 1935 Convention show a double growth in membership. Only good times will be had when workers can enjoy life with a decent wage and work conditions.

I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally,

(Signed) THOMAS E. FLANAGAN, JR.,
Secretary, Local 584, National
Federation of Post Office
Clerks, East Orange, N. J.

New York, N. Y., October 4, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
San Francisco, California.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

East Orange, N. J., October 4, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Whitcomb Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Sir and Brother:

The officers and members of Local 584 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks extend to you and your organization their best wishes and felicitations for success in this 1934 American Federation of Labor Convention now in progress.

The postal employees are fully aware of the great support given them by organized labor in general and the excellent co-

Greetings to the Federation of Labor Convention in behalf of oppressed German trade-unionists. Our voices are stifled by the criminal Hitler dictatorship, but our hearts and souls are filled with the spirit of international solidarity. The workers of Germany, deprived of their organizations and liberty, listen anxiously to the message of their comrades and brothers abroad. Keep up your fight for the emancipation of the working class. Hearty con-

gratulations to American Labor's courageous struggle, and best wishes for continued success. Sincerely yours,

MARTIN PLETTL, Former President,
German Clothing Workers' Union
and Member of Executive Council,
German Federation of Labor.

Washington, D. C., October 3, 1934.

William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
San Francisco.

Please offer to convention co-operation of Emergency Education Office, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in finding qualified teachers, Workers' Education, securing study material related to union problems and arranging co-operation State and local school officials. New facilities this year for supervision and research. Ready to assist Labor in expanding educational program.

HILDA W. SMITH.

Cincinnati, Ohio, October 3, 1934.

William Green,
Whitcomb Hotel,
San Francisco.

May I express to you and through you to the delegates in attendance at the Convention my very best wishes for a most successful convention.

JAMES WILSON.

President Green: The communications will be made part of the printed proceedings of today's session.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I desire to offer a motion at this time that I would have offered this morning had I not been meeting with a committee. I move that the addresses of President Green, his messages in connection with "Labor and Life," at the various churches in San Francisco yesterday, be incorporated as a part of today's proceedings.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Following the adjournment of the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Chair appointed a committee to consider and submit a report upon the action of the convention relating to the boycott on German goods and German service, and to submit their report to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The committee was composed of Joseph B. Ryan, President of the New York Central

Trades Council; John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Selma M. Borchardt of the American Federation of Teachers.

This committee has submitted a very interesting and instructive report. I am submitting it now to be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention. It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions for consideration and action. If there is no objection, that course will be pursued. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Following is the report referred to by President Green:

Your committee, appointed by President William Green, subsequent to the action of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, voting the use of the boycott as a means of protesting and combating the destruction of German trade union movement submits to you the following report.

One year ago the American Federation of Labor voted to boycott German made goods and such German services as are today controlled by the anti-labor German Nazi government.

We voted the boycott at that time after hearing from President Green authentic, graphic reports of the wanton destruction of the splendid German trade union movement, the persecution of its leaders, the confiscation by the Nazi government of its property. We voted the boycott in answer to the appeal made known to us from our fellow trade unionists in Germany; an appeal which asked that we join all other bona fide trade unionists in protesting the denial of freedom of conscience, freedom of association, freedom of speech and of press, the rights of man held as inalienable by all bona fide loyal trade unionists.

We wanted the world to know that free American Labor to whom these liberties are sacred, will fight with all the force and power we possess to preserve and maintain them; and that when our fellow trade unionists in other lands ask our help in their fight for liberty that we would exercise our full moral and economic strength to help them. We acted last year in answer to this appeal from fellow trade unionists in Germany (many of them intimately and dearly known to our members), in their desperate struggle against tyranny.

The American Federation of Labor, while persistently maintaining that the government of one sovereign nation has not the right to interfere with the government of another sovereign nation, has continuously voted as a non-governmental body of free men and women to

give moral and economic support to men and women in all parts of the world in times of their stress. To show that our present action is absolutely consistent with the traditional policy of the A. F. of L., we cite the following:

1. Twenty-seventh Convention of American Federation of Labor, 1907, Norfolk, Va., adopted report of Executive Council, pledging support to the movement for Russian freedom from the Czarist tyranny.

2. Baltimore Convention, 1916—Convention adopted resolution endorsing joint resolution of Congress concerning persecution of Jews.

3. Atlantic City Convention, 1919—Adopted resolution asking guarantees for national minorities.

4. Atlantic City Convention, 1919—also endorsed demands of the Irish people for independence, and called upon U. S. Congress to give recognition to "our sister Republic, Ireland."

5. Nineteen-twenty Convention, Montreal—Resolution 90 "reaffirms endorsement of Irish freedom and demands withdrawal of British military forces."

6. In 1920 we were among the first to ask that aid be given the war-stricken German people.

7. In 1922 we demanded that Russia be not recognized until it recognized inalienable rights of man, rights now denied citizens under Hitler.

Today, again we ask for aid for the German people.

We made it clear at the last convention that we do not vote to boycott the German people; nor do we wish in any way to discriminate against the German citizen in our midst. Rather do we seek to co-operate with them to help restore to the millions of splendid German men and women now enslaved by the Nazi terror, that spirit, feeling, and vision which made it possible for Germany and the Germans to make the contributions to human progress and the enrichment of life which they did make before Hitler and the fanatic Nazi creed crushed their true spiritual and cultural life.

As Mr. Green said last year, "We love the German people, we love the German trade unionists, and it is because we love them and admire them that I feel, as I think most of you feel, that it is the duty of this convention, the stern duty of this convention, to make such a strong declaration as will hearten and strengthen and encourage our German trade unionists and their splendid officers who have led them so well and who have administered their trade union affairs so ably."

Your committee would remind you of a few of the facts brought to your attention last year in the speech made by

President Green, who after quoting absolutely authentic information sources, told the convention:

1. "From the start the Nazi officials began a campaign of calumny and physical violence against the German Union. In the space of one week, from March 2 to 10, every trade-union publication in the country was suppressed."

2. "In numerous instances storm troopers emptied the cash registers and took away with them whatever money they could lay their hands on. Hardly a labor union in Germany but was visited by the Nazi storm troopers. In scores of cases the storm troopers took actual possession of the union headquarters, converting them into barracks."

3. "On May 2 the Hitler government finally outlawed the General German Trade Union Association, confiscated its property, arrested the prominent leaders, took over all the labor banks, co-operatives and similar organizations, lock, stock and barrel. Every president of the thirty-one International Unions comprising the General German Trade Union Association was arrested at the same time, in addition to the general secretaries and clerical help. Among the prisoners were the two outstanding leaders of the association, Theodore Leipart and Peter Grassman. In all, several hundred union leaders were arrested that day, and hundreds more during the days that followed. For weeks the prisoners were kept in Nazi barracks, before being transferred to the regular city prisons and ultimately banished to concentration camps."

We repeat, do not indict the German people. We honor them for their magnificent contributions to art, science, literature, music; for the development of a magnificent trade-union movement dedicated to human rights. We must seek to help them. We will help them by joining with them in a fight on Hitlerism.

But we do indict the Hitler government. We charge them:

1. With seeking to destroy religious standards sacred to men of all creeds.

2. With promoting a militaristic ideal which endangers the peace of the world.

3. With enslaving thousands of men and women whose greatest crime is a devotion to liberty, and whose worst offense is membership in a bona fide trade-union, through which they sought to help their fellow men.

4. With seeking to destroy spiritually, physically, and economically, the Jews who through the ages have steadfastly clung to their faith in God, and whose scholars since the days of Moses, the law giver, have enriched human experience. The American Federation of Labor is

aware of the contributions made to the American Labor Movement by its Jewish members.

These charges were substantiated, last year, in full detail by statements made by Hitler and his cohorts and official Nazi publications presented at last year's convention and by reports made by German trade unionists. Further supporting data, statements, exhibits, reports are now in President Green's possession for your further investigation.

Your committee feels that now it must render an account of what has happened in Germany since our last convention, events which intimately concern us as American trade unionists.

When the Nazi anti-Labor government came into power, it vaunted high-sounding promises of what it would do for the poor German worker. During this year the German Labor Law has been in effect. We present categorically certain phases of it.

Labor Legislation

1. Collective bargaining and all rights to protect the interests of Organized Labor are wiped out.

2. All trade unions are dissolved. "Trade union interference is no longer possible," states the new German law.

3. Strikes are prohibited under penalty of high treason.

The new German penal code reported in Deutsche Justiz, the official organ of the Ministry of Justice, states: "Present proposals cannot be considered as sufficiently far-reaching and crime deterring. Not the object of the strike must be considered, but solely the strikers' ideology which is in direct contrast to the interests of the State and the economic life of the German nation. Furthermore, there can be no room whatsoever for strikes and other Labor disturbances in the New Germany. Every strike, lock-out, passive resistance and even the incitement to strike must be considered as high treason and ruthlessly suppressed by means of the death penalty."

4. An attempt to organize into trade unions is also prohibited; the attempt being regarded as treason, punishable by death.

5. In the place of trade unionist, there are set up shop councils, the chairman of each such workers' shop council must be the employer himself.

"Every factory must have the natural leader," said Dr. Ley, the head of the German Labor front; "the natural leader of the factory being the employer and the owner."

6. The members of these councils are taken from the ranks of the "nationally reliable workers and employees, who are more than 25 years of age and who have been employed for at least one full year in the same establishment." (This means that only Nazis will be permitted to belong to the so-called "workers' representative body," a political industrial organization, and that a blacklist is established by law for those who seek in any way to oppose the employer.)

7. If a worker is dissatisfied with the decision of the "leader" of his shop council he may appeal the decision to the official Labor trustee. There are thirteen Labor trustees, one for each industrial district. The trustees, who represent the State, supervise the working conditions and render the decisions on all controversial labor questions, are the leading industrialists, in their respective regions, and are trusted Nazi officials.

8. If a worker is dissatisfied with the decisions of the Labor trustee, he may appeal that decision to the Social Honor Court.

The President of the Social Honor Court is the Labor trustee of that jurisdiction. He is also, therefore, the leading industrialist of the community.

9. The Social Honor Court has the "right and the duty to proceed against all workers who, through malicious agitation, (attempt to organize trade unions) endanger labor peace within the shop, deliberately interfere with the management and make frivolous complaints to the Labor trustee."

10. The Government has organized an official strike-breaking organization in case an emergency should arise. The organization, TENO, was created in anticipation of possible labor struggles which may develop more rapidly than the participants can be "tried" for high treason and beheaded. The members of TENO are called twice a week to report to their local sections, where they are instructed in their future tasks which may develop incident to wage reductions and other Nazi Labor measures. There has even developed a little fear that TENO, supported by the Government, may not stand absolutely firm, and the former leader of TENO, Laumitzsch, a staunch member of the Steel Helmet War Veterans' Organization, was removed and a more idealistic Nazi, Hampee, put in his place.

Further evidence of the fact that Nazi leaders expect soon to make full use of TENO is borne out by the fact that at a meeting in Berlin recently, of section leaders of TENO, the Nazi propaganda chief, Herr Schulze-Wechsungen, said, "that the loyalty and energies of the TENO membership will be taxed to the utmost in the near future."

Usurpation and Corrupt Use of Trade Union Money

The Nazis said that they must take over all the trade unions to save the workers' money. (True, they did—but they failed to say for whom they'd save it.)

Here's how the money of the trade unionists has been "saved" this year.

1. When the anti-Labor Nazi leaders took over the old German trade unions, they immediately made vast additions to the union pay roll, making it necessary for old trade union money to be spent to subsidize Nazis, placed in the old trade union offices.

This is particularly important when we realize that these so-called trade union officers were put in by the Nazis and were not elected to office by the workers who were forced to pay salaries for all positions newly created and filled by anti-Labor Nazis.

2. For the new Nazi appointees automobiles and motorcycles were purchased from the workers' funds.

When the building trades offices were raided and taken over "to save the workers' money," one of the first acts of the Nazis was the purchase of a large Mercedes car, one of the most expensive cars made in Europe, for the new Pure Leader of the building trades.

3. The notorious Nazi leader of the German Labor Front, Dr. Ley, (taken to head the workers from his former work as head of the German Chemical Trust, a war munitions front) has started a highly profitable racket of his own, "to save the workers' money."

According to Ley's ruling, the new holiday uniform-suit prescribed for the German workers by the Nazi masters and paid for out of the pitifully inadequate workers' wages, can only be manufactured by firms which are in possession of a special license from headquarters of the German Labor Front. The license charge is 1.50 mark for each suit. Since more than five million German workers are forced to belong to the Labor Front and to buy these suits, the net profit on the "kick-back" is 7,500,000 marks, or approximately \$3,000,000.

4. The wages of all workers have been drastically cut, but even from these cut wages the workers are compelled to give up vast sums to the Nazis; 7 per cent of their wages must be given as a contribution to the German Labor Front in addition to other deductions for so-called insurance.

These facts show us a part of the devastating picture, a part of the horror to which our fellow trade-unionists are subjected.

Jews, we know, have been tortured simply because they were Jews.

The German people have themselves deplored these unwarranted attacks on the Jews.

A loyal German churchman, Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich said, "Jews are persecuted in all lands. But the methods of persecution in our country are a shame and a disgrace for us. Not by hatred and persecution will Jews be destroyed. Make clear to your brothers that racial hatred is a wild and poisonous growth in our life. Root out this frightful inhuman prejudice against the eternally suffering people."

So spoke the German Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich.

We have at hand, obtained from absolutely reliable sources, data showing the attacks made on churches of all creeds; on man's right to worship his God as he sees fit. These data have been sent to President Green, to be held for your inspection. These are the manifestations of Nazism. Nazism, like Communism and Fascism, is not simply a form of government of one nation. It is a philosophy of force and violence, an attitude toward life and living which those who accept it seek to force on other people and all nations, by whatever means—often foul—they can employ.

Against these wrongs and other wrongs our fellow trade-unionists protest. We are morally bound to protest; our oath of obligation, taken when we joined the American Federation of Labor, commits us.

We quote from the preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

"WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled."

The protest in behalf of the rights of man in this instance must be of a form to make it carry the message we feel so deeply.

As President Green said last year, "It is not enough under extraordinary conditions of this kind (prevailing under

Hitler in Germany) that we merely voice our protest. . . . Let the word go there (to Germany) that there is one great movement in America that will protest against the persecution of our trade-union representatives in any land, where it may be. . . . And do we sit still when the Jewish race in Germany is being persecuted merely because they are Jews? That, to me, is indefensible. . . . If there is one organization in the world or in America that stands for the protection of men, regardless of race, creed or nationality, it is the American Federation of Labor."

And so we voted the boycott.

The boycott is a mighty weapon. We, in the ranks of organized labor, possess a tremendous potential force in our purchasing power. And this force we must exercise cautiously, but fearlessly and vigorously in our struggles against our opponents whose sole purpose is often to destroy human liberty and indeed human life itself, if their purposes are the better served thereby.

The question may be asked why the American Federation of Labor voted to use the boycott as its weapon in this fight. Your committee submits the answer. The American Federation of Labor voted the boycott:

1. Because it is an ethical, practical, humane method of meeting the tyrant, the despot, and those interests which through force and violence—bloodshed if necessary—undertake to dominate and control society.

2. Because the boycott is a bona fide traditional trade-union weapon. As trade-unionists we insist on using trade-union methods in fighting to preserve and maintain our trade-union ideals.

3. Because the Nazi program is a threat of industrial slavery.

4. Because the trade-union movement is dedicated to maintain peace among nations and freedom to all citizens, and the antisocial conduct of the Hitler government is a threat of war.

5. Because the American trade-union movement method of assuring peace is the full use of its economic and moral power to prevent shedding of blood.

6. Because the enslavement of one people by an armed minority shocks the conscience of free people the world over.

7. Because the Hitler dictatorship has invoked a rigid censorship of the press, the radio, and all means of spreading public information, and so prevents the German people from hearing of our protests.

8. Because our moral force spent itself against the wall of this cruel dictatorship and censorship, and our mere protests availed nothing and we were compelled to use our economic force.

9. Because the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the splendid service of the German trade-union movement to the upright and intelligent German workers, now ground under the heels of tyranny, was compelled to deny the German government the benefit of American trade from free American labor so far as that was possible.

10. Because, by its action, the American labor movement hoped to bring to an early end the barbarity of a government blinded by military ideals, contemptuous of the personal and religious liberties of men and women of all faiths.

11. Because the boycott is the only weapon we know which can stem the disaster now facing the world as a result of the menace of Hitler, directed first against the German people, and then against the ideals of liberty-loving trade-unionists all over the world.

To this end, the American Federation of Labor called on the Organized Labor Movement of the United States to employ this mighty weapon, the boycott, against the Hitler government, so as to help avert war among nations and help secure freedom of conscience and of conduct for the splendid German people, and restore economic freedom to our German fellow trade-unionists.

The Effect of the Boycott

Since free Labor has invoked the boycott against German goods, made by an enslaved people, the German market has fallen off appreciably.

The Boycott Has Been Effective

The figures of our own United States Department of Commerce show:

Period	Imports	Exports	Balance
Pre-Hitler 1932.....	RM 4,703,400,000	RM 5,739,000,000	+RM 1,035,600,000
First year of Hitler 1933.....	4,203,900,000	4,871,300,000	+RM 667,400,000
First half of second Hitler year 1934	2,394,600,000	2,085,900,000	—RM 216,300,000
(+ plus; favorable balance; — minus; unfavorable balance.)			

These figures show that whereas in the pre-Hitler year 1932 the German foreign trade balance during the first six months showed a surplus of RM 557,100,000, this surplus was reduced in the first year of Hitler to RM 291,000,000, and in the second Hitler year (first half of 1934) this former favorable balance dropped to a deficit of RM 216,300,000. (RM in German is Reichsmark.)

Effect of Boycott on Germany's Trade With United States

Figures showing drop in Germany's exports to the United States. By comparing the pre-Hitler year 1932 with the first Hitler year 1933:

Germany's exports to the United States in 1932, according to German Government records, amounted to	RM 281,202,000
Germany's exports to the United States in 1933, according to German Government records amounted to	245,852,000
Decrease	RM 35,350,000

The figures given by the United States Department of Commerce in dollars rather than in marks are misleading. This is due to America's going off the gold standard in April, 1933, after which time the dollar dropped throughout the rest of that year. Hence comparison must be made on a basis applicable to both years. The actual drop is correctly indicated by the German figure of RM 35,350,000, amounting to a real loss of \$9,564,333.

(We submit that perhaps some of this loss may be due to the deterioration in the quality of German made goods; for it must be admitted that goods made by economically enslaved workers cannot be of the same standard as goods made by free labor.)

To make the boycott thoroughly effective, we must withdraw and withhold our patronage from those despots who are actuated by a brutal desire to deny, ruthlessly, to the men, women and children of labor the right to have a voice and a part in determining the standards of life and labor under which they have to live.

An industry or a nation cannot withstand the effects of a boycott, if intelligently and persistently applied.

In the light of these facts and in keeping with the best traditions of our own United States, and the ideals of the American Federation of Labor, your committee concurs in the recommendations made by the Executive Council to this convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. That we renew our vigorous protest to the crushing of trade unions and the enslavement of the erstwhile free workers of Germany.

2. That we renew our pledge to fight "by moral and economic force" against the military brutality imposed upon our fellow men.

3. That we, as trade unionists, continue to employ in this fight the traditional trade union weapon, the boycott, against the Nazi government until Labor in Germany is again made free and the persecution authorized by this Nazi government of our fellow men—simply because of their race or creed—shall cease.

4. That we heartily endorse the appeal made by President Green in his letter of December 26, 1933, to all organized labor for definite, co-ordinated action to make thoroughly effective this boycott of Nazi made goods and Nazi controlled services.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH RYAN, Chairman,
SELMA M. BORCHARDT
JOHN FITZPATRICK, Sec'y.

President Green: I want to present to you a friend and co-worker, a distinguished officer of an affiliated organization, the Vice-President of the United Textile Workers of America. He came from Washington and arrived here this morning for the purpose of presenting to you information with regard to the recent textile strike. We are glad indeed to welcome him, not as a stranger, but as one of us, for we have been tremendously interested in the nationwide strike of textile workers which occurred a week or two ago, and the outcome of which is now being handled and considered by a board appointed by the President of the United States. I am glad, indeed, to present Vice-President Frank Gorman, of the United Textile Workers of America.

FRANCIS J. GORMAN

(Vice-President, United Textile Workers of America)

Mr. President, fellow delegates and guests:

I have come here because I have something to say which seems to me important to our movement, and because I am a delegate. Last week it did not seem possible that I could leave Washington and I tried to arrange to address you by telephone. Fortunately when those arrangements could not be carried out it so happened that the situation in Wash-

ington cleared so that I could leave. I reached this city this morning by air. I wasn't up in the air so much during our entire strike.

Principally, I came here to explain what seems to me to be the opportunity and the obligation of our whole Labor Movement at this moment. On September 1, the textile workers of the nation went on strike. I don't want to seem to be egotistical, but at the outset we made a series of predictions and every one of them came true. We said that at the end of the first week there would be 300,000 textile workers out. It turned out that way. Then step by step the shut-down progressed, until when the strike ended on September 22 more than a half million workers had walked out and the strike lines were longer and stronger than they were in the first week.

It has been said that the textile strike was the largest strike American Labor has ever had. Perhaps that is so. Certainly I shall not deny it, but that is not the thing that is important. The thing that is important is that at last, after two hundred and more years, a battle in labor's long war has been won in that field and that on the basis of this victory employment relations in the textile industry are being revolutionized before our eyes.

There are those, and some of them I think it fair to call friendly, critics, who would tell you we did not win a victory. I am here to tell you and I have come three thousand miles to impress upon you, that the United Textile Workers of America terminated the textile strike at the close of its twenty-second day with one of the most amazing victories ever recorded in the annals of this great and victorious movement of ours—this American Federation of Labor.

I am not counting unhatched chickens when I say that. I am not indulging in self-deception. I am talking from the record. We struck for three main demands, which were abolishment of the stretch-out or overload of work, the adjustment of hours and wages to give the worker higher purchasing power and create new employment and finally recognition of the union. Linked to the wage question was the matter of the differential between minimum rates and the rates for skilled workers whose pay is and always has been above the minimum.

What did we get? We got the nearest thing to recognition of the union that it was possible to get at the time and we are on the high road to complete recognition. We got abolishment of the stretch-out—and that was the most aggravated issue of all. We shall get an adjustment of hours and wages. When I say we shall get it, I mean just that.

But let me tell you trade unionists another thing that we did. We emerged from the strike with our ranks stronger than ever and that growth is increasing today and will increase tomorrow. We are out to unionize the textile industry one hundred per cent. History may easily enough rate that as the greatest and most vital part of our victory.

When the strike began we had 300,000 members, not such a small army, if I may say so. Today we have a good many more than that. But there are a million textile workers and we plan to have them all within the United Textile Workers of America within the year.

Now let me point out a most interesting fact about the strike. We had something more than a half million on strike. But another half million were out of the mills before ever there was any strike. A great many very conservative and estimable newspapers, thought it was terrible that we should call out a half million, but they never peeped when the employers threw out a half million. And a large part of our purpose in calling out our half million was to make jobs for that other half million that had been thrown out by the bosses.

Now let us observe the machinery that is at work to carry out the program on which I maintain we have won a tremendous and lasting victory.

First, there was the report of the Winant Board, which recommended the immediate creation of machinery to remedy the abuses against which we struck. Remember, the President formally approved that report and thus approved the remedying of those abuses. We do not underestimate the value of that fact. Furthermore, the President telegraphed to the United Textile Workers of America his congratulations upon the action of the union in accepting that report as a basis upon which we could terminate the strike. The President was not in any doubt, it seems, as to what agency represents and speaks for the workers in the textile industry.

Action began immediately. The President appointed the Textile Labor Relations Board to administer the whole labor section of the codes. That, let me point out, is a victory for you as well as for textile workers, because it points the way to a new policy in that regard. That Board, able and fearless, went to work at once and I know it is going to get results.

At once, also, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Trade Commission were ordered into action. They are in action today in the most amazing assault upon concealed facts the textile industry has ever known. For the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 110 men and women are in the field investigating wages, hours and working conditions.

Their job must be finished within six weeks from the time they started. That, my fellow delegates, is action. The Federal Trade Commission, which has stood up against the biggest interests of the country, is at work getting at the financial status of the textile industry. And I believe that within just a few days—perhaps while we are here—the textile work assignments board will be appointed. That puts the axe to the stretch-out and marks up on the calendar of textile workers a day that may yet come to rate with the Thanksgiving Day of the Pilgrim Fathers as a day upon which to cease all work and render thanks for a new dispensation in their lives.

I ask you to remember that this victory will be materialized through the machinery of peace, although it was won through the stern test of warfare. I ask you to remember further that the machinery now set up will go on as the machinery through which we will win permanent readjustment for the better. We have won something that will not perish tomorrow or pass away with the snows of the coming winter.

And when we won this victory, when we sent forth the order that sent our workers back into the mills, I ask you to remember that our unarmed half million were faced with an army of 40,000 soldiers, all equipped with the latest and best in equipment and many of them determined to use that equipment. They had used it to such purpose that some fifteen of our members rest beneath the sod, heroes and martyrs to the cause of human progress.

We have fought the battle of 1934. It was a battle. All strikes are battles. Some think of them as the war and thus come to form false judgments. The war will go on until justice reigns. Strikes are battles in that great war. We have fought and won this epochal battle. Now we go on to a task that we all like much better—a constructive task. The day the strike was terminated we sent out instructions No. 1 to start the organizing campaign. That campaign is under way. It will go on and the more resources we have the faster it will go on. That campaign is a campaign for all Organized Labor, because in the great textile area we shall build labor union strength in the other occupations just as fast as the textile workers organize.

Using the most sober judgment of which I am capable and putting back of it the judgment of other men, I say to you that this Organized Labor movement has just begun to advance its lines, has just begun to mark out its path for tomorrow, has just begun to fill up its regiment for the orderly and constructive task of participating in the making of the terms and conditions under which labor will give service and for participation in the democratic practices in in-

dustry which must and will be developed if democracy is to continue in any sphere. We have just begun. And I know we shall not turn back.

Has it occurred to you that there is a potential union membership of over three million workers in the apparel trades alone? Let the apparel trades stand united for just one year and we shall be able to bring so large a part of that vast army within union ranks that the remaining minority will be but a sad reminder of a past disorganized condition. That is no fanciful prospect. I hope the foundation for it will be laid in this convention.

There are many who think this Labor Movement of ours is some sort of an old fogey affair. The United Textile Workers are proud to carry the banner of the American Federation of Labor and I think our employers will agree that our strike was no old fogey affair. We sought to use every modern method in the conduct of that strike. We were after results and we used the best tools and methods we could find. I sometimes laugh a bit at some of our critics—some who want to tell us what kind of unions we should have. We fit our unions to our needs and it so happens that one union for the whole textile industry fits our needs. The American Federation of Labor has given us every possible help and encouragement in the development of that one union and I don't care whether you call it a trade union, an industrial union or a vertical union. Let us just call it a union.

Well, the picture I have before me—this picture of a vast, disciplined union that shall bring within its protecting folds the whole army of a million textile workers, presents a challenge to every labor man who has imagination and vision and the will to move onward. In our strike we had magnificent help. The excitement of battle was in the air and unions came forward to help us win that battle. Among those unions which helped most generously were the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Mine Workers and the Millinery Workers. President Green gave us help for which we shall never cease to be thankful.

But now we come to this new phase of work. It presents to you a challenge. I know what has been said of the textile workers—poor and beaten and exploited and driven as they have been, until their blood has reddened the snows, even as the snows were reddened at Valley Forge. We have always come asking help. That was when we had ten or fifteen thousand members whose punishment for joining a union was all too often discharge and blacklist.

Well, that day has passed. We ask nothing. I am not here to beg. I am here to challenge you to help bring to the

Organized Labor Movement the greatest army of recruits visible anywhere upon the horizon of Labor. We have won our right under fire to speak thus. We stand among you as fellow trade unionists, ready and able to do our part, offering to you a golden and inescapable opportunity to join us in this immense undertaking.

In our strike we were faced, before the battle was over, with the whole great combination of reactionary forces. Across the battle lines we faced our own employers, the great banking interests, the power trust, the steel trust, the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Today those forces are lined up, not against us, but against you.

Where do we stand? Do we allow ourselves to be drawn into battle bit by bit, defending after we have been attacked? Or do we plan the fight, force the issue and go into battle united in ideals and united in strength?

I do not mean that we are fighters only. To prove that let me say that before our strike we sought negotiation, then we agreed to mediation. Later we proposed arbitration and finally we accepted the Winant Board's magnificent award. We offered peace at every step, but when peace was no longer possible we forced the fighting and by forcing the fighting carried the day.

This, I think I have a right to say, is no time for us to be cut to pieces bit by bit. If ever we had a day when unified action was the need of the hour that day is upon us. Let us face the common enemy, which is greed and ignorance. I hope this convention will fling bold new banners to the breeze of the New Day. Our first duty is organization, and our second duty is to know how to use that organization. May I say to you, in the humility of one who comes to his first convention of the great and glorious American Federation of Labor, before whose leaders I have been a pupil for lo, these many years, that we must go forward, and in order to go forward we must stand together. If we do not go forward we shall be destroyed and the toll of a century will be lost. Unfurl the banners and sound the charge. We stand here to say we are ready and we ask you to come with us in our part of the field, as we shall go with you in yours.

President Green: We thank Brother Gorman for his visit and for his address to us this afternoon. It will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention. We are glad he came here and we are pleased with his message.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Chairman Obergfell: The Committee on Labels has given consideration to the subject matter referred to herein by this convention, and Delegate Weaver, Secretary, will submit the Committee's report.

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Death of John Manning

Mr. President and Delegates: Your Committee on Union Labels, in the submission of its final report, is moved to acknowledge that during the course of its deliberations, it has been conscious of "a longing for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still."

During the year now closing Brother John J. Manning, for many years the Chairman of the Committee on Union Labels, passed within the eternal silences.

We miss his kindly personality, his wise leadership, his enthusiasm for a cause.

We shall cherish his memory and remember him as a gallant soldier in the battle for human rights, whose sun went down while it was yet day.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retail Clerks—Union Shop Card

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates W. G. Desepete and C. C. Coulter, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Recognizing that the welfare of all wage earners depends upon their organized unity, by means of which, through concurrent effort, the principles of collective bargaining may be most effectively promoted and sustained; and

WHEREAS, No better way is known for the realization of this objective than for all members of organized labor to consistently patronize all trade union labels; and

WHEREAS, It is self-evident that while striving to strengthen the power and influence of one label, it is equally important to strongly encourage and uphold all other union labels; and

WHEREAS, The union store card is the official label of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, issued only to stores where union clerks are employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge a more united and emphatic demand for the union store card on the part of the members of all affiliated organizations; and be it

RESOLVED, That an appeal be issued to all organizers and central bodies stressing the urgent need of patronage of those stores where the union store card is on display, and to insist upon the services of union clerks, who can be further identified by a monthly working button; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediate aid be given in the present campaign to thoroughly organize the salespeople in all branches of retailing by an insistent demand on the part of every union man and woman for the services of union salespeople in order that the time may soon arrive when all union dollars may be spent in union stores with union clerks.

Your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support of Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union House Card and Button

Resolution No. 204—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance have a house card and monthly working button to distinguish the union house from those houses operating under non-union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Union House Card and Button are the only means by which hotels, restaurants and other places under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance may be advertised to the public as fair to the workers of our International Union; and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to prevail upon the officers and members of the trade union movement and the friends and sympathizers of Organized Labor that they should patronize, wherever possible, only those hotels, restaurants, bars, etc., where members of the International Union are employed; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this Department should call upon the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for support of the Union Label, Shop Card or Button of all affili-

ated International and National Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Union Label Trades Department shall draft and present to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor a suitable resolution calling upon the officers, and the members and the friends of the Labor Movement, when purchasing any product, to demand those products which bear the Union Label of the International or National Union having jurisdiction thereof and when patronizing any store, barber-shop, hotel, restaurant, or other place, which places are under the jurisdiction of affiliated International or National Unions which have Union Shop Cards or Buttons, that the officers and members and friends of the trade union movement patronize only those places where such Union Shop Cards or Buttons are properly displayed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to say, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that this resolution has been introduced by the Union Label Trades Department because of the fact that we had a resolution in that particular Department calling for some action on the failure on the part of some delegates to patronize union hotels and restaurants when it would be easy for them to do so. We are very much pleased to see that this resolution introduced by the Union Label Trades Department has received the approval of the committee, and we are heartily in favor of the resolution.

The other day, on the occasion of a similar resolution, one of the delegates got up and severely criticized our International Union for not insisting on the Label of the Pottery Workers appearing on the dishes in hotels and restaurants. He claimed that they were just as important as the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance. Now that we do not deny, but it has been our effort for the last three or four years to have the American Federation of Labor create a department, separate in itself, whereby all organizations that are in any way connected with the handling of food, may be represented in a similar fashion as the Building Trades, the Metal Trades, and the Label Trades. But we have never succeeded in having the American Federation of Labor create this Provision Trades Department.

Mr. President, I ask you in all humility, what can we do to have the people of the great American Federation of Labor patronize the hotels and restaurants that are fair to our International Union, and that display our Label, if we have to take all other unions into consideration? It is a physical impossibility for our International Union to make itself business agent of all the unions that may be in any shape or manner directly or indirectly connected with the food industry. For this reason I hope that the American Federation of Labor will see the wisdom of creating such a Food Department which will make it possible for all of us who are connected with the food industry to have some kind of say as to the patronage of the hotels and restaurants.

In this particular instance, in our city, we succeeded in organizing the headquarters hotel 100 per cent so far as the culinary workers are concerned. Never before have we had the miscellaneous employees organized in the hotels, but in this particular instance it is a 100 per cent institution. That was reported on the floor of our Trades Council from time to time, and then we find the barbers are not organized, the pottery workers and others are not organized, and all of them could have been organized if we had had united action. That is a serious defect and I sincerely hope some means will be devised whereby such defect will be eliminated in the future, and such resolutions as this will not be necessary, but that as a Department we will be able to organize all the hotels and restaurants wherever the American Federation of Labor may be holding its conventions, so that the representatives of Organized Labor may sit down to a repast cooked by union cooks, served by union waiters, on dishes made by union pottery workers, and the linens washed by union laundry workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conclusion

In the final submission of this report your Committee on Union Labels can only reiterate and emphasize the doctrine enunciated in many former years.

In all ages the people have depended upon signs and symbols. They are the indices of human purpose. They beckon in the direction in which we are asked to follow.

In the long ago an inspired writer inquired: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall arise to the battle?"

The union label speaks with a clearness and significance which must be apparent to all. Attached to an article of printing, or a pair of shoes, a ladies' garment, a box of cigars, or a loaf of bread, it proclaims before the world that the article of production thus decorated, comes from heads and hearts and hands unmanacled by industrial slavery, and which have realized in some happier degree the status of freedom and opportunity which the American Federation of Labor was designed to promote.

If every laborer with a union card in his pocket would take just five minutes a day for either morning or noontide or evening reflection, upon what would be accomplished if every member of the million-numbered ranks of Organized Labor would demand the union label on every purchase made, the awakened sentiment in behalf of union-made goods would completely revolutionize the cause for which we plead and speedily give to it a power, influence and prestige never before known.

Secretary Weaver: In the moving of the final adoption of the committee's report, may I say that Delegate Gainor this morning challenged the convention to give an expression of the faith that is within you with reference to the shorter work day. The response thereto, under the leadership of President Green, was not only far-reaching but inspirational, and if we could succeed in successfully issuing a similar challenge to touch the minds and hearts of the delegates here assembled, causing some of you delegates who have positive convictions that the union label is right, but who often display mental inactivity in expressing your convictions, your Label Committee would feel that its existence had not been entirely in vain.

I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Belsel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I rise at this time to support the report of the Committee on Labels and I would also like to make a few remarks in regard to union label propaganda and in regard to the patronage of union labels.

I was glad to notice in the report of your Executive Council where it stated that the union label was a part of the Labor Movement, and is a strong part of the Labor Movement if it is only used and the proper support given to it.

I said the other day in addressing the convention of the Union Label Trades Department that we had gone through a period of turmoil in the last few years in these organizing campaigns instituted by every organization affiliated with this great Federation, and that if the energy put forth in regard to educating your new recruits who have come into the Labor Movement could be extended to make them understand and realize that by becoming a part of the Labor Movement there is something to be considered besides hours and wages that they will not be staunch union men and women if they do not see anything else but hours and wages when they join the organization, we will do a great deal towards making real union men out of these new recruits. We can do much by making them realize that they should lend their moral support to other organizations with which they come in contact.

I have had considerable experience in the new organizations which have been formed, and many of which I have visited, and it does not take very much explanation to those new members to make them realize that they must patronize and support other organizations. I have been down through Oklahoma and Texas in the last six months, and I want to give credit to those men in our movement who at least helped to teach the new members to support and encourage organizations that have been organized for years and years.

I want to mention one organization in particular, and that is the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers. They include a class of people who have not had very much education as far as the Labor Movement is concerned in the past, but when these people were organized and they were asked for their help in the patronizing of union labels and union shop cards and buttons, they gave their whole-hearted support in every way to every organization they could.

I have listened attentively to the resolution that was read here this morning, and you can go into some localities and find very few shops that do not show a union card in the stores. That holds good for many of the other organizations.

We had a strike at Tulsa, Oklahoma, for six weeks, and when the demand for the union agreement was not listened to by the employers those men were compelled to strike. The oil workers in that district rallied 100 per cent to the support of our organization. That organization went forth in every corner of that district, and one of the larger shops there lost fifty per cent of its business. What we have accomplished there can be accomplished in many other districts.

The hotel and restaurant employees are mentioned here. It is true that those conditions exist, but I have seen a condition where we have had State conventions in different cities and a few weeks before the convention the hotels would get busy and organize and then within two or three weeks after the convention had adjourned these organizations seemed to drift apart. Whose fault was it that those conditions existed? It is not the men who are directly interested, it is the men and women in those localities who do not pay enough attention when these organizations are formed.

I do not want to criticize anybody, but how often do we bring those matters to the attention of the delegates in these conventions, and what results are there to be achieved? I say we should pay a little more attention to statements that are made there and not say, well,

it is all talk for the purpose of getting in the record and so on.

I have been a union label advocate all my life, and I know if we had the whole-hearted support of not only the organized workers, but the sympathy of the Organized Labor Movement, if we would only go out and practice what we preach, we would not have to come here convention after convention and take time in reading to the delegates resolutions in regard to the patronage of union labels.

I have been a member of the Bakers' International Union since 1898, and we built our organization to its present strength through the influence of the union label. It is our emblem, and that emblem of our organization is carried in the front line.

On account of the NRA, our employers throughout the country on the first of May said that the union shop agreement was outlawed. We stuck to our ground and insisted on our union label. Our men went out and appealed to the public for support and encouragement, and in most places we received it.

Our union label is printed in a 100 per cent union shop. As time went along and conditions changed and the people insisted on wrapped bread, we insisted that the union label should appear on that wrapped bread, and not only that, but we insisted that those labels be printed in a 100 per cent union shop. In our organization in the last year we issued 962,928 labels. We spent close to \$100,000, our International Union as well as the local unions affiliated, in advertising that union label. I know if every organization in the American Federation of Labor would combine their efforts and work for the union label it would be of great benefit to all of us. We hear a great deal about advertising. The Union Label Trades Department is offering a new system of advertising for the union label. It is known to everyone who has anything to do with big business that advertising pays. Big business has spent thousands and thousands of dollars to keep their products before the public. Why can't organized labor do that? Why

can't we all go to work and support each other and keep our union label, not only in small localities but in the larger cities as well? If our local unions through the international unions would start a campaign of education among the membership, especially with the new men and women who are joining the Labor Movement, you would not have to come here next year with a similar appeal, because a bigger and a more united Labor Movement would be the result.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Obergfell: That completes the partial report of the committee. The committee will meet immediately after adjournment for consideration of the subject matter in the Executive Council's report referred to it.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Legislation.

Delegate Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee: The report of the Committee on Legislation will be presented by the secretary of the Committee, Gilbert E. Hyatt. In the interests of time and because of the length of some of the resolutions dealt with by your committee, with the permission of the Chairman, the Secretary will read the number of the resolution, the page in the daily proceedings in which the resolution will be found, the name of the delegate or delegates introducing the resolution, and the resolve of the resolution.

Report of Committee on Legislation

Delegate Hyatt, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

National Legislation

The committee has referred to it from the report of the Executive Council the following subjects under the heading of "National Legislation": Rural Letter Carriers, Air Mail Legislation, Government Employees, Naval Vessels and Aircraft, Farmer Legislation, and Highway Appropriation.

Inasmuch as this material is elsewhere dealt with, the committee feels that no

comment upon the section of the Executive Council's report under this caption is necessary. It does, however, feel called upon to comment upon the tremendous importance of the problems confronting the workers with respect to national legislation. It is therefore fitting that the convention express gratification concerning the gains made and that it commend to the Executive Board continuation of efforts with respect to tasks in this field as yet incomplete.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RURAL LETTER CARRIERS—AIR MAIL LEGISLATION—GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

On the sections of the report of the Executive Council under the above captions, pages 75 and 80, the committee reported as follows:

The section of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Government Employees" calls attention to four bills passed by Congress of which two were vetoed and two became law.

Of the two vetoed, the most important with respect to permanent value is that introduced by Representative James M. Mead of Buffalo, N. Y., a member of the Switchmen's Union and chairman of the House Post Office and Post Roads Committee for the relief of substitute postal workers. The Civil Service unions have requested endorsement of continued efforts for the relief of substitutes in the postal service, in a resolution.

A section of the report is devoted to an account of successful efforts put forth by the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, supported by the other postal unions and backed by the American Federation of Labor, for relief from drastic reduction in working conditions and probable reductions in employment. Included in the legislation passed are protections against unwarranted discharges for economy purposes at the expense of the human element.

With respect to Air Mail legislation, it is set forth that protection was secured

for air mail pilots in legislation passed in connection with that re-establishing the air mail service. The Executive Council's report refers more specifically to this legislation under the heading, "National Legislation." This explains that protection for hours and wages and retirement were secured.

The committee recommends that the convention express its gratification at this evidence of the effectiveness of the American Federation of Labor as a protection for Government employees and for maintaining proper standards of employment in Government service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NAVAL VESSELS AND AIRCRAFT

The Executive Council's report sets forth on page 83 under the caption, "Naval Vessels and Aircraft," success in assigning the construction of vessels of the naval building program to Government navy yards and arsenals.

While this subject was being considered by your committee, there appeared before them a delegation of officers representing some of the crafts employed in the shipbuilding industry. The burden of their presentation in effect is:

That the \$40,000,000 appropriated by the recent Congress was a continuation of the building program authorized under the National Industrial Recovery Act which had already provided \$238,000,000. The latter situation is emphasized since the practices therein inaugurated will govern in future contracts.

To keep the records straight certain facts are specifically mentioned, i. e., the \$238,000,000 item for naval construction was an afterthought and was only written into the National Industrial Recovery Act after the Secretary of the Navy urged certain labor representatives to sponsor this procedure. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered most valuable assistance.

Since the declared public policy of the National Industrial Recovery Act, among

others, was to "relieve unemployment and improve standards of labor" it was assumed that these policies would likewise apply in the \$238,000,000 Navy building proviso. Such, however, has not been the case!

The four large eastern shipbuilding concerns have practically captured the entire market. Notwithstanding the fact that all contracts contained a clause emphasizing the necessity of doing everything possible to put men to work as promptly as possible, the lack of progress has been deplorable! In no single instance have any of these contractors performed in accordance with their agreements. As a result we see the approach of another winter with very little prospects of putting our members to work.

The most discouraging aspect of this situation deals with the employees of the Government Shipyard. Due to an arrangement whereby the Government, instead of making their own plans, the Navy Department purchases the plans from the private builders. (This is a most lucrative side line—\$600,000 is the usual price for a 10,000-ton cruiser—it is all velvet since it is a mere duplication of the companies' own plans and should not involve more than several hundred dollars.) Under this arrangement there is bound to be a delay of from six months to a year under normal conditions. However, as a result of the deplorable lack of progress of the private builders, there has been such a delay in this building program in the Government's own yards that as a result fifteen months after making the awards under the Recovery Program last year, with the exception of two submarines at the Portsmouth, N. H., Navy Yard, not a single keel has been laid in the other Government yards.

It is reported that this lack of progress has repeatedly been taken up with officials of the Navy Department by representatives of the Labor Movement; and at a formal hearing as late as last June, every contention raised herein was admitted. But nothing has occurred since to justify the hope of early remedial action.

The committee therefore recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to bring all of these related grievances to the personal attention of the President of the United States in the hope that the Government's own shipbuilding program be the real vehicle to promptly increase employment as intended by Congress, by coming under the provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Farmer Legislation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 84, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption it is revealed that the American Federation of Labor followed during the past tumultuous session of Congress, its traditional policy of supporting legislation in the interest of agriculture and of those engaged in this industry. Undoubtedly, this policy will be continued in the next and succeeding sessions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Highway Appropriation

With respect to the statement under the caption "Highway Appropriation," on page 84 of the Executive Council's report, it again appears that no comment is necessary except to call attention to the very important part played by highway construction in the emergency program for re-employment. Such expenditures for permanent improvements should be continued so long as the problem of re-employment continues.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 86, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Convict Labor," the Executive Council sets forth the very gratifying progress made with respect to legislation for the purpose of removing the products of convict labor from competition with those of free wage-earners. The committee feels that members of Organized Labor are so thoroughly in unison as to this policy as to require no detailed explanation.

This is especially the case in that the section of the report in question explains the existing situation. The committee does, however, desire to call attention to the fact that forty-two state legislatures will meet in January and that co-operation of the states is necessary to the operation of the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act. It further calls attention to the curious fact that convict-made goods are allowed to carry the NRA label, thus creating an entirely false impression that such goods are made under conditions which the consuming public can approve.

It is recommended that the convention instruct the Executive Council to urge State federations to support the passage of legislation which will bring their various states under the operation of the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Bill.

It is further recommended that the convention instruct the Executive Council to vigorously protest the use of the NRA label by firms engaged in the manufacture of goods by convict labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Reaffirming Opposition to Use of Cost of Living as Basis for Determining Wages and Urging Restoration of Government Employees' Pay

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainer, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Govern-

ment Employees; N. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers Die Stampers, and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The various so-called Economy Acts, passed by the Congress for the most part without hearings and with little consideration to the disastrous effects upon Government employe conditions, were re-enacted, with the exception of certain provisions repealed through the action of the affiliated Government unions, backed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This so-called economy legislation has resulted in a serious decrease in the purchasing power of more than one-half million of the nation's workers, to the detriment of the whole nation and thereby contributing greatly to general unsettled economic conditions and

WHEREAS, Such savings of the Government as are made through reduction of pay are not used to assist in conserving employment and maintaining purchasing power and do not result in reduction in taxation; and

WHEREAS, In addition to a flat salary reduction not consistent with the general Administrative program of maintaining buying power there were inaugurated not only payless furloughs, but reductions in force; and

WHEREAS, The legislation in question fixes wage standards for Government employes upon the so-called cost of living in 1928; and

WHEREAS, Such method of determining wages by freezing them to the standards of any given year is contrary to the established principle of the American Federation of Labor that the workers shall share in all benefits flowing from social and economic progress; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Movement has consistently followed the principle that wages should be adjusted to continuously rising standards; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position as follows:

1. Wages, salaries and allowances of Government workers should be restored immediately;

2. Funds available for payment of wages and salaries in all cases should be sufficient to meet the restored payroll; and be it further

RESOLVED. That the American Federation of Labor again go on record as opposing the use of a cost-of-living standard as a basis for determination of wages or salaries, and further opposes (so long as a cost-of-living standard is in effect) the present inequitable system of determining the cost of living.

Opposition to fixing of wages on subsistence standards is a fundamental principle of the Organized Labor Movement. Continuation of application of this principle to government workers is not only a gross injustice to these workers, but it is a transgression by the Government itself of the principles of industrial recovery advocated by it. By the application of the Economy Act concerning reductions in wages and prescribing restoration only upon a cost of living basis, the Government not only fails to fulfill its declarations for higher wages and shorter hours, but actually reduces standards formerly existing.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fair Working Conditions on Government Contracts

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The United States standard of living requires a fair wage for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has awarded contracts to private business and commercial concerns for

manufacture, construction or service without any provision or requirement as to the wages to be paid to the employees engaged on this work; and

WHEREAS, These concerns, in the absence of any provision or requirement as to payment of wages, have paid their employees wages far below a living standard; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be corrected if the Federal Government would inaugurate a scale of wages that will enable these employees to maintain their families in conformity with the American standards of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary for the enactment of legislation making it mandatory that such employees receive the prevailing rates of wages prescribed by the various trade-unions in the various industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such employees be protected from being forced to give up any part of the compensation to which they are entitled under their contract of employment, a practice known as the "kick-back racket," or being discharged or refused further employment for protesting against such "kick-back" racket or other abuses.

Resolution No. 111, signed by all the delegates representing Government employees, is for the purpose of applying to Government contracts of all characters the safeguards of the Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage Law. It is also aimed at the pernicious "kick-back" racket which has been the cause of scandals in connection with Government contract work.

The committee does not believe that there can be any difference of opinion on this subject and, therefore, recommends that the resolution be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards of Government Employment

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks,

Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, with employee representation thereon; employee representative on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to the merit system with respect to tenure of office, the improvement of postal substitute employees and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter work-week principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the Economy Law; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt cash payment of salaries; expansion and protection of the merit system; restoration and extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt revision of the so-called efficiency rating system; prompt final allocation of Group IV-b employees, authorized under the Brookhart Act; restoration of shorter work-day where work-day has been lengthened; extra compensation for overtime; and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 112 is signed by all the delegates representing Government employees. It sets forth the legislative objectives sought by these various unions. All these objectives have been previously endorsed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor. All are, as is stated, in accord with the general program of Organized Labor. Some of the items mentioned refer to ground lost under the Economy Acts and others to long sought relief.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon resolutions numbered 115 and 193.

The resolutions are as follows:

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainor, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service; be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement of Government Employees

Resolution No. 193—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will lend its support to securing the enactment of a bill that will provide 30-year optional retirement of Federal employees.

Resolution No. 115, unanimously signed by the delegations of Government Employees' representatives at this convention as delegates, requests the continuation of the support of the American Federation of Labor for an amendment to the Civil Service Retirement Act permitting voluntary retirement after thirty years' service.

Resolution No. 193 by the delegates from the Washington and Oregon State Federations of Labor is for the same purpose.

Your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm its position by endorsing these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 187—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from whose judgment the employees have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to per-

form the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocate the enactment of legislation by Congress to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing Government agency, which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Resolution No. 187 refers to action previously taken by the convention in connection with Resolution No. 112.

The committee therefore recommends endorsement of Resolution No. 187.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gainer, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union; M. A. McAuliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The duties and responsibilities of said commission have been greatly expanded by operations incident to emergency legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and its administration and its maintenance as an independent establishment.

Resolution No. 116 is in accord with the previously declared policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee considered resolutions Nos. 37, 41 and 59 jointly.

The delegate of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union of Panama presented three resolutions concerning the Canal Zone Employees' Retirement Act. This Act is a separate enactment applying to these employees only. It is administered from a separate fund. Resolution No. 37 requests endorsement of a five-year retirement for Canal Zone employees. The resolution is as follows:

**Twenty-five Year Retirement for
Panama Canal Employees**

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal are very rigorous, due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children, are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service in the Canal Zone for military personnel from three to two years because of climatic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62 years; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Central Labor Union is desirous of presenting a bill to Congress which will provide for retirement with 25 years of service at 55 years of age; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing such a law when conditions render it advisable to warrant such action.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 41 by striking out in the resolve the words, "In the coming session of Congress." The amended resolution reads:

**Advocating Extension of Panama Canal
Employees Retirement Act to Widows**

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced in past sessions of Congress to extend retirement benefits to widows of annuitants; and

WHEREAS, The women of the Canal Zone, after long periods in the tropics, with the possibility of being left widows shortly after their husbands retire, must certainly become objects of charity or else try to compete in the open market for unsuitable work; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of the employees involved are not sufficient to leave any surplus to make these widows independent of the necessity for asking employment or asking aid from others; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal employees have a special Retirement Act because of the unusual climatic and adverse conditions in the tropics; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support legislation which will extend to widows or annuitants retirement benefits of two-thirds of the annuity received by the employee before his death.

Thus amended, the committee recommends endorsement of Resolution No. 41.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Advocating Disability Retirement for
Canal Zone Employees**

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Retirement Act provides that an employee leaving the service on account of physical disability shall not receive annuities under the terms of that Act if the physical disability is due to vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct on the part of the employee at any time; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement Act provides that an employee must merely prove freedom from such vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to receive annuities on account of physical disability; and

WHEREAS, In equity, the more liberal provisions in connection with this matter contained in the Civil Service Retirement Act should be incorporated in the Canal Zone Retirement Act; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use every effort to secure an amendment to the Canal Zone Retirement Act providing that employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad subject to the provisions of the Canal Zone Retirement Act shall only be required to establish proof of freedom from vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to be eligible for retirement under the physical disability clause of the Canal Zone Retirement Act.

Resolution No. 50 sets forth certain language in the Canal Zone Employees' Retirement Act which discriminates against those employees with respect to retirement for physical disability.

The committee recommends that their request for the support of the American Federation of Labor, in seeking modification of this Act to eliminate this discrimination, be endorsed by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Providing for Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1934, employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad totaled 11,552, and of this total 2,937 were citizens of the United States and 8,615 were aliens—subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now ten millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has already been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"That within five years from the effective date of this Act all positions of artisan, baggage-master, baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 2. The term 'artisan' as used in this Act shall include all skilled mechanics not otherwise specified in this Act; and the term 'office helper' as used in this Act shall include all clerks not otherwise specified in this Act.

"Sec. 3. That replacement of aliens by American citizens as provided in Section 1 of this Act shall be effected at a rate of not less than 20 per centum per

annum, until the policy established in this Act shall be consummated.

"Sec. 4. That no American citizen employed by the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad Company, on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be separated from the service by reduction of force, if it is practicable to assign him or her to work now performed by aliens, and that upon such assignment the position shall be transferred to the gold roll and compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 5. That American citizens only be employed in the positions stipulated in Section 1 of this Act by contractors performing work for the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama; Provided, that this restriction shall not apply to any contracts existing and in force on the effective date of this Act.

"Sec. 6. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit the rights of Panamanian citizens to employment on the gold or silver roll of the Panama Canal or Panama Railroad Company as defined in the order of the Acting Secretary of War under date of December 23, 1908, as interpreted by the Governor of the Panama Canal in official circulars issued by him subsequent to that date.

"Sec. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such additional sums as may be necessary to pay the compensation of employes in the positions referred to in this Act, at the Panama Canal rates of pay for American citizens employed in the Canal Zone, and provide the additional housing facilities for such employes, made necessary by the enactment of this Act"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

Resolution No. 49 sets forth that large numbers of aliens are employed on Government work in the Canal Zone. It is presented that this constitutes a danger to our military protection and that it also deprives citizens of the United States and the Republic of Panama of possible employment in the Canal Zone and elsewhere.

It further presents that a bill has been introduced in Congress for the remedy of this situation.

The committee recommends that the request for endorsement of this bill and instruction of the Executive Council to sup-

port its reintroduction be granted by this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Appointment of Local Agent for Panama Canal Zone to Enforce PWA Wage Regulations

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Eight million dollars of public works funds have been allotted to the Army and Navy for the erection of necessary defense works and buildings on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, A good portion of this money is being spent on alien labor, and some white labor, with no regard to wage regulations prescribed by the Public Works Administration; and

WHEREAS, The distance between the Canal Zone and Washington is so great that complaints of violations of these regulations do not reach Washington and receive proper investigation by the Board of Labor Review for a decision before the work is almost completed; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Labor Review to date has not deemed it necessary to appoint a local investigator with authority to force alien contractors and others to live up to the prescribed public working and wage regulations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor interview the officials of the Public Works Administration with a view to having assigned to the Panama Canal an agent with power to make such investigations as may be necessary and report direct to the Board of Labor Review.

Resolution No. 42, by the delegate from the Panama Canal Zone Central Labor Union, reiterates the situation resulting from the employment of aliens on Government work. It sets forth that regulation and supervision from Washington is difficult, owing to distance, etc. For the purpose of better enforcement of wage and other protective regulations and safeguards for employes, it is suggested that the Executive Council be instructed to bring its influence to bear on the proper authorities to secure the appointment of an investigator of the Board of Labor Review who will conduct investigations and

assist in speedy and effective enforcement of existing regulations.

The committee recommends endorsement of this request.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Legislation Affecting Civil Service Status of Employees of Prohibition Bureau, United States Department of Justice

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock and John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress passed as a rider on an Act (H. R. 9830) the "Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935," a provision which reads in part as follows:

"Provided that after December 1, 1934, no part of the appropriations made herein or heretofore made for the fiscal year 1935 shall be used to pay the salary of any person, formerly employed as investigator, special agent . . . or any other position in the Prohibition Bureau or Alcoholic Beverage Unit, Department of Justice, who was separated from the service of such Bureau or Unit between June 10, 1933, and December 31, 1933, while in any such position in the Treasury Department unless and until such person shall be appointed thereto as a result of an open competitive examination to be hereafter held by the Civil Service Commission"; and

WHEREAS, This legislation removes from office and partially destroys the Civil Service status of more than a thousand employees who entered the classified Civil Service as a result of open competitive examination, many of them from fifteen to twenty-nine years ago, and who have retained their positions through merit and work well done; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as unalterably opposed to this legislation and to all legislation destructive of Civil Service status obtained through open competitive examinations and retained through meritorious service to the Government to the people of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to oppose such legislation, and to bring all possible relief to those meritorious employees unjustly discriminated against by such legislation.

This resolution protests the removal of a number of Government employees not because their work was not needed, not because they were inefficient, but because they were engaged in work for a particular unit, and in order to make room for new appointments. The employees affected are not political appointees. They went into the service through civil service examinations. Their work is there to do.

When the work of the Bureau of Prohibition ceased, it became necessary to place a force of clerks, stenographers, typists, and other employees on the new tax work in the Alcohol Tax Unit. In other words, the work of the routine staff went right on. From an administrative point of view the work now became one of tax collection and not prohibition. From the clerks' point of view nothing was changed. The same identical clerical tasks had to be done.

The resolution protests the destruction of the right to continuance of employees who went into the Government service where they were needed, who took and passed appropriate examinations, some of them up to twenty-nine years ago, and who have since stayed on the rolls by meritorious service. The legislation protested is based upon the spoils motive.

The committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Right of Vote for Citizens of District of Columbia

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate David R. Glass, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The citizens of Washington, D. C., have never had any voice in the administration or government of the city; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor believes in adequate representation of all individuals affected by administrative or governmental action; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of Washington are taxed without being given a voice in how the taxes shall be expended; and

WHEREAS, Said citizens have no voice in choosing their school officials or formulating their educational policies; and

WHEREAS, Depriving these citizens of their right of representation and regulating their conduct as citizens without regard to their desires places our great Government in the unenviable aspect of making wards out of several hundred thousand of its intelligent and loyal citizens; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled in San Francisco, October, 1934, manifest its disapproval of the injustices imposed upon the citizens of Washington, by requesting the officers of the American Federation of Labor to collaborate with Organized Labor in the District of Columbia in their endeavors to secure legislation providing for appropriate and just representation and voting privileges for those residing in the District of Columbia.

Organized Labor in the District of Columbia has sought the reform set forth, namely, the extension of the franchise to residents of the District.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action as circumstances dictate with respect to co-operation with the Washington Trades and Labor Assembly in this direction.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on resolutions Nos. 4 and 60, which are as follows:

Urging Federal Legislation to Prohibit Enlisted Men Doing Building Construction Work

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Owing to the depression that has swept this country of ours in the last four years, and has been more noticeable in the Building Trades than others; and

WHEREAS, It has come to our attention that enlisted soldiers of the United States Army are doing civilian work at the military posts over the country; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this work should be given to the tradesmen of the community where the military post is situated; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative branch of the American Federation of Labor be

instructed to introduce a bill in the Congress of the United States prohibiting enlisted men doing work that comes under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades Unions.

To Prohibit Employment of Enlisted Personnel on Repair Work on Naval Vessels

Resolution No. 60.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, There has been an extension of the use of enlisted personnel in the navy yards in the making of alterations and doing of repair work on naval vessels, although this is prohibited by the law of August, 1912, and by the Naval Regulations; and

WHEREAS, The use of enlisted personnel to do work which the law provides shall be done by civilians has prevented idle workmen from securing employment; and

WHEREAS, This practice continues despite the efforts which have been made to have the law fully observed; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to prepare a measure for introduction in the Congress of the United States which will definitely prohibit the employment of enlisted personnel in the making of alterations and the doing of repair work on naval vessels when these are in port or in a navy yard.

Somewhat related to the subject of naval construction are these two resolutions, Nos. 4 and 60. The first condemns the use of enlisted men of the Army in construction and repair work properly belonging to civilian building tradesmen. The second makes similar protest against the employment of enlisted personnel in repair work on naval vessels. Both recommend legislation prohibiting such practices.

The committee recommends the adoption of a resolution embodying both these demands, as follows:

WHEREAS, The practice of employing enlisted personnel of the Army and Navy on repair and construction work of government buildings, vessels and other properties is common; and

WHEREAS, Such practice is not properly part of military or naval training and furthermore deprives civilian wage

earners of employment belonging to them; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council is instructed to seek the introduction and passage of legislation which will forbid this practice.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I have a few remarks to make on this question of enlisted men in the Navy being prohibited from doing certain repair work. It must be remembered that naval vessels go all over the world. Sometimes they go into harbors. They may have been in a struggle, in a fight, and they may be able to reach some shelter where the men aboard may be able to restore the vessel to such an extent that she will be able to move out of there or go out and fight again. To deprive the men aboard a naval vessel of an opportunity to do this is destructive of the national defense and I don't think it ought to come.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly on resolutions Nos. 7, 40 and 51. The resolutions are as follows:

Company Unions

Resolution No. 7—By Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The great and paramount issue facing the American labor movement today is the struggle of genuine unionism against company unionism; and

WHEREAS, Under the protection of the N.R.A. company unionism has been making startling headway within the last year, growing over five times as fast as genuine unionism, so that in November, 1933, over 40 per cent of the workers in manufacturing and mining industries were to be found in company unions, as against only 10 per cent in genuine unions; and

WHEREAS, The major line of strategy of the big trusts and powerful industrial combines in their offensive against labor is to fasten the yoke of company unionism upon the necks of the workers, either directly or indirectly, as is the case in the

recent automobile agreement, according to which company unions in the auto plants are officially legalized and given a recognized place in the so-called collective bargaining machinery; and

WHEREAS, Company unionism is a menace facing the entire working class, the unorganized workers as well as the organized—but especially the trade union movement—a menace against which all labor must unite before it is too late; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in San Francisco, take its stand as being unalterably opposed to company unionism; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention likewise take its stand as being unalterably opposed to any plan or arrangement whereby the company union is given any sort of official standing or recognition on a par with genuine unions, or is in any way regarded as a representative of the workers; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take the initiative in launching a powerful, nation-wide movement against company unionism, a movement embracing all tendencies and organizations of workers ready to unite to fight company unionism; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of a Federal law banning company unions, provided that no restrictions of any sort whatever be placed on the right of labor to strike and to picket, and provided, also, that such law does not involve, directly or indirectly, any provision for compulsory arbitration.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A large number of so-called company unions were organized after the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The organizing of such so-called company unions was in open violation of Section 7-a of the Act; and

WHEREAS, A number of individuals and corporations hold contracts with the Federal Government and its departments for the delivery of materials, for construction, and for other services, who are maintaining company unions in violation of the law; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers and other employer agencies advised employers to organize such so-called company unions, and issued circulars explaining how such so-called company unions could be organized; and

WHEREAS, There has been an evident determination on the part of many employers to ignore and to violate Section 7-a; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to prepare legislation for introduction in the Congress of the United States which will more definitely make it an illegal action for any employer, directly or indirectly, or through his agents, to in any manner interfere with the form of organization his employees may choose, or affiliate with, or in any manner to influence the employees in the selection of their representatives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such legislative measure provide for the cancellation of all contracts between the Federal Government and any of its departments with individuals, partnerships, or corporations who maintain company unions for their employees in violation of the Federal law.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Blalis, Israel Feinberg, Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is the unanimous opinion of the entire labor movement and of all enlightened elements in American public life that the company unions fostered and encouraged by anti-union employers everywhere are fraudulent instruments in the hands of these employers aiming to defeat the purpose of bona fide trade unionism and to mislead and subjugate the workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, demand the modification of the National Recovery Act and Section 7-a of it, specifically, so as to make the company union practice illegal as a fraud and a misrepresentation of the principle of collective bargaining which the Act purports to uphold.

The Committee on Legislation had entrusted to it three resolutions dealing with company unions. All of these resolutions set forth the cynical defiance of Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act through the nation-wide drive by anti-union concerns. It is not necessary to declare to this convention that this open and shameless attempt to evade obedience to the plain intent and meaning of the law constitutes a menace of alarming character to the entire recovery program. It is also not necessary to

point out that such tactics are in open defiance of a rapidly crystallizing public realization that responsible democratically organized agencies for collective bargaining are necessities to a healthy and continuing social order.

The three resolutions on this subject (Resolution No. 7, Resolution No. 40, and Resolution No. 51) are identical in purpose and recommendation, although differing in phraseology.

The committee recommends that the convention endorse the objectives of these resolutions by instructing the Executive Council to place the full influence of the Organized Labor Movement behind efforts to secure such modification and clarification of the intent and meaning of the National Industrial Recovery Act, especially Section 7-a, as will so far as possible make official misinterpretation impossible and which will definitely outlaw company unions. It is further recommended that the convention go on record as urging continuation by the labor press, by labor spokesmen and all other avenues of information, of efforts to educate and inspire the public to join with the Organized Labor Movement in a campaign to once and for all eradicate un-American denial of the fundamental right of organization to American citizens and wage-earners.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on resolutions Nos. 43 and 44.

The resolutions are as follows:

Condemning Order Prohibiting Organization of Fire Fighters, Norfolk, Virginia

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said Inter-

national Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire departments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect written by such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the Safety Director of Norfolk, Virginia, on February 10, 1934, issued orders Numbers 19, 20 and 21, which read as follows:

"19. No member of the Fire Division will be permitted to join or retain membership in any firemen's organization affiliated or in any way connected with any organization outside of the Division of Fire of the City of Norfolk.

"20. No firemen's organization will be permitted in the Division of Fire except 'Norfolk Firemen's Relief and Social Association,' and members of the Division of Fire are prohibited from joining or retaining membership in any other firemen's organization within the Division of Fire of this City.

"21. Any member of the Fire Division violating either of these rules or regulations shall be subject to suspension by the Fire Chief and subject to reprimand, fine, suspension, reduction in rank, or dismissal by the City Manager in accordance with Section 63 of the Charter;" and

WHEREAS, Workers in industry are protected by Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act, which Act was passed and such Section 7-a incorporated therein through the efforts of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, by the International Association of Fire Fighters to have fire fighters included under the provisions of Section 7-a of said National Recovery Act, to the end that they might be enabled to organize locals and become affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, without the danger of jeopardizing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of fire fighters throughout the United States strongly desire to affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor, and would do so except for the fact that they know that by so doing they would place their jobs in extreme jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of the City Administration of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, in causing the aforementioned orders, Orders No. 19, No. 20 and No. 21, to be issued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to have Orders No. 19, No. 20 and No. 21 of the City of Norfolk, hereinbefore referred to, rescinded or withdrawn, in order that the members of the Norfolk Fire Department may be affiliated with the International Association, in accordance with their wish expressed in their application to said Association for a charter, without jeopardizing their jobs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and Safety Director of the City of Norfolk, Virginia, be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Condemning Order Prohibiting Organization of Fire Fighters, Atlantic City, New Jersey

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and A. J. Dooney, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is an organization formed for the purpose of placing its members on a higher plane of skill and efficiency; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire departments of cities in which there are locals affiliated with said International Association of Fire Fighters has been recognized and attested to by the chiefs of fire departments of such cities, as evidenced by letters to this effect, written by such chiefs to the International Association of Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The value of the International Association of Fire Fighters to the fire service of the United States and Canada, as a whole, is recognized and acknowledged by such authorities as the Department of Agriculture of the United States, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the National Fire Waste Council and the Mayors of a great many cities of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Despite these indisputable facts, the Mayor of Atlantic City, New Jersey, on July 19, 1934, caused to be issued an order, namely Order No. 288, which was signed by the Chief of the Fire

Department of that city, stating, in part: "I do hereby direct and order that any member who has joined any so-called Union immediately resign and cease any activities in connection therewith, and that any member of the Fire Department who has filed an application for membership in any so-called Union shall immediately withdraw his application and cease any further activities in connection therewith. We will consider a refusal to obey this order to be a violation of the Rules and Regulations of the Fire Department of Atlantic City, and action will be taken accordingly"; and

WHEREAS, Workers in industry are protected by Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act, which Act was passed and such Section 7-a incorporated therein through the efforts of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, by the International Association of Fire Fighters to have fire fighters included under the provisions of Section 7-a of said National Recovery Act, to the end that they might be enabled to organize locals and become affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, without the danger of jeopardizing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of fire fighters throughout the United States strongly desire to affiliate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor, and would do so except for the fact that they know that by so doing they would place their jobs in extreme jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at this, the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby place themselves on record as vigorously condemning the action of Mayor Bacharach, of Atlantic City, in causing the aforementioned order, Order No. 288, to be issued by the Chief of the Atlantic City Fire Department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to have Order No. 288 of the Atlantic City Fire Department rescinded, in order that the members of the Atlantic City Fire Department may become regularly affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters, in accordance with their wish expressed in their application to said Association for a charter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mayor and Chief of the Fire Department of Atlantic City be notified of the adoption of this resolution by the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Resolutions Nos. 43 and 44 set forth in detail unjustifiable and tyrannical actions by the City Administrations of Norfolk,

Virginia, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, which denies the right of the city firemen of these communities to join the International Association of Fire Fighters and to thus bargain collectively in the manner now accepted by a large number of cities.

The resolutions request that the convention condemn this unjustifiable position. They further request that the Executive Council be instructed to use its influence upon these city administrations to secure the abrogation of these orders.

These situations are obviously not only tyrannical denials of the rights and strongly expressed desires of the city firemen of the two cities, but important to the entire union movement, especially among city fire fighters.

While recognizing these facts, the committee also realizes that the problems presented are directly those of the State federations and city central bodies of the two cities concerned.

It is recommended that the convention urge the respective city central bodies and the State federations of labor to extend all possible assistance to the fire fighters in securing the repudiation of these orders. It is still further recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to extend such assistance as is possible for this purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Food and Drugs Act

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate David R. Glass, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906 has proved to be a very definite protection to the consumer of foods and drugs against physical injury and economic loss;

WHEREAS, The passage of time and its accompanying revolution in sales methods have introduced new dangers to the consumer against which the present Food and Drugs Act offers no protection;

WHEREAS, The officials in charge of enforcing the Federal Food and Drugs Act have from time to time called public attention to the many serious defects in the existing law;

WHEREAS, These same officials have prepared and submitted to the Seventy-third Congress a revised Food and Drugs Act designated as Senate Bill 1944, which Act will extend the scope of the present Act to include therapeutic devices, obesity cures and cosmetics; which will extend the scope of the Act to cover advertising other than that which appears upon the label of articles of food and drugs; which will make illegal false therapeutic claims; which will set up more severe penalties for violation of the Act; and which proposed Act contains many other features of vital importance to the consumer;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco October 1, 1934, embrace in its legislative program the Senate Bill 1944, cited above, with such other features as will guarantee a Food and Drugs Act providing adequate protection for the consumer and carrying sufficient penalties for violation of the Act to insure its proper observance; further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Resolution No. 162 reiterates the policy of the American Federation of Labor, so far as support of the Food and Drugs Act is concerned.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that the Council investigate and co-operate with the proper authorities for any needed amendments of the Food and Drugs Act.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Glass, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union: I shall not take up but a minute or two of your time to express my appreciation of this matter being referred to the Executive Council. I am satisfied that the Executive Council will go into this matter thoroughly and will see the necessity of obtaining appropriate legislation under the Food and Drugs Act. The Food and Drugs Act as passed in 1906 is entirely inadequate to take care of the requirements for the protection of the consumer today. There

are a number of things that should be added to that Act for our protection, and particularly for the benefit of Organized Labor.

I merely wanted to call the attention of the delegates to that phase of the proposition so that they might familiarize themselves with the situation with reference to the present laws concerning the Food and Drugs Administration.

There is a considerable amount of merchandise on the market on which there is no protection at all. In a number of instances persons have been injured for life because of injurious products, and for that reason it behooves us to take notice of this beneficial legislation.

I am satisfied that this matter shall go to the Executive Council, and I hope Organized Labor will take note of this, because in the last Congress there were very powerful lobbies against the bill.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Pacific International Highway

Resolution No. 185.—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A proposed highway from the Pacific Northwest to Fairbanks, Alaska, will provide work for many of our unemployed, and will encourage tourists to visit the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, and will greatly help in the development of Alaska, Canada and the Pacific Northwest, and will in time be self-liquidating and maintaining; and

WHEREAS, Such a highway will undoubtedly increase our friendly relations between the United States and Canada, which has existed for many years, and will be the means of opening of new countries that are now inaccessible; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor in regular convention in Everett, Washington, hereby goes on record in favor of the proposed extension of the Pacific International Highway through British Columbia, Yukon Territory, to Fairbanks, Alaska, with such by-passes to the Alaska Coast as may be deemed advisable by the governments concerned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That H. R. Bill No. 6538, introduced by Delegate A. J. Dimond, of Alaska, appropriating \$2,100,000 for

Alaska Highway for survey and construction, and empowering President Roosevelt to act and to negotiate as to fixing a mutually agreeable route with Canada, very ably sets the necessary government machinery in motion, and we hereby pledge our support to the bill or a similar one; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor, and to the proper State and National officials.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the subject and to take such action as will be in the interest of wage earners of the two countries concerned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Housing Program

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing stands out as a great present need of the work-people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It appears that private investment is not attracted to low cost housing; and

WHEREAS, It is evident, that the only source of funds and activity which will provide the shelter that wage workers need is the United States Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this program shall be planned on a long range basis of at least five years ahead to clear slums and to provide low-cost housing that will rent at \$4 to \$6 a room per month; and furthermore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to take such executive action as is necessary to put into use immediately any funds now available for this purpose to the end that publicly built housing may be spread over the whole United States which will rent at low enough sums to afford the shelter required by all the people of the country; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States is urged to enact any necessary legislation to carry forward such a housing program.

The report of the Executive Council sets forth the interest taken by it in legislation for the purpose of breaking the dam against the extension of credit

and other financial assistance to home building, repair and maintenance.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to study existing legislation and the operation of agencies under this legislation. The committee recommends the further instruction that the Executive Council introduce and support any additional legislation which their investigations may indicate as necessary for the effectuation of a nation-wide building revival.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Extend Maximum Age Limit on Relief Work Under Civil Service

Resolution No. 195.—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The regulation of the United States Civil Service Commission provides a maximum age limit of 48 years for new employees in all departments of the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recognized the seriousness of the unemployment situation and appropriated additional funds providing for temporary employment on numerous projects under the jurisdiction of the several departments; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, urgently request the regulations to permit of the employment of capable and able workers on these temporary jobs, changing the maximum age limit to not less than 55 years.

The committee recommends endorsement of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation Requiring Government Contract Work to Be Executed Within the United States

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The practice of employers who receive contracts for work on or in buildings located in the United States

or its territories and having said work performed in foreign countries and brought in under the guise of "art goods," duty free, is contrary to the spirit and intent of the NRA; therefore be it

RESOLVED, Any employer receiving a contract for work on or in buildings located in the confines of the United States or its territories must execute such contracts within the confines of the United States or its territories; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department Convention adopt this resolution and present same to the American Federation Convention, with the recommendation that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to draft a proper bill to be submitted to the United States Senate and Congress to protect the American workmen in their just rights on this class of work above referred to.

Resolution No. 123 calls attention to an evasion of the spirit and intent of tariff laws and of the right of American workers to employment resulting from operations of their own Government.

It requests that the subject be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate legislative action.

The committee recommends that this resolution be endorsed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Boulder Dam

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress of the United States has passed an Act, which has been approved by the President, and known as H. R. 9002, an Act to provide relief to Government contractors whose costs of performance are increased as a result of compliance with the Act approved on June 16, 1933, and for other purposes. The other purposes for which this Act was passed by Congress, we understand, are for the purpose of allowing the Government contractors to seek relief, and relief is provided for in the Act for conditions that arise as a result of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The Boulder Dam project in Nevada and Arizona, the contract for which was made previous to the Acts above mentioned, and previous to any laws shortening the work week or establishing any prevailing wage laws or simi-

lar conditions of employment affecting like projects; and

WHEREAS, The wages of employment on the Boulder Dam project are universally lower than those of like projects and similar employment, and the scales of wages that have been set on this project are a result of the advantage taken by the contractors of the widespread unemployment, where men were ready to accept work at any price, and the contractors for this work, in spite of the conditions existing there, have had ample human material available at any price and under any conditions, and this has been another result of the extreme depths of the national depression or panic that has existed since 1929; and

WHEREAS, While the wages of these employes are extremely low, the food and other living costs are as high and higher than those existing in other communities of this country, and boarding rates compare with those existing during war time; and

WHEREAS, The climatic conditions and physical hazards are such that because of the extreme heat in summer and because of the location and the nature of this project, in spite of rigid physical and medical examinations and eliminations, the casualties are far above normal; and

WHEREAS, Because of the letting of this contract previous to the enactment of the National Recovery Act, the contractors are bound by no code or agreement of any kind, and, as such, are subject to no restrictions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record and submit similar resolutions to the American Federation of Labor and further instruct its officers to use such means as may be within its power to secure through the Secretary and the Department of the Interior of the United States Government or any other sources available for the employes of this Boulder Dam project additional compensation and to shorten the weekly and monthly hours of employment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers investigate further the possibility of applying the Act, H. R. 9002, or any such other means to provide relief as specified in this resolution.

Resolution No. 152 sets forth the deplorable conditions surrounding workers on Boulder Dam, and the reasons for these conditions in such detail that no further comment seems necessary.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Gold Recovery

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate J. L. R. Marsh, Sacramento Federated Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The most effective organization of workers in the Gold Recovery Industry, including both gold dredging operations and hardrock gold mining operations, has been blocked by a refusal of employers to deal with or consider legitimate organized labor groups; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the United States Government definitely fixing the price of gold and in guaranteeing a market for all of that commodity produced has led to the conclusion that the Gold Recovery Industry is non-competitive; and

WHEREAS, The National Industry Recovery Act and the Federal Labor Relations policies set up thereunder are applicable only to competitive industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Incoming Executive Council of the Federation to institute Federal legislation tending to bring the so-called non-competitive industries under the same Labor Relations policies applicable to all other American industries.

Resolution No. 6, while referring specifically to the gold recovery industry and the anti-union policies within that industry, broadens its recommendation to include all non-competitive industries.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be directed to endeavor to secure legislation which will bring non-competitive industries under the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Federal Labor Relations policies for the purpose of extending to employes in these non-competitive industries the same protections which these may afford to other workers with respect to collective bargaining and other safeguards.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Legislation to Prevent Lynching

Resolution No. 74—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Lynching undermines the moral standards of a community and substitutes a state of anarchy for orderly procedure; and

WHEREAS, The social degradation of any community caused by lynching is of grave national concern; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to work for legislation which, like the Wagner-Costigan Bill, seeks to lend the aid of the Federal Government in preventing lynching.

Resolution No. 74 seeks reaffirmation of the traditional position of the American Federation of Labor in opposing all such outrages against law and order as the crime of lynching. It is recommended that the convention concur in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Treaty on Safety of Life at Sea

Resolution No. 70—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, The treaty of so-called "Safety of Life at Sea" is still being seriously urged by foreign and American shipowners, and has not yet been passed upon by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and

WHEREAS, This treaty, agreed to in London in May, 1929, will, if enacted by the Senate, repeal all laws of the United States inconsistent with such treaty; and

WHEREAS, This treaty distinctly reduces our existing standards of safety of life at sea as embodied in our legislation and construed by the courts to such an extent that the obligations now resting upon the owner will be absorbed by the United States, against whom no suits for damages can lie; and

WHEREAS, The burning of the "Morro Castle" following upon the loss of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris," and innumerable other vessels grew out of inefficient and insufficient crews; and

WHEREAS, The standard set by the treaty, especially in men employed, is so ineffective and so alike to the crews of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris," and the "Morro Castle" that the result must necessarily be the same; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at San Francisco, California, do most seriously urge upon the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to report against the treaty, and do recommend that the treaty be withdrawn; further

RESOLVED, That the United States, no matter how much money it cares to spend, cannot develop seapower under

such treaty sufficient for safety of passengers in peace, or for the safety of the United States in war.

Resolution No. 70 condemns the so-called "Safety at Sea" treaty. It is set forth that should this treaty be confirmed by the Senate, all laws inconsistent with it would be repealed. It is further set forth that the terms of this treaty would reduce existing standards of employment at sea. It calls attention, as does another resolution, to the recent disasters at sea, charging that these disasters are largely due to the insufficient manning of ships and to the incompetence of these crews.

The Seamen's Union urges the American Federation of Labor to use its influence upon the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs to report against the treaty and to recommend its withdrawal.

We respectfully submit as an addition to Resolution No. 70, the following: From Honorable D. N. Hoover, Supervising Inspector General of Vessels operated by machinery:

"The 'Morro Castle' was built under the latest specifications for safety, and had the best modern safety equipment."

The investigation has disclosed that the safety provisions of our laws were not made applicable and that the men employed with reference both to discipline and skill were such that the safety equipments were practically of no value.

Your committee suggests that these resolutions and the action thereon be immediately forwarded to Secretary of Commerce and the Postmaster-General of the United States.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I stand here for the purpose of thanking the committee for their favorable report and for the addition to the resolve. There is, however, something to which I want to call your special attention. In the early days of this convention I asked the Secretary to send to the different committees of this convention copies of a document dealing with

safety of life at sea. In that document there is an analysis by me of the proposed Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea. There is a very serious danger that this treaty will be adopted. It has been before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate since 1927. I appealed to the State Department against it and furnished them with the analysis. Their answer, which they gave to me and which they sent to the committee, was that, while it was interesting it was not important, because I was not a lawyer.

This thing has caused us to cause a lawyer to investigate the treaty and to write a brief on it. He goes much further in condemning the treaty, so far as he has gone, than I went, and there is not the slightest doubt that if the people of the United States understood what the treaty means the mail of every Senator would be loaded with protests.

This treaty will destroy safety provisions which have been adopted and carried out by the United States for one hundred years because the treaty, as you know, takes the place of all the legislation that is contradictory to it. For these reasons I am asking the representatives of the National and International Unions here to kindly look over the statements that I have made. Some of them do not need the consideration of a lawyer at all.

The fact of the matter is, the "Morro Castle" was manned and the crew was divided and so arranged that there could be no other result than that which occurred, and the treaty will give to each nation the right to do just what they did on the "Morro Castle." It is a treaty for the safety of investors on shore, and not for safety at sea.

No one thinks more of safety at sea than the seamen do. We are there to die on duty, and first of all, we are there to die in order that you may live. Provisions for building safety equipment are very good, but if there are no men to handle these safety devices they are of no use at all. Putting it in such a way that you can plainly understand it, a city might have the finest kind of provisions for safety, it might have all the pro-

visions that modern science can devise for fire-fighting, but after all, these things are of no use unless you have the right kind of fire fighters. If you do not have the trained men to use these appliances, the more costly and complete and useful they are the less useful do they become in hands that are not skilled to use them.

And so again I ask this convention, and more particularly the delegates who are International officers, to write their Senators and protest against this treaty, ask them to restore the Seamen's Act, so that foreign nations will be compelled to man their vessels properly. When foreign vessels come here not properly manned, the American merchant marine suffers in consequence of the competition.

In the loss of the "Princess Sophia" three hundred and fifty American citizens left an American port on a vessel having one hundred passengers more than she had a right to carry, with no real safety appliances and with no men to use them if she had. The vessel went on a reef. The next day the people might have been taken off, but it was costly for the company to take them off. A gale came on in the night and not a single human being was saved, and nothing to be done about it because of the construction that had been given to the Seamen's Act.

The treaty will destroy every safety appliance and safeguard that the Seamen's Act provided. It will even restore, in my opinion, the imprisonment of the foreign seamen in our harbors. Again I ask you to pass the resolution, of course, but I go further and ask you National and International officers to write to your Senators protesting against that thing. I was a member of the body that considered that treaty in 1913 in London, Safety of Life at Sea. I came back again and protested to the Senate Committee that it was not the safety of life at sea at all, and when the Senate rejected the treaty then the Seamen's Act was passed. If the present sea treaty is adopted, not only the Seamen's Act but other provisions for safety at sea on American ships will be wiped away.

It is the most reactionary, out-and-out rotten thing that has come before you in this convention or in any other convention. I know there are men who have written to President Green and who have said that the treaty was all right, because the Third Estate, the employers of labor, have succeeded in ridding themselves of all risk and of all liability and putting it all upon the traveling public, who have to pay an additional sum of money for the privilege of being drowned or burned.

There is no excuse for such accidents as the "Morro Castle." That thing could not have occurred if the vessel had been properly manned, and under the treaty no vessel will ever be properly manned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing King-Dies Bill for Application of Exclusion Laws to Seamen

Resolution No. 71.—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, There can be no national seapower to be ready for use in any serious difficulty or war unless the nation in question has such seamen of its own; and

WHEREAS, The United States exclusion laws and contract labor laws have no application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, This fact is the cause of bringing into the United States an unknown but very large number of persons who are racially or otherwise excluded; and

WHEREAS, The King-Dies Bill has passed the Senate twice, and the House of Representatives once, but has so far failed to become law; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at San Francisco, California, seriously urges that the King-Dies Bill be passed by the coming Congress; further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Department of Labor and to the Senate and House Committees on Immigration.

This resolution by the Seamen's Union sets forth the existence of a serious gap in our Immigration Legislation through which large numbers of undesirable aliens come into this country under the guise of seamen.

It calls attention to the fact that the King-Dies Bill, for the purpose of remedying this situation, has twice passed the Senate and once been approved by the House. Endorsement of the King-Dies Bill is requested.

We suggest the following addition to Resolution No. 71:

It is known to practically all the national and international unions represented in this convention, that there is a constant influx into the United States of men who are racially or otherwise excluded, and that the questions and industrial problems arising therefrom are of such a nature that this resolution is sorely needed in order to close the now open side door through which excluded persons are permitted to enter the United States.

We further suggest that the action of this convention be immediately forwarded to the Secretary of the Department of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing S. 1870 to Restore Provisions of Seamen's Act

Resolution No. 69—By International Seamen's Union delegation.

WHEREAS, The main purpose in passing the Seamen's Act in 1915 was to bring the American boy to sea, to induce the American man to remain there for a livelihood, and to equalize the wage-cost in foreign and domestic vessels coming to and departing from ports of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The rulings by the Departments, sustained by the Courts, have resulted in the loss of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris" and many other vessels, and by application to American ships, the loss of the "Morro Castle"; and

WHEREAS, These rulings have liberated foreign vessels from the operation of Sections 13 and 14 of the Seamen's Act, and are thereby restoring the wage differential between domestic and foreign vessels trading from and to ports of the United States, to the great advantage of foreign vessels and their owners, and to the detriment of any development of real seapower for the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That S. 1870, to amend certain laws relating to American seamen and for other purposes, introduced into the Seventy-third Congress by the Hon. Robert M. La Follette Jr., of Wisconsin, be re-endorsed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor now meeting at San Francisco, California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to give careful consideration to this bill, and to pass it, in order that the beneficent purposes of the Seamen's Act may be restored.

Resolution No. 69 sets forth that provisions of the Seamen's Act have been nullified by departmental rulings, sustained by the courts. It is further set forth that these rulings, by destroying protections contained in the law with respect to working conditions for seamen, have resulted in hardship for American seamen and, more or less directly, in such disasters as the destruction of the "Princess Sophia," the "Vestris," and the "Morro Castle."

It recommends re-endorsement of S. 1870 introduced by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Junior, son of the author of the original Seamen's Act, the purpose of which is to remedy these evils and to strengthen the Seamen's Act.

The committee recommends that this recommendation be endorsed.

Your committee suggests as an addition to this resolution that in passing the Seamen's Act, the United States re-assumed its full sovereign power over its harbors, and made use thereof for the equalization of the wage cost in operating foreign and American vessels in departing from ports of the United States.

We further respectfully remind the convention that the British government has been and is now discussing the use of its sovereign power over the ports of the Empire, for the purpose of excluding vessels from nations which are subsidizing the operation of their merchant marines.

Your committee believes that this is an additional reason why the full purposes of the Seamen's Act should be restored, and recommends that the action of this convention be at once transmitted to the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Secretary of Commerce and the Postmaster General of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hyatt: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

I. N. ORNBURN, Chairman.
GILBERT E. HYATT, Sec'y.
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
WILLIAM COLLINS,
SIDNEY HILLMAN,
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
J. N. DAVIS,
WILLIAM H. WICKMAN,
JOHN DONLIN,
EDWARD F. McGRADY,
E. C. BABCOCK,
THOMAS E. MALOY,
R. F. LOWRY,
JOHN CLINTON,
Committee on Legislation.

I move the adoption of the report of the committee, as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair expresses the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention for the service rendered by the committee. The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation extended by the Retail Grocers' Association of San Francisco to the delegates and visitors to attend the Annual Food Show, now in progress.

At 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 9.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

San Francisco, California.

October 9, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Freng, Horn, Pelkofer, Kasten, Warfield, Lucchi, Hatch, Fay (Geo.), Taylor, Mastriani, Iglesias, Bailey, O'Brien (P.), Gresty, Hirschfeldt, MacDonald, Schwartz (H.), Joel (H.), Cuthbert, Walsh, Campbell (G.), Gross, Restine, McInroy, Mitchell, DeWitt, Meyers, Woods (W.), Augustine, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Farrell, Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Ball, Campbell (J.), Jackson, Draper, Bower, Davison, Dorsey, Early, Holmes, Doyle, Wood (R.), Mercer, Franklin, Covert, Kontas, Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (Sam), Johnson (F.), Nathan, Gorman (B.), Wagner, Money, Doane, Murch, Whitson, De Long, Barnes (T.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Flynn (M.), Manash, Bertucci, Watson, Holland, Hampton, Ryan (J.), Mitchell, Yetta, Higgins.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Delegate Henning, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Protesting Labor Policy of Hughes-Mitchell Processing Company, Chicago, Illinois

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Hughes-Mitchell Processing Company, with local offices located at 1465 Griffith Avenue, and headquarters in Chicago, is now conducting a chemical plant located in Torrance, California, for the purpose of making various chemical products to be distributed by large concerns such as Sears Roebuck Company and other agents; and

WHEREAS, This company refuses to recognize Union Labor or pay the union wage scale to mechanics in this district; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor proceed to get adjustment with this concern at the earliest possible date, and failing to get said adjustment be instructed to place this firm on the unfair list through the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor when it convenes in annual convention in 1934; and, further, that a boycott be placed on all products manufactured and handled by this concern.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers and incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as they may deem necessary and that they render all necessary support to the California State Federation of Labor in their efforts to secure recognition in behalf of the representatives of the various international and national organizations involved in this controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 107 by striking out the following section:

"RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, as unfair to the organized labor movement and that it call upon all union members, friends and sympathizers to refrain from in any manner patronizing this firm or using its products."

The amended resolution reads as follows:

Kohler Mfg. Co., Kohler, Wisconsin

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and J. J. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of bathtubs,

plumbing supplies and oil heaters, were forced to go on strike on July 16, 1934, in order to enforce their rights for collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, On July 27, 1934, special police of the Village of Kohler, armed with tear gas, gas bombs, riot guns, pistols, rifles and machine guns, under orders of village officials, who are also officials of the Kohler Company, fired into a mass of people who had gathered for the purpose of a demonstration before the company's plant, killing two union men and seriously wounding 40 other men and women, besides gassing scores of men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, At the time the employees of this company started their movement to organize into a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, officials of the company, in an attempt to break up this movement, fostered the organization of a company union, known as the Kohler Workers' Association, and the company insisted that it would deal with this company union, regardless of the strength of the regular union; and

WHEREAS, After the strike of the regular union had been in progress for weeks, completely closing the plant, and the case having been taken before the National Labor Relations Board, the Board found that the company union had been organized in violation of Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but instead of ordering this illegal company union dissolved, it ordered that a vote be taken among the employees of the company to determine whether they wished to be represented by the regular labor union or by the illegitimate and illegal company union, and over the protest of the regular union allowed the name of the illegal company union to appear on the election ballot; and

WHEREAS, Just prior to the holding of this election the company union, with the aid of the company, circularized letters among the employees, intimating that the ending of the strike and resumption of work depended on the company union winning the vote and further intimating that the company would give preference in employment to members of the company union; and

WHEREAS, Because of the ruling of the National Labor Relations Board, allowing the name of the company union, which it itself had declared to be an illegal organization, to appear on the ballot, and because of the corrupt practices of the company and the company union, the regular union lost out in the election; and

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 are conscious of the fact that they have been unfairly dealt with, and that there is a deep principle of genuine collective bargaining involved in this struggle are determined to continue their fight against this company; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record extending to these striking members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 its cordial greetings and appreciation for the fine battle they have put up for justice in the face of tremendous odds, and that it hereby direct the officers of the Federation to immediately make a most vigorous protest to the National Labor Relations Board for its ruling permitting the name of the company union, which it itself had declared illegal, to appear on the election ballot, and take this protest to the President of the United States if necessary to remedy the great wrong done; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to take such other means as it deems necessary and advisable to make the fight against this most unfair company effective.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that the officers of the Kohler Manufacturing Company, Kohler, Wisconsin, have disregarded and violated all the provisions of Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, denying to their employees the right to organize and to elect their representatives without intimidation or coercion.

That the National Labor Relations Board, upon investigation, not only proved that this company had violated the National Recovery Act, but in open defiance of the provisions of Section 7-a and the agencies of the Government provided for the enforcement of this Act, has openly created and supported in every possible manner "The Kohler Workers' Association," a "company union."

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted by amending it and striking out the second resolve, the subject of which shall be referred to the officers and Executive Council for further consideration, and that the resolution as amended be approved and referred to the officers and incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to follow up this case until every available resource has been utilized to bring about the recognition of the bona fide national and international organizations and the American Federation of Labor, representing employees employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company.

Delegate Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Brother Chairman and Delegates, as one of the introducers of this resolution, I wish to say just a few words in addition to what has been read to you here. First, let me say that I agree with the recommendation of the committee that it is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to not place firms on the unfair list, at least not without some very serious consideration, and we have no particular objection to referring that particular part of the resolution to the officers and the Executive Council.

In the Kohler strike there were several very significant things that happened there that I think are of interest to all of the Organized Labor Movement. Not only did this company, after a regular union was organized, organize a company union, but refused to deal with the regular union. After the matter was taken up by the National Labor Relations Board, that Board decided the company union had been organized illegally and in violation of Section 7-a of the NRA; but instead of ordering the company union dissolved, they ordered a vote of all the employees, and if a majority of the workers voted for the company union the illegal union would become the legal one.

You and I know what pressure can be brought to bear upon workers by a company, how they can put the fear of God into the workers who are afraid of losing their jobs. That is what happened at Kohler. The company and the company union circularized every man who had ever worked for the company, telling these men, "If you ever want to get your jobs back with this company, vote for the company union, and the strike will be ended."

Mr. Walter Kohler, president of the company, at one time Governor of the State of Wisconsin, was elected on a stand-pat Republican ticket, and he learned in his political life to use corrupt practices. He carried those corrupt practices into the election between the company union and the regular union. On the day of the election he established a headquarters for the company union

where cigars and other things were passed out, in order to persuade people to vote for the company union. They had all the office workers and the officers of the company and even the grooms in the stables and the gardeners on the estate come into the election. They had set up a village in Kohler, a feudal state. There are the lords of the manor and there are the slaves down in the village.

On July 27, special police of the village fired into a crowd, killing two and wounding forty persons. That was done by officers of the Kohler Company, who also are officers of the village of Kohler. The attorney for the company is the chairman of the committee of police of the village, which committee was given authority by the village board to bring in all the equipment, all the ammunition and all the special guards necessary to win that strike for the Kohler Company.

I was present at the inquest of the workers who were shot. The testimony showed that those men were shot in the back. In spite of the fact that no property was destroyed or damaged, thirty persons were shot. The village is made up largely of residents who are officers and office employees of the Kohler Company. The workers themselves do not live in Kohler, although it has been advertised as a model workers' village. On July 27 that village became a shambles, where workers were killed and injured.

Go back to your locals and internationals and tell the story of what happened in Kohler. There is no law, no one can compel us to buy the products of the Kohler Company. Every time you look at one of these spotless bathtubs made by the Kohler Company, or look at any other beautiful things they make, including colored bathtubs, I want you to picture that massacre of the workers on July 27 and you will find that these spotless articles are splashed with the blood of fellow workers of yours and of mine.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 107 was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations submitted

by the following members of the committee:

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman
R. A. HENNING, Secretary.
CHARLES D. DUFFY
JOSEPH S. FAY
CHARLES J. CASE
HARRY MILTON
JOHN MCCARTHY
M. J. GILLOOLY
L. G. GOUDIE
JOHN C. CAREY
JAMES MCGOWAN
JAMES J. DOYLE
JAMES CLOSE
MORRIS BIALIS
GUS VAN HECK
ANNA J. BROWN
J. I. GILBERT

Committee on Industrial Relations.

President Green: The Chair expresses to the committee the sincere appreciation of the officers and delegates to the convention for the service it rendered. The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The Chair recognizes Martin Francis Ryan for an announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Treasurer Ryan: During the last session of Congress in Washington the Railroad Executives Association were vitally interested in the enactment of laws affecting railroad employes and the right of representation in our respective trade-unions. With the hearty support and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, we were successful in securing the enactment of amendments to the Railroad Labor Act, which gives the railroad employes of this country the right to organize without the fear of intimidation or coercion, the right to select the union of their own choosing; and it is my purpose at this moment to announce to the delegates to this convention that these railroad shop organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in the last thirty days in taking over and returning to the trade-union movement a number of the large railroads of this country, such railroads as the Missouri Pacific, the Illinois Central, the Central of Georgia, the Florida East Coast, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and we are taking votes on the M. K. & T. and a number of other railroads. I have just

received a telegram announcing the fact that we have cleaned up on the Northern Pacific Railroad at the rate of three to one in defeating the company union.

President Green: We congratulate the executives and members of the railroad organizations connected with the American Federation of Labor, and those associated with them, upon the success which attended their efforts in these votes that are being taken. It is gratifying to observe that where the workers have a chance to vote they are voting to be associated with the independent unions associated with the railroad organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Vice-President Harrison, chairman of the committee: The Committee on Education met, organized, elected Delegate Hanson as secretary of the committee. The committee is now ready to make its report and Delegate Hanson will submit the report for the committee.

Secretary Hanson reported as follows:

We are facing the passing of the public schools. In fact, the public schools have passed in many sections of our country. A program of retrenchment in public education has reduced school efficiency and educational opportunity beyond the point of retrenchment to the point of extinction.

An economy wave has swept over our schools, leaving in its wake a devastation appalling to behold. Two thousand rural schools in twenty-four states failed to reopen in 1933. A like situation prevailed in the cities where the increase in school population was met not by additional classes and teachers but by increased enrollment in the already overlarge classes. Nearly one million children in rural states went to school less than six months during the year 1934. The per pupil cost of education was cut 22 per cent last year. The teachers in service were reduced 5 per cent. The school year has been shortened in a large number of cities. The so-called frills, in reality the essentials of sound education in our modern world, have been eliminated or excessively curtailed. The sale

of text books dropped 16.8 per cent in 1931-1932, as compared with the low level of the previous year. The building and repair program fund for schools in the United States has dropped 57.6 per cent in cities in the last two years. Salaries have been reduced from 10 per cent to 75 per cent.

This arbitrary educational retrenchment with its inevitable result of limitation of educational opportunity is abhorrent to the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor in relation to public education has a long and noble tradition to maintain. Organized Labor was the one social body which gave its whole-hearted support to the free, tax-supported public school, something over one hundred years ago. It founded, it fostered, it protected, it developed this great social institution. Labor's children form the great majority of the pupils of the public schools. The workers within the school system are our fellow workers with a common cause, common objectives and common enemies. And now the Organized Labor Movement of America, the American Federation of Labor, whole-heartedly and unreservedly pledges itself to the defense of the public school system of America, to its full and complete restoration, to the maintenance of educational standards for the development of character, culture, and citizenship, and to the principle of equal educational opportunity for all the children of America regardless of race, creed, or social status. It pledges itself to the preservation of the public schools for democracy; it pledges itself to the preservation of democracy in which public education can and will function for the building of a saner economic world and the good life for all.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Submitted to the Education Committee were the sections of the Executive Council's report dealing with Public Education, Child Labor Amendment, Vocational Education and the Workers' Education Bureau.

Public Education

Under the caption Public Education, page 127 of the report, the Executive Council declares for an enriched curriculum suited to our modern society and adapted to a changing world, including kindergartens, vocational education, music, art, manual training, home economics, physical education, health services, etc., and opposes the false economy of schools operated on part time, shortened school year, decrease in number of teachers while school enrollments have increased, increasing the pupils per teacher to the loss of the pupil through the lessening of the amount of personal attention which any pupil may receive.

Your committee endorses this portion of the Executive Council's report and moves its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education

Under the caption Vocational Education, pages 127 and 128, the Executive Council reaffirms its interest in and support of vocational education as an essential part of a socially balanced educational program. It endorses also vocational guidance in connection with vocational training and recommends scientific study and research in this problem and the correlation of vocational guidance with a scientifically planned, socially administered employment service.

Under the caption Legislation, Vocational Education, page 83, the Executive Council reports on the progress in legislation in support of vocational education. We note with satisfaction that a bill providing an appropriation of \$3,000,000 a year for three years, the appropriation to be divided equally between agricultural education, home economics and industrial education was enacted into law; and we regret the failure of the amendment which provided that none of the funds authorized should be allocated to any State or territory to pay salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors if they are denied the right to join any legal

organization of their own choosing. We urge that the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts for legislation protecting the rights of teachers to organize and seek to have provisions for such protection incorporated in the appropriation's acts for public school support. We are moved to this action by

1. The realization that the teachers, as stewards of Labor's faith in the function of public schools, must be enfranchised from the partisan interpretation of history, economics and social movements which result in the failure of growing society to understand the need for a social mindedness for co-operation instead of competition to the destruction of fellow men.

2. The development of the Organized Labor Movement can best be stimulated by enlarged enlistment of educators in the Union Movement.

3. The American Federation of Labor offers the greatest agency for creating a receptive electorate to legislation for Labor's program; it presents the most opportune machinery for the production of the social mind in which the organization of workers into the international brotherhood may be attained.

Your committee further recommends that central labor unions set up in co-operation with boards of education a joint conference committee for the establishment of a pre-apprentice or guidance experience program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

In connection with this topic of Vocational Education the committee presents Resolution No. 98.

Federal Board for Vocational Education

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Federal Board for vocational Education was organized in 1917 to assist the several States in promoting an educational program for our working people, both youth and adult, farmers, homemakers, and the physically handicapped; and

WHEREAS, Many persons in these several groups, because of economic and social changes, and because of the

world's greatest economic depression, are now unemployed, and are in need of occupational readjustment; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Board for Vocational Education has furnished to all of the States in the Union, the Territory of Hawaii, and the Island of Porto Rico, valuable leadership and assistance, without assuming either administrative control or domination, in carrying out a worthwhile vocational educational program for groups of our people not otherwise provided with educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, There is now and will continue to be in the future greater need than ever before for the Federal Board for Vocational Education to promote an adequate and comprehensive program of vocational education and constant individual readjustment and to provide for civilian rehabilitation; to maintain high standards for carrying out the objectives enumerated; and for the equitable distribution of Federal funds for vocational education and for civilian rehabilitation of physically handicapped people; and

WHEREAS, Labor, the farmer, and the business man who have knowledge of occupations and their needs and demands vital to any public program of vocational education, are vitally and directly concerned with the results of such a program, and have interests and points of view that can only be adjusted through their representatives on an administrative board for such education; and

WHEREAS, The elimination of the Federal Board for Vocational Education was one item in a contemplated program of gradual withdrawal of Federal aid for vocational education, a program which has been abandoned with the restoration of full Federal aid; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirms its belief in the principle of a representative Federal Board for Vocational Education as provided in the Federal Act of 1917, creating this Board and urges the President to restore the Federal Board to full activity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization re-affirms its belief in the permanent principle of Federal aids for vocational education and Federal co-operation with the several States and Territories as a means of assisting the millions of men and women now out of work to adjust and train themselves for early re-employment, as well as to furnish educational training for those now at work in the cities, on the farms, and in the homes; and that it heartily commends the President for the restoration of the Federal funds provided by Congress for this purpose; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby memorial-

ize President Franklin D. Roosevelt to revoke, at the earliest possible time, section 15 of his Executive Order of June 10, 1933, thereby restoring the functioning power of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in accordance with the original intent of the 1917 Federal Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act promulgated as a permanent policy under the Woodrow Wilson administration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Roosevelt be urged to appoint to the Federal Board for Vocational Education active representatives of the employing, labor, and farmer groups, respectively, in accordance with the intent and purposes of the 1917 Federal Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act.

The committee favors full appropriation of adequate funds for support of vocational education and the restoration of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to its previous independent status.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: The splendid expression of the committee in the preamble to the report contains the philosophy that applies in Resolution No. 98. That resolution calls for the reaffirmation of the Federation's position with respect to the permanent representative Board for Vocational Education as provided in the Federal Act of 1917. The resolution asks that the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief in the principle of Federal aid for vocational education for the millions of our youths, men and women of the industries, the farm and the home; it commends the President of the United States for withdrawal of Executive Order No. 18, thus restoring Federal funds for State aid; and asks that the American Federation of Labor memorialize the President to revoke Executive Order No. 15 and thus restore the Federal Board for Vocational Education with real Labor representatives.

Before the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Law in 1917, Labor constantly complained that our minors were not given the necessary educational opportunities essential to citizenship, that they

were being deprived of educational opportunities and that interest in education ceased once they went to work in the factories and places of employment.

The American Federation of Labor, many years ago, recorded itself in favor of extending the educational opportunities of our young people. The American Federation of Labor sponsored the Vocational Act that was passed in 1917. Our own Samuel Gompers, together with such equally immortal persons, such as Dr. Charles McCarthy and some educators who had the modern viewpoint of what opportunities ought to be extended to our young people, aided in having the Smith-Hughes Law enacted.

The Smith-Hughes Law provided for a Federal Board for Vocational Education, composed of Labor, farmers and industry representation. It provided aid to the states under certain conditions. It provided for a representative Board of Vocational Education on which there were represented Labor, agriculture and industry. The appropriations could not be made use of by the State until they did certain things. One was to create a similar State Board for Vocational Education, patterned along the lines of the Federal Board. Another thing was that the appropriation must be used for trade extension courses and for the training of teachers of vocational education.

I think it is worth the while of the convention to listen to an explanation of how, if the opportunities afforded by the Smith-Hughes Act are made full use of by the various states, a great deal can be done for our young people, much more than has been done heretofore. In Wisconsin we have made quite elaborate use of those opportunities. I would like to have, if it were possible, all of you to come up and look us over and see what we are doing.

One of the terms of the appropriation is the training of teachers in order to instruct the classes of both journeymen and minors. The funds could not be used for teaching short courses for any particular trade; it was necessary, so far

as young people are concerned, that they actually be employed before they could receive instruction in the intricacies of their craft. Those young people are being trained—and that is according to the Smith-Hughes Law—they are being taught during the daytime while the journeymen are being given training in the evening.

Teachers are usually selected from the crafts. It is required that they be thorough craftsmen. Then we use the appropriation afforded us by the Federal Government to train them in order to become teachers so that they can impart what they know about that vocation to others.

The Federal Government, like everybody else, has talked of retrenchment. There was created a committee, called the Wilbur Committee. It was financed privately and did what a great many other people have done. I don't know exactly what was in the minds of the persons who composed the Wilbur Committee, but they did the very thing that our Committee on Education has complained of. In their efforts to retrench, they recommended taking away very essential appropriations, increasing the classes, discharging teachers, and all that sort of thing, which was done in the name of economy. It was urged that much money could be saved to the nation in this time of depression. It saved very little when the President abolished that board and made it a mere advisory board to the educational director.

This is the order we are asking in this resolution to be revoked. The recommendation of the Wilbur Committee was that one-tenth of the appropriation be eliminated each year for ten years. It doesn't take much of a mathematician to know that after ten years there would be no more funds for vocational education so far as the Federal Government is concerned.

This abolishing the Board for Vocational Education was a very serious mistake. I am glad to say that the President of the United States at the behest of Labor, the officers of the American Federation of Labor, together with the co-

operation of some of the educators throughout the country, restored the appropriation, but the President has not yet revoked the order which abolishes the Federal Board for Vocational Education. There is a reason why there should be a Federal Board for Vocational Education. We have some consideration for these young people, and it is necessary that special attention be given that class to which the traditional school man has been indifferent.

Until the advent of vocational education the usual school man did not care what happened to the young people who left school in the fourth and fifth grades. Until vocational education was put on the map those people had no chance, but since then, if they have not had unlimited, they have had at least wide opportunity for education. It was necessary to set up a board that knows something about the problems of Labor and had some idea of the needs of boys and girls who were destined to go into the industries.

A board to take care of that situation, a board that knows something about the pitfalls of industry, that could enlighten the boys and girls who were to go into industry is what was needed. We set up a State board, and in every community where there is a vocational school we have a local representative board with Labor representation. We don't want this thing squelched and throttled now by destroying the standards established by a sympathetic and understanding Board for Vocational Education. If in the various states this matter is taken up and opportunity made use of that presented to us through a Federal Board for Vocational Education and State boards, thousands of minors and adults will be afforded opportunities heretofore denied them.

I understand perfectly well how these vocational boards in various states differ, but if there is the proper set-up there will be no reasonable ground for complaint on the part of Labor men or on the part of any citizen. In our schools in Wisconsin, particularly that in Milwaukee, which is pronounced the best

equipped in the world for that kind of school, the young people of sixteen years of age who are not working are required to go to school half time, and in that time they are not being taught trades, short courses, this, that, and the other craft. That is what is called the trade finding age. That is where these young people go from department to department and view various operations and after they get through they are not sent out to find a "Boy Wanted" sign, they are sent where their talents can be applied. Between sixteen and eighteen years of age these young people who have gone into industry have their shop training supplemented by school instruction.

We don't want this set-up interfered with. We don't want to face the danger of seeing undone what we have accomplished up to this time. Mr. President, the part time educational system, if it is followed and developed seriously—I don't care where it may be—will amount to a system of unlimited opportunities for our children, and this resolution is presented for that purpose. I have no question about what is going to be done. The officers of the American Federation of Labor have worked and worked and are determined to have a set-up just as I have explained, and they have asked the President to restore the appropriations, which he has done, for which we are very grateful and for which we express appreciation to President Green and those who have bestirred themselves in its behalf. We hope that the officers will be able to prevail upon the President to restore the Federal Board for Vocational Education, as an independent body, with real Labor representation.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

Industrial Arts

Under the caption, Industrial Arts, pages 128 and 129, the Executive Council endorses manual training in its various branches, wood, fiber, textile, metal, electricity, drawing and printing, as opportunities for self-expression in practical materials and recommends the extension of such courses.

Your committee desires to add to this the recommendation of extension of courses in home economics and household arts for their health and social as well as their practical value.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

School Health Service

On page 129, under the caption, The School Health Service, the Executive Council recognizes the major importance of school health activities at all times and calls attention to the increasing need of this service during this depression, during which it has most unhappily been shown that illness among children has greatly increased. It recommends the improvement of this service. In this your committee heartily concurs.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Junior High Schools

Under the caption, Junior High School, pages 129 and 130, of the Executive Council's report, the Council enumerates the advantages of this development in school organization and commends the institution as at present developing. Your committee concurs in this portion of the report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: There is one special feature of the high school question that I want to call your attention to, if I may, just a moment. I want to tell you a little story that is literally and absolutely true. My sister, living in South Dakota, left three sons. One of those sons has sons of his own, and one of them just came back from a union high school where he had been graduated on the same day that I arrived there, coming through on a visit. It struck me that this was a very good occasion to find out whether that high school, union high school especially, had been giving any instruction in fundamental Americanism.

To my utmost surprise, I found him so utterly ignorant of fundamental American history and fundamental American

rights as laid down in the Declaration of Independence, so ignorant of the American Government and its real aims and purposes, that if he had appeared before a court for the purpose of getting citizenship papers he would have been denied citizenship because of his ignorance, and he came out of a union high school, if you please.

Those kind of things are existing on purpose. There are some things which the Third Estate want us to forget, and those things are the real fundamentals of Americanism. I hope that when you deal with education, it will be seen to that those fundamentals are taught in those schools somehow.

Secretary Hanson: Speaking for the committee's report, I wish to call your attention to the statement in the Executive Council's report and add some little further explanation. The Executive Council's report states that when the junior high school was introduced in many localities it was not an educational institution in its true sense; that it was, and in some cases it was intended that it should be, a mere adjunct of high pressure, unsocial, industrial activity.

You will recall that at the time of the Atlantic City convention the matter of the junior high school came before this organization and because of the nature of that institution at that time it was opposed by the American Federation of Labor. All developments of public education are carefully watched by the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor did carefully watch this development, and it threw about the junior high school in the course of its development safeguards which changed it from the type of organization which it was in the first place to a type of organization which is quite different. As your Executive Council calls attention to, important changes were made. Important changes have been brought about in the schooling of girls and boys from twelve to fifteen and sixteen years of age. There is nothing to which the American Federation of Labor can point with more pride and with more assurance than that they did the job, that they changed the

character of junior high schools and made them into a social institution.

Your Executive Council's report says that it approves retention in schools, and says:

In 1918 pupils in the public schools averaged fewer than eight years of education; in 1930 this average had been raised to 9½ years.

Expansion in curriculum offerings. Subjects which have become prominent following the introduction of the junior high school are physical education, fine arts, manual arts, home economics, and business training.

Expansion into extra-curriculum offerings. The old school offered its pupils little in the form of dramatics, journalism, hobby clubs, organized drill activities, and interclass athletic games before they reached the first year of the fourth year high school. These and other extra-curriculum activities are regular features of the modern junior high school.

Extension of provisions in caring for individual differences of early adolescent pupils, including educational and vocational guidance, exploratory courses, library service, health work, and employment of better trained teachers.

Now, the American Federation of Labor is very definitely on record time and time again for a school curriculum, for a modern school curriculum and a junior high school gives a modern curriculum for a modern world. You will recall with what horror we received the information when we were in Cincinnati that the city of Chicago had closed its junior high schools. I hope that you will adopt the report of the Executive Council and the report of the Committee on Education.

Art Instruction

Under this caption, pages 130-131, the Council endorses art as a valuable subject in the curriculum and regrets its elimination, in many cases, as a frill. Your committee urges that art, music and dramatics be recognized as courses of study vital to a full development and that every possible influence be brought to bear to have them made continuously a part of the school curriculum.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Exceptional Children

On page 131 of its report the Executive Council says: "Special education for exceptional children, far from being a fad, becomes a necessity in the nation's program of training for citizenship." The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position of sound care and education for the mentally and physically handicapped as well as for the intellectually superior.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State University and Kindergartens

Upon the section of the report under this caption, pages 131, 132, and 133, the committee reports as follows:

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its complete support of education as a public institution from the kindergarten through the university, and demands that State and Federal appropriations adequate to furnish educational opportunity for all the children and youth of the nation through high school, college, and university to the extent of their desire and ability shall be made. It further urges that all State, city central and local unions be on their guard against the wasteful, uneconomical procedure advocated by tax reductionists of the shortening of the school life by cutting off at the bottom—the kindergarten—and at the top, reducing the high school term and curtailing the work of the university.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid to Schools—Under this topic your committee offers Resolution No. 79, and recommends concurrence.

Federal Aid to Schools

Resolution No. 79—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Tax delinquency, unsound financing, waste and inefficiency, laws limiting taxation of real estate, and undue reliance on real estate taxes for the

support of education have played a significant part in bringing about a sharp curtailment of educational facilities and a serious limitation of educational opportunities for children as well as adults; and

WHEREAS, In many communities there has been a retrogression in the matter of provision of sufficient teachers and adequate curricula, length of school term, provision of medical care of children in the schools, and provision of text books and supplies; and

WHEREAS, The democratic principles upon which our society is founded call for equal educational opportunities for all children, regardless of location of domicile; and

WHEREAS, Effective education and adequate training of the nation's children is necessary to the survival of our American democracy; and

WHEREAS, The preservation of our American democracy is the first duty of our Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, The Federal government has expended with a lavish hand billions to subsidize banks, railroads, shipping, aeroplanes, insurance companies, and for war preparation, but voted only \$75,000,000 for educational relief, thus making impossible what is basic in a democracy—equal educational opportunity for the children of the nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the Federal government to work out and finance a program for equalizing educational opportunity throughout the nation at a desirable level. Conditions for the granting of such funds should include provisions for a minimum school year, equal standards of education for all children within a given state, the employment of regularly licensed and qualified teachers, the expenditure of these funds solely for instruction, supervision, educational supplies, and plant operation and maintenance.

The recommendation of the committee to concur in the resolution was unanimously adopted.

To Extend Free High School and College Educational Facilities

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, It has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor that the future success and progress of the Labor movement depends largely upon those in the Labor movement acquiring a more complete knowledge of our social and economic life; and

WHEREAS, This can only be accomplished through the facilities of our high schools and colleges; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor fight for the freedom of educational rights, that our educational institutions shall be free to every individual who desires to avail him or herself of the benefits afforded by a higher education just so long as the individual is capable of making the normal grades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we fight for the national standardization of the text books used in our high schools and colleges; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we seek the standardization of wages for the teachers and instructors of high schools and colleges in every State in the Union.

Resolution No. 210 has been amended by the omission of the second Whereas, the last two lines of the first Resolved and the second Resolved, and a change in the third Resolved.

Resolution No. 210, as amended, reads:

WHEREAS, It has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor that the future success and progress of the Labor Movement depends largely upon those in the Labor Movement acquiring a more complete knowledge of our social and economic life; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor fight for the freedom of educational rights, that our educational institutions shall be free to every individual who desires to avail him or herself of the benefits afforded by a higher education; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in co-operation with unions of teachers, seek the establishment of an adequate cultural and saving wage for the teachers and instructors in public schools and colleges in every state in the Union.

As amended we recommend concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

School Revenues

Under the caption School Revenues, page 133, the Executive Council calls attention to the dependence of the schools upon local support. It says, "In 80 per cent of our schools, support comes from local funds, 19 per cent from State funds,

1 per cent from the Federal Government." It calls attention to the breakdown of the local tax system, the decline in the general property tax and tax delinquencies with their consequent disastrous effect upon school support. It also calls attention to the sales tax, the most iniquitous of all taxes, and states that Labor is seeking a more just source of revenue for the schools. Your committee concurs in this portion of the Council's report and recommends taxes based on ability to pay, i. e., inheritance and income taxes levied and collected by the Federal Government with the elimination of tax exemptions, teachers, public employees and all others, as the most appropriate way to finance education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Economy but not Retrenchment, page 108, of the Executive Council's report. We recommend concurrence in this section of the Council's report and move adoption of Resolution 83 as covering the principles involved.

Condemning Arbitrary Retrenchment of Public Education

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Organized wealth as represented by citizens budget commissions, which are financed and controlled by the bankers, insurance companies, and owners of utilities and large realtors, have capitalized the depression, and especially in public education; and

WHEREAS, With the exception of certain outstanding newspapers which are favorable to a high standard of public education, a menacing newspaper campaign attacking our free public school system under the guise of retrenchment appears to be spreading through the nation; and

WHEREAS, The resulting retrenchment has taken the form of curtailing educational opportunity by establishing overlarge classes, by early school closing, by the elimination or excessive curtailment of the so-called frills, by the limitation of supplies and capital outlays; by a policy of non-appointment of regular teachers or by salary reductions in the

form of cuts, furloughs, voluntary contributions, or suspension of annual increments, etc., therefore be it

RESOLVED, That while we recognize the need for honest economy and the need for the fullest utilization of existing facilities, we are unalterably opposed to arbitrary educational retrenchment which means the limitation of educational opportunity, the lowering of educational standards, the reduction of salaries and living standards, in whatever guise they may appear; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, together with the State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Local Unions co-operate in campaigns for the full restoration of salaries that have been reduced, and that they use the fullest resources of publicity to enlighten the general public to the dangers involved in educational retrenchment.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will interrupt the regular order of business now to listen to an address by a distinguished visitor with us, an outstanding representative of the Organized Labor Movement, its great President. We have here with us this morning Brother Walter M. Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, and President of the International Federation of Trade Unions. He has been sitting with us most of the time during all of these sessions and deliberations of this convention. He came here as the guest of the American Federation of Labor. I wish to express my very deep appreciation of his acceptance of our invitation to him to come across the sea to be the guest of the American Federation of Labor at this convention. I understand quite well the great sacrifice he was called upon to make in order to be here. He had just completed the work of the British Trades Union Congress one or two days before he started on his trip from Great Britain to America.

He comes here as an outstanding, well-informed, perhaps the best informed representative of Labor in Europe upon the economic, political and social problems which so seriously affect the well-being and the happiness of the working people of Great Britain and the continent of Europe. We are fortunate indeed in being

permitted to have him with us and to listen to his address. He will tell us about the development of Fascism, of Nazism, and of Hitlerism on the Continent. He will tell us about its menacing aspects, and he will tell us how the labor unions of continental Europe have suffered because of the dictatorship which followed the establishment of these political forms of government. We want to be informed on these matters, because as trade-unionists here in America we are interested in these international problems.

I want to present to you our guest and our speaker, Brother Walter M. Citrine, who has been active in the trade-union movement all this time. He was active in the North of England. He is a native of Wallasey, Cheshire, a trained electrician. He served for many years on the Executive Committee of the Liverpool Trades Council, and was chairman of the Wallasey Labor Party. He was a candidate for election to Parliament in the general election of 1918. While on the Merseyside, he also held the position of President of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades in the Mersey district.

From 1930 to 1933, he was a member of His Majesty's Economic Advisory Council. Among other offices he holds are member of General Advisory Council of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Director of the Dally Herald; member of the Court of Governors of the London School of Economic and Political Science; member of the Executive Committee of the International Association for Social Progress; member of the Council of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology; member of the National Council of the Workers Travel Association; Vice-President of the National Safety First Association.

Now, my friends, there is an intellectual treat in store for us. We are glad to have Brother Citrine here. He occupies a large place in the hearts and in the affections and in the esteem of the men and women of Labor in the United States.

I present to you our friend and co-worker, our brother, Walter M. Citrine.

MR. WALTER M. CITRINE

(General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and President of the International Federation of Trade Unions)

President Green and fellow trade-unionists: First permit me to thank you for the very cordial and very kindly words of your President. I could not help the reflection passing through my mind when you were reading out the various bodies with which I am associated, what do I do in my spare time?

I have not had the privilege of appearing before your convention before, and although I have never been here I have none the less had the opportunity of meeting some of the most representative and prominent leaders of American Labor over the past ten or fifteen years. I see quite a number of them smiling encouragement to me now, and it would perhaps be invidious for me to attempt to single any of them out by name. Sufficient it is to say that I regard the interchange of delegates between your great convention and the British Trades Union Congress as one of the best and most treasured institutions we have developed between our two movements. That institution was commenced many years ago, and since that time the responsibilities of the trade-union movement have increased considerably. I want to see that connection made stronger, made closer, made more durable. I want to see the closest possible collaboration between your Federation and the British Trades Union Congress. I want to see your Confederation taking its part, its full part in the work of rebuilding the European trade-union movement to which we are now setting our hands.

It is not my duty to talk to you about any of the many economic problems which are facing the trade-union movement of Europe. There is one outstanding, overriding question which has engaged the serious attention not only of the British Trades Union movement, but of the whole of the Continent of Europe. The institutions which have been built up after centuries of sacrifice, after centuries of toil on the part of millions of obscure and unknown workers are now threatened with destruction. Their safety is menaced in a degree which I think transcends anything in our previous history. Democratic institutions which some of us had believed had become deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people have crashed within the last few years.

I know to some of you here it may seem rather remote, sitting in the security of this magnificent civic building, protected and safeguarded as you are by the Constitution of the country to which you belong, it may seem to you that there

is no possibility whatever of this poisonous growth of Fascism being able to develop in countries like your own, with an age-long democratic tradition. I would remind you of the fate of the German trade-union movement, a movement which a few years ago represented over five million conscientious, intelligent and understanding trade-unionists, a movement which in its real estate, in its great printing offices, in its great halls and meeting houses, pointed the way to many of our movements in the direction of creating real stability. Who would have thought two years ago that that movement, led by some of the most competent, the most sincere, the most able Labor leaders, that the world has produced in the Labor Movement would have been destroyed in a comparatively few months? Who would have thought that the Austrian trade-union movement, representing a greater proportion of organized men and women as compared to the working class population than either your great Federation or the British Trades Union Congress, would have thought that that movement, with one of the highest cultural levels that has ever been attained in working-class history, would have been almost dissipated and disintegrated by the dictatorship which has arisen in Austria. Who would have thought that in Europe today we would have had in eleven countries a dictatorship established of a more or less ruthless character?

I say, therefore, that although we feel strong and confident in the power of our institutions to resist this menace, the price of liberty still is eternal vigilance, even on the part of those of us who feel secure.

In the last hundred years there has been a steady emergence of democratic institutions. The world over has witnessed a steady, progressive movement in the direction of representative institutions. The trade-union movement the world over has made a striking contribution in that respect. Our branches, our councils, our committee rooms, have been the training ground in which many of the eminent statesmen of the world have learned the true purposes and meaning of democracy. Our movement has made political democracy a reality. Our movement, as this convention has witnessed, is steadily traversing along the road, strewn with obstacles as it is, of industrial democracy, and that movement, that tendency of one hundred years is now, in these countries that I have mentioned, being reversed.

Your President, in the invitation which he sent to me, asked me to describe to you the operation and the development of Fascism in Italy, in Germany, and in Austria. Before doing so I want to state something which may be regarded by some as in the nature of a platitude or

truism that scarcely requires iteration. The trade-union movement as a voluntary association of the workers, organized together for the purpose of raising their standards of life and securing some measure of control over their conditions of life, of necessity can only exist and function in an atmosphere of freedom. I apply that to every form of dictatorship, no matter what its color may be. I don't care whether it is a brown dictatorship, a black dictatorship or a red dictatorship. In its essence the trade-union movement as we have understood it is an organization which has been built up by the sacrifice of our people and it can only function as a protective instrument in their behalf in an atmosphere of freedom. Trade unions exist today in Russia; trade unions exist today in Austria and Germany and in Italy, but they are not the independent, autonomous, functioning bodies that your Federation and the British trade-union movement and the movement on the Continent understand trade unionism to mean. They are an instrument of the state in which the state imposes its supreme will upon every phase of their activities.

I hope, therefore, before passing to an examination of these three specific countries, to make that point indubitably clear. Wherever dictatorship comes, dictatorship must be the very nature of things, if it is to be complete, crush all opposition. That is the reason why you have found the same methods and the same tactics in country after country where the dictatorship has been erected. That is why intellectual freedom is no longer possible, because intellectual freedom represents a danger to the dictatorship. That is why professors of the universities and of the high schools and the teachers who are training the young must be members of the ruling party, must be true and loyal to the dictatorship. That is why the great co-operative movement, as an instrument of the consuming and production side of labor must similarly be subjected and destroyed. That is why we have seen in country after country, without exception, the trade-union movement dissolved.

I make that commentary because I deem it to be one of the most necessary things to get into our minds, that we cannot condemn dictatorship when it is exercised by our opponents and condone it when it is exercised by those we call our friends.

Communist dictatorship, like the Fascist dictatorship, is essentially something against which the great voluntary trade union movement must strive. From the practical point of view, Communism has ceased to become in the majority of the countries of Europe at least a serious factor which might menace the strength of the working class. There was a time

when the Communist movement was regarded as an inherent part of the working class movement. A process of disintegration, a system of day in and day out vilification of the trade union officials and leaders, the pouring of contempt upon the very instrument of trade unionism, all these things have led to a period of disillusionment and in few countries today would the Communists be regarded as anything more or less than violent and rabid opponents of the movement which we have erected. That disillusionment has meant that there is now no real danger of our movement being misled. Fascism today is the danger. Fascism, because of the great wealth it can command, because of the reactionary forces which it can enroll behind it has become the danger. Fascism, as you know, arose in Italy. It spread to Germany. It spread to Austria. Its record is everywhere the same. Everywhere it is a record of suppression, of brutality and terrorism. It has stamped out personal and political liberty in a way that we would not have dreamed would have been possible.

When we turn to the constructive sphere its specious promises of a new era have almost every one of them been falsified. It has proved to be a record of failure and of futility, and none of us should ever lose the opportunity of emphasizing that. It has created an unrest on the Continent of Europe, which if it continues, must inevitably lead to worldwide war. I shall give you the reasons for all these statements in a few moments.

I know it is still popularly believed in many quarters that in Italy Mussolini came as the Savior of the country from the violence of the Communists. The fact is that Mussolini was no Constitutionalist, he was no man who stood inflexibly for the maintenance of those liberties of the people which were in danger of being crushed or transgressed by the Communists. Mussolini was the Socialist son of a Socialist father. He was so far on what is described as the Left of the Socialist movement that Mussolini was the Revolutionary of the Revolutionaries. It was he who created the Fascist Party. It was Mussolini who imprinted in the program of that party the revolutionary policy which he himself believed in. The Fascist Party created in 1919 in Italy stood fast for violent revolution, for the overthrow of the monarchy and for the transplanting in its place of a Republic. The Fascist Party stood for the confiscation of the property of the Catholic Church. The Fascist Party that was to resist the aggression of the Communists in the popular mind in this and other countries, the aggression of the Communists where a few workers had taken possession of the factories, the Fascist Party itself had, as a part of its program, the handing over of public institutions and services to the control of the Proletariat. Those three items that I have mentioned to

you are all of them indistinguished from the revolutionary program themselves. Mussolini was going to tax the wealthy and in order that the workers might feel that something would be done for them, he was going to establish a minimum wage, and as I shall show you, he has established a minimum wage and that minimum wage has become so low, that, in his own words, it is impossible for wages to fall any lower. That is the sort of minimum wage which has been established in Italy. It would be foolish to deny that Mussolini was helped by the strike wave of 1920 in Italy, but what I do want to make clear to you is this, that the strike wave in Italy was no greater in 1920 than the comparable strike movements in other countries, even including the United States. The post-war period found disturbances in all countries. It found Labor given for the sake of its support during the war, the prospect of a new life, a new constitution, disillusioned when the war was over, and when the disillusionment came along and it was seen that those promises were not going to be redeemed, that on the contrary wages were being depressed and the standards of living attacked there was a strike movement not only in Italy but in Great Britain of much greater dimension. I mention these things in order to try to get the thing in some sort of perspective. But Fascism had nothing to do with the curtailment of these strikes. Fascism was impotent; Fascism was powerless; Fascism itself had not a single person in the Chamber of Deputies. Its national standing as a party was practically non-existent. It had a program and a following, the most of them on paper.

It was 18 months after the strike wave in Italy had ceased that Fascism came to power, and during the interval the trade in Italy was improving, the standard of life of the people was rising, externally and internally there was every appearance of success being achieved under the democratic government of the period. As Mussolini gained power in October, 1922, he succeeded in fighting the vain vacillating government of the period by a march on Rome, and because the King of Italy was false to his coronation oath, because he declined the advice of his ministers, Mussolini was able to secure power.

Is it any accident that in Italy, as in Germany, his acquisition to power was followed by a reign of terror, the putting into jail and the concentration camps of thousands of his political and industrial opponents, the destruction of their press, the looting of their property, the dissolution of the trades unions and the theft of their property by Mussolini and his followers? Is it any accident that those things have happened not only in Italy but in Germany and in Austria as well? It is an essential part of the Fascist dictatorship to terrorize and to intimidate its opponents and destroy every vestige

of organized strength they have in order that it shall have some feeling of security itself.

Is it any coincidence that in Italy, in Germany and in Austria, the funds of the Fascist parties in those countries have been derived from reactionary employers? Is that any accident? Or does not this really mean in its essence a struggle on the part of those employers, faced by the democratic movement of Labor, advancing under popular suffrage nearer and nearer to power, to try to wrest that power from them by armed force?

When Mussolini attained power he actually proceeded to reward the employers. He handed over to private monopolies the state institutions, the telephone and the telegraph and other monopolies which the state itself had exercised. He placed upon the boards of many of these directorships those Fascist employers who had subsidized and helped him. By a policy of state subsidies he continued to take out of the pockets of the Italian people large sums of money year by year to pay over to those institutions until it is scarcely possible to analyze today what the financial state of those institutions really is.

How did he reward the workers? How did he reward the people he had promised in his public program that he was going to hand over the public services, etc., to? He started by reducing their wages by 10 to 13 per cent, by lengthening their working day by two hours, by cutting their overtime pay, by placing new taxes even on the lowest paid workers, by increasing third-class rail fares while he left the first-class untouched, and by taxes on the small farmers, by looting the co-operative stores of the workers and by confiscating the property of the trade unions, by destroying democracy, by instituting the secret police which made it impossible for three workers or three citizens to meet today in Italy without the danger of being arrested for taking part in a subversive gathering; by licensing journals, by subsidizing the press, by making it impossible for anybody to write for any newspaper in Italy unless he had a certificate of good conduct from the local prefect of police, and good conduct obviously means membership in the Fascist Party. Italy today is a nation in chains. There is no institution in Italy today that can feel itself independent and in any way autonomous. Even the Free Masons, who, in most countries were regarded as the very acme of stability, the very people who would support the state under all circumstances; the Free Masons of Italy not only had their property confiscated, but many of them were murdered and others of them were sent into exile and into imprisonment.

What has been the economic consequence of all this? There has been reduction after reduction in wages until

today the reductions in Italy total from 40 to 60 per cent since 1927. It is very difficult indeed to get reliable statistics, because figures are deliberately suppressed. The cost of living and other data is deliberately kept out, and we are compelled to rely for our figures on such sources as the manufacturers' associations, who, you may depend upon it, will put the best face upon it when it comes to wage statistics.

It is no accident that wages in Italy today are the lowest of any important country in Europe. It is no accident that the agricultural worker in Italy receives something like \$2 or \$2.50 per week. It is a direct consequence of the dictatorship. The dictatorship is forcing the Italian state steadily into bankruptcy. They have over a million unemployed. Business failures have risen from 3,564 in 1922, the year when Mussolini took power, to over 20,000 in 1933. That is how Fascism is serving the economy of the country.

Fascism is getting credit today, mainly from the superficiality of American and other tourists, because the Italian trains are alleged to run punctually and because here and there a tunnel is being built or a highway is being constructed, or some other public work is under way. The tourists seldom take the care to investigate how long those works have been actually projected. I have seen numerous articles eulogizing Mussolini's work on some of these great dams and tunnels which they say are being constructed and which in reality were constructed 13 years ago. Do not let us be misled. Do not let us believe that all of this activity represents the work of Mussolini. Mussolini has been able through the help of American money to cover up to a very great extent the financial condition of the Italian state, but year after year, deficit after deficit in the national budget has occurred, until last year the deficit attained a height of over three hundred million dollars. No wonder Mussolini said only three months ago that the working class would have to accept still further reductions in their wages. No wonder he said that prosperity had gone never to return!

Now let us pass to Germany. The growth of Nationalism came through the feeling of national humiliation on the part of the common people, a feeling generated in very great measure by the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles, the effect of which, as you know, was to rid Germany of its colonies, of Alsace and Lorraine, to drive the Polish corridor right into the center of its eastern territory, and hand this section over to the Poles. Foreign troops were on German soil until 1929. Then there were economic causes, such as the payment of reparations, the loss of shipping, the inflations which you remember so well when the German mark was not worth the paper on which it was printed, when the fortunes of the middle class in Germany, a

most significant factor, were almost completely wiped out because of the inflation. Then there came the wage cuts in the latter years of 1931 to 1933, the cuts in unemployment benefits, and last, but not least, the existence of six and a quarter million unemployed in Germany.

Who would have believed that Germany could have sustained six and a quarter million unemployed without revolution? It is no wonder that there should be serious dissatisfaction. Politically there was a multiplicity of parties in Germany. Democracy was brought almost to stagnation. Again you will see this is a very significant point. Twenty-seven political parties were appealing for the suffrage of the electorate. How could anything else arise except a weak coalition between party and party. With the existence of private armies like the Nazis, the Nationalists, the Socialists, the Communists, and so on, people were marching about the streets in arms, with all the possibilities necessary for violent outbreak. No wonder there was a feeling of pessimism.

And in these circumstances Hitler, with his extravagant promises not dissimilar to those of Mussolini, formed what he called the Nationalist Socialist party. He, too, was going to establish Socialism, but it was going to be National Socialism and should have no connection with an international movement. How Hitler got power is known to most of you, and I do not propose to deal with it except to say that after he had formed a government in conjunction with the Nationalist party in Germany he then started to swear into all the key positions in Germany his own reliable Nazis. Practically every one of the leading police officials in Germany were sent away on indefinite leave and while they were away the Nazis put their own men in. Then they swore in as auxiliary police three hundred thousand Nazis who were given the authority of the state to shoot their opponents. And you know the German policeman usually resembles a miniature arsenal, more than anything else because he has three sets of weapons.

Perhaps you think I am exaggerating. General Goering, as Minister of Prussia, published a notice which appeared in the press of the world in which he said that not only must all police shoot on the least provocation, but those who failed to exercise the power would be held responsible to him. That was an open invitation to the wholesale murders which subsequently took place.

In February, 1933, this was the state of affairs in Germany. The International Federation of Trade Unions, which had its meetings and offices in Berlin, called a special meeting of its executive on February 18. I presided over that meeting, and the purpose of that meeting was to find out from the German trade unionists what they were really doing and what they intended to do to meet what was quite obviously

the growing danger of a Fascist outbreak. We spent several hours in discussing the matter and I laid down this, as I laid down subsequently in Vienna in a similar situation, that the principle of the International Federation of Trades Unions prescribed autonomy for every one of its constituent units. I said: "We, as an International Executive, have no right to tell the Germans what they shall do in this contingency; we have no right, who ourselves are not required to take the risk, we who shall be secure in our own different capitals, have no right to tell other men what they shall do." I said further: "When all that is said and done, the German trade-union movement represents one of the most powerful movements in the International Trades-Union Movement and I implore you, as representative and responsible men, to tell us in what way we can help, what we can do. Is there any direction whatever in which we can give you backing and support in this crucial period?"

Well, what were we told? We were told—and this is the first time I have ever stated it publicly, but I think it is necessary to say it in order that you shall at least understand that everything was ready—that despite the existence of six and one-quarter million unemployed German trade unionists, they were determined to put up the maximum possible means of resistance, that the button—that was the expression—the button only had to be pressed and the working class movement would offer that resistance.

Then you know what happened. On the 28th of February there came the Reichstag fire and there was a wave of feeling throughout Germany against the alleged Communist and Socialist incendiaries. That fire, as subsequent events have shown, was in all probability started by the Nazis themselves in order to give them the time-worn pretext that so many forces have adopted in this world—I think you call it a frame-up—to give them the opportunity of arresting and imprisoning their opponents. None the less there was a wave of feeling hostile to the trade union movement at that period as a consequence of that fire. They had no chance of stating their case. Their newspapers were suspended. The police were put upon the platform of every private meeting. The reports of their meetings were suppressed, they were not allowed to send out to their own press their leaflets and their posters, and, as you know, the Government completely monopolized the radio until it was impossible in any public way for the German Trade Union Movement to get its message over to its people.

Then came the election of March 5, with the German people dragooned, intimidated, many of them brought from hospitals in beds in order to vote for Hitler and his supporters. And I admire the German working class for even under those circumstances there were still seven million people ready to vote against the

Nazis. With his 43 per cent of German voters who voted on that occasion, Hitler was able to become the largest party, and by a coalition of his friends, the Nationalists, who had been helping him at the instance of President Hindenburg, there was launched an orgy of suppression in which every section of the community which was known in any shape or form to hold an independent opinion was persecuted with a barbarism that must have been indescribable. The Jews in particular were selected for this sort of treatment. They were the people who, together with the Marxists, it was said had brought Germany to the verge of bankruptcy. They were the people who had cornered the finances of the country and who were in control of the large department stores. And was it any wonder that at the direct instigation of the Nazi officials the Jews were most brutally beaten and tortured? I have no time to give you instances, instances that are on record for all who care to see. All that I can say is that my manhood is revolted when I think of an elderly Jewish Rabbi, eighty years old, dragged out of his synagogue and beaten in the streets. I say my manhood is revolted, and I hope every other decent citizen feels as I do about it.

The attitude toward the trade unions in the early days of the dictatorship was indefinite. There seemed to be some possibility that Hitler would not attempt at that stage to dissolve the trade unions. We had a meeting in Brussels of the International Federation of Trade Unions to which I asked the German representatives in particular to be invited. I am sorry to say that they did not come. I am sorry to say that despite the greatest effort on our part by telegram, by letter and by personal word, not one of the trade union representatives in Germany attended our meeting and we had to reach our decisions alone.

It was quite clear that the Government was holding them personally responsible, as prominent representatives of the Socialist party and the trade unions in Germany. I say this, which I have not said publicly previous to this time. They actually sent over to Great Britain and to certain other leading European countries a representative of the German press, who is a Socialist. He came direct with a message from General Goering, the Prime Minister of Prussia, saying that if only the trade unionists of Great Britain and elsewhere would cease their criticism of the Nazi Government the 172 Socialist and Labor papers and trade union journals which have been suppressed would be allowed once again to start. That was the message that was brought to us, and there is not the slightest doubt about it that the message was authentic and came from the sources I have described. We knew what that meant. They were not content merely with holding as hostages individual German trade unions, but they wanted to use that as

a means of silencing the conscience of the trade-union movement of the world.

My friends, they failed. They were terms that we could not accept, and as a consequence we definitely declined to have anything to do with such a proposal. The German trade-union officers were seized on the 2nd of May, many of their leading officials among them. One of the most respected men I have ever met, a man in a position comparable with that of your President Green, President Leipart, the head of the German trade-union movement, whose leg had been broken twelve months before in a compound fracture and who for six months had been limping about to our various meetings, who was in a delicate state of health, was dragged from his office to a Nazi barracks in one of the principal streets of Berlin, dragged into a cellar and compelled there, by force, to bend his left leg backwards and forwards, they thinking that was the best way of torturing him, and finally, like Christ of olden days, had a wreath put around his head. That is what happened to the President of the German Federation of Trades Unions. That represents the mentality of the Fascist movement. It has no respect whatever for a life of service to the working class, a service given by a man of irreproachable character, who was treated in that abominable fashion.

He was not alone. There have been many others arrested and thrown into prison for a few weeks and out for a few weeks on the cat and mouse principle without a charge of any kind. There is no need for me to elaborate further into this German Nazi terror. All I can say is that history is repeating itself as in Italy and there, as in Italy, the struggle with the churches is taking place, not only with the Catholic Church, but with the Protestant churches. It is finding Hitler demanding that his representatives and his nominees shall occupy the prominent positions in those churches. He wants to use the church not as an instrument of the conscience of the individual, not as an instrument for purification and preparation for another life, he wants to use it as an instrument of the state to still further intimidate the German people.

Economic nemesis is overtaking Germany just as it has overtaken Italy. In the first six months of their external trade last year—and I am now talking about a country which was the largest export country in the world two years ago, they had an adverse trade balance in the first six months of their trade, despite the fact that they have cut down their imports of \$55,000,000. The gold reserve of Germany has almost entirely disappeared. The railways last year, in 1933, suffered a loss of \$115,000,000. The tax yield on tobacco, on sugar, and in-

deed on every state monopoly has fallen materially and substantially.

And what has happened to the workers? Again we have difficulty in getting accurate statistics, but the figures which I am giving you now are compiled from the German official statistical bureau itself, which in turn took these figures from which is called the German Labor Front. The German Labor Front represents the apology for a trade union organization which has been inserted and imposed in the German economic system. These are the figures translated into dollars of German wages at the present time. Less than 1 per cent of the German workers receive more than \$13.50 a week. Fifty per cent of the German workers receive from \$3.50 to \$7 per week. Thirteen and one-half per cent receive \$3.50 per week or less. There are 2,500,000 more workers now engaged in industry, according to Hitler. He has reduced unemployment, so he says, by 2,500,000, and yet despite that the gross amount of the German wages bill is down 10 per cent, despite the fact that there are 2,500,000 more wage earners.

Let me give a specific example. In Krupp's in 1932, 35,647 people were employed. In 1933 there were 43,409 people employed. In 1932 the wages paid on that similar number of men was \$17,250,000. In 1933 it had fallen to \$16,750,000. Now that specific example which I give you supports the general conclusion, namely, that German total wages have declined, and the figure which I gave you of 10 per cent is an authentic figure taken from the German's own statistics.

It cannot be a coincidence that the export trade in Germany, as the trade in Italy, has declined more than any other country in the world in the last eighteen months. That cannot be an accident. That is definitely associated with the dictatorship. Wages in Germany today are lower than they have ever been for the last fifty years, and Germany, instead of being one of the high wage countries in Europe, is now rapidly becoming one of the lowest.

Now for a few moments I will turn to Austria. You know the general background of the situation there. You know that a dictatorship is in authority without any power whatever from the people of the country. No elections have been held and no elections are likely to be held. The representative capacity of the present government on the best estimate that I can obtain is something like twenty to thirty per cent of the population, and yet they are acting as a dictatorship, imposing their will on the whole.

When we saw the situation developing in Austria as it developed in Germany, we decided to hold our meeting there, and in October, 1933, we held a meeting

at which we had twenty-three national centers represented and I think about twenty-one or twenty-two of the international trade secretariats, which, as you know, are the various trades organizations. We said to them just what we said to the Germans: Now you Austrians are the people who have to take the risk, not us. If you decide to take those risks, then you must tell us in what degree, in what way we can help you. We want to help you. But our international movement, we know, is not all-powerful, but in so far as we can we will help you to the maximum of our power. And the Austrian comrades, to their everlasting credit, decided without hesitation that whatever came or went, whatever the future held in store for them in the way of personal danger, even the loss of life itself, they would resist.

Your President, on Tuesday of last week, uttered words which represent, I hope, the spirit and the meaning of all that the American Labor Movement stands for. He said: "No group of red-blooded men will submit to tyranny. Labor has never submitted and it never will." Our Austrian comrades, as subsequent events proved, lived up to that principle to the highest measure of devotion. What were the means of resistance? First they were diplomatic. We were all asked to approach our different embassies and to see what could be done to bring the Austrian Government to a different frame of mind. We failed, we achieved nothing. The next means of resistance was a general strike, and the Austrians pointed out to us that if a general strike took place, one of the first things that would happen would be that Vienna would be cut off from all means of railway communication with other parts of the country from which it could derive food and other necessities. The consequence was they wanted to prepare, they wanted to be able to have at their command those necessities which would enable them to conduct their struggle against the Austrian dictatorship with some measure of success.

We decided, as a consequence, that we would raise an international fund, and we did. I am proud to say that never in my experience in the trade-union movement has international labor arisen to the heights of its destiny as it did on this occasion. I shall give you the figures in a few moments to indicate what I mean.

On the 11th of February the fight began, and I want you to remember how the fight started. It was not the action of the Austrian trade-unionists against the dictatorship, it was the government that took the initial step through what is called the Heimwehr, the private army which Dollfuss had sworn in, just as Hitler had sworn in his Nazis; it was that private army that arrogated to itself

the authority to go to union headquarters and try to confiscate the property of the trade unions.

When the Austrian trade unionists saw what was happening, they then seized the arms that they had not used in eighteen years and they used those arms, and facing that position, facing no other alternative than for the movement to go down under the heel of the dictatorship and given no chance of democratic expression—I say if I were facing the same conditions I would do the same thing.

The fight lasted several days and was concentrated in Vienna and other places. The people took to the mountains and continued their guerilla warfare. In the outskirts of Vienna, in those magnificent buildings which Labor had erected, to the honor of Labor the world over, those great magnificent houses which I doubt even this country is transcended under private enterprise, the shelling took place. The workers in their homes were bombed by the artillery-men, and women and children by the thousands experienced what it meant to be under fire in their own towns. After four days of fighting, it seemed as though the Government would prevail. We recognized that whatever the outcome was there would be misery, suffering and want through the loss of lives of those who had been sacrificed, the breadwinners in the families. There would be thousands to help, and we set about getting our money over as quickly as we could. We subscribed altogether over a half million dollars for that purpose. Tiny countries like Holland, a little country with a trade-union membership of three or four hundred thousand, subscribed \$85,000. Little places like Czechoslovakia, \$57,000; Sweden, \$35,000, Denmark, \$30,000. Even little Belgium subscribed \$22,000, and the British trades-union movement, I am proud to say, put up \$120,000. I don't want to read the detailed figures to you. Suffice it to say that for this specific cause, as distinguished from Germany, over \$500,000 were raised.

How was that money distributed? You can imagine the tension that existed then. The Austrian Government was looking at every possible loophole to see whether propaganda was being carried on against them. Despite the personal risk involved the officials of our Federation, our Secretary Schevenels, within four days of the termination of the fight, was distributing \$15,000 a week and had built up a temporary organization to enable him to do so. Then we found that our workers were being arrested. We found that our people, whose only crime was that they were helping distressed families, were put into prison, and consequently we had to practice some other means of relief. We went to that great institution, the Quakers, the Friends organization, and we found there a modest, unassuming American

woman, a Miss Cadbury, who was willing to risk the prestige of her organization—and don't forget there are many critics of her action—she was ready to put her organization at our disposal and go on as our agent in the distribution of that relief to humanity, and to her everlasting credit she never wavered.

Right from the very beginning of those days we have helped from six thousand to eight thousand separate families in all parts of Austria. We have been sending from \$3,000 up to \$15,000, the heavier amount during the earlier weeks, and when I left England, even despite the fact that our coffers were getting low, despite the fact that we in Britain had had ten years of abysmal unemployment all the time, even before the world slump came along, despite the fact that our strike in 1926 had cost our union nearly six million pounds, or \$30,000,000, despite all that we were still going on paying relief to the Austrian comrades and to the men, women and children there.

There are still in Austrian prisons three thousand people, none of whom, practically speaking, have any charge preferred against them, who are kept from their homes and from communication with their relatives. They do not know what their end may be. I appeal to this convention and through this convention to the American Government, as I have appealed to the British Government through our Congress, to use every ounce of diplomatic influence they have to put an end to that condition. Either these men should be released unconditionally or they should be brought to trial. Your Government will surely have behind it the conscience of the world if it insists on that elementary act of justice being carried out.

We are trying to combat this menace, as I have tried to point out earlier, first by exposing the consequences of Fascism wherever it is raised. We want to get into the people's heads that inevitably the same fate, the same stamping out of liberty, the same menaces to human freedom, the same consequences economically to the trade-union movement and to the people of the country ensue.

There is a second way in which we are trying to help. We are trying to help the refugees in hundreds of thousands from those countries. There are sixty-five thousand Jews alone who had to flee Germany since the institution of the Hitler terror—our own comrades, our own trade unionists and our own Socialist colleagues amongst them. And please don't be alarmed at the term "Socialist." It is a very beautiful term if you understand it. I know the habit of mass production to tar everybody as a radical who dares differ from the existing political party, but I want to say this to you quite definitely: I have been a Socialist ever since I could

think. I have never been ashamed of it and have never known it to interfere with the clearness of my perception as to what is necessary for the trade unionists of my country. So when I am speaking of the Socialists of other countries I am speaking of good working men and women like yourselves. We have been trying to help those people.

We have also been trying to help those who have been trying to carry on the unrelenting struggle inside the country itself. There are small groups of these people. I have met them on the hillsides, in obscure places, in the dead of night and I am proud to say that no matter what the penalty may be, they are ready to go on trying to keep together the remnants of the disintegrated trade-union movement. Those are the means by which we are trying to help.

Our third means, and I am proud to know your convention adopted it, is the boycott. We launched the boycott in the early stages, and the effectiveness of that has been attested to by the German Minister, Dr. Schacht. He said only recently that the boycott has been one of the most potent means of bringing down the overseas trade of Germany. That is the only way by which finally the governments of these countries can be taught that Fascism does not pay. They are doing their level best to generate the feeling of war in their countries. When I came to this country the first thing I got was a copy of a Montreal paper and on the front page was a speech by Mussolini, accompanied by a decree which he imposed, under which children from eight years of age up to the age of thirty-one are to be given an intensive and continuous military training. The Italian children for years have been taught to sing of the days when they would capture Dalmatia, of the days when they could cross to Nice and rescue from the French that little town. In the same way the German children are being taught that their destiny lies in the glorification of war. Remember, every Nazi leader has attested to the fact that there must be conflict some day and that Germany must conquer the world. That is the prospect held out to us. We have to fight this menace by every means in our power.

I know it is a long time since the last great war took place. The memories of that time are receding, they are getting dim. The American public, although they may have lost many of their bravest and finest men, have not experienced a condition where the planes went circling overhead, dropping bombs indiscriminately over towns and killing and maiming people who had fled to their cellars. You did not experience that. Would we be safe in saying you would not experience it if another war came?

There is no nation in the world that has stood for peace more consistently than has the American Republic. The

American Republic, through its then President, uttered one of the greatest sentences, whatever its realization may have been, that has ever been uttered. He said of the last war: "This war is to be a war to end war, to make the world safe for democracy." Is the world safe for democracy? Are the possibilities of war farther away than they were before Fascism came, or has Fascism brought the dangers of that war nearer to us? I say the facts that I have given to you alone, apart from your own reading, ought to leave no doubt in your minds.

And I am reminded of the words of the great immortal Lincoln whose memory lives in the minds of millions of people outside of these shores. This nation was engaged in a vital conflict which finally put the seal on the abolition of slavery, and established the Declaration of Emancipation. In one of his addresses, the Gettysburg address, I think it was, looking over the graves of those who had fallen in that great struggle, he said: "Let us here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain and that this great nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

How true the application of those words come into our situation as we see it today! It is to that task that the trade-union movement of Europe and your fellow trade unionists have set their hands. They cannot accomplish much without your virile assistance, your material, your moral and your financial help. It is to you we look, and my purpose in coming here is to try if I possibly can to show you that our struggle is your struggle, that the battle of democracy is being fought in Europe and may be decided in Europe. I come to you for help. I cannot believe that you will refuse it.

(The address of Mr. Citrine was applauded by the delegates and visitors for several minutes.)

President Green: We are inexpressibly grateful to Brother Citrine for his visit with us and for his transmission of such a scholarly address. His tragic story of the sufferings of our fellow workers across the sea has moved us very deeply. The story he has told touches our deepest emotions. A great injustice has been done the common people of Continental Europe. Our sympathies go out to them. It shall be our unswerving purpose, I know, to do all that lies within our power to help these suffering people to which Brother Citrine so convincingly and so eloquently referred. The great heart of Labor is touched.

After listening to his address I feel that I do not engage in any exaggeration of speech when, last year in the city of Washington, I endeavored in my feeble way to portray the sufferings of the people of Germany. It matters not where our workers live. It matters not where they sit by their firesides—when they become the victims of injustice we, the men and women who make up the American Labor Movement, are deeply touched. On this occasion we feel strongly. I ask Brother Citrine to take back to our brothers and sisters across the sea the sympathy of the workers of America. We want him to tell them that their cause is our cause, that we suffer with them, that we feel as they do because they have been the victims of persecution.

I want to assure him that his message and his appeal will find a hearty response in the hearts and minds of the working people who make up the American Federation of Labor. I am confident that this convention will, before it ends its deliberations, speak out in no uncertain tone so that the workers who constitute the great victimized army of persecution will be encouraged and helped by their fellow workers in America.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your visit and for your address, Brother Citrine.

Now it seems fitting and appropriate that we should hear from another distinguished speaker just now. I want to have these addresses delivered consecutively. I want the speaker I am going to present to you to follow in the transmission of his address this splendid, scholarly, educational address delivered by Brother Citrine.

We have here this morning, in response to our invitation, Brother B. Charney Vladeck, General Manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, second largest Labor newspaper in the world. He is chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, member of the New York Housing Authority, and active in behalf of Labor since early boyhood.

I want to present him to you now for an address upon the same subject, I as-

sume, with which Brother Citrine has just dealt in his address. I present to you our friend and our visitor, Brother Vladeck.

B. CHARNEY VLADECK

(General Manager, Jewish Daily Forward)

President Green and Delegates: It is somewhat of an anti-climax for me to follow Mr. Citrine. If I merit any claim to your attention at all it is because in the last thirty years I have been active in behalf of Labor. Please don't misunderstand me, I am not what people call a friend of Labor.

Labor suffers from too many friends. One is friendly to Labor because it is radical, another, because it is conservative. My claim to your attention is based on the fact that I am a friend of Labor simply because it is Labor, the foundation of our civilization, the moving power of all progress, and the creator of all values. American Labor, particularly at this time, occupies an exceptional position of importance. First, because this country is becoming more and more a decisive factor in the affairs of the world, and, secondly, because American Labor is differently composed than anywhere else. Of course we are all Americans, but great masses of your membership have a very definite old-world background. As I visualize the millions whom you represent at this convention, I see people of many creeds, races, and traditions marching by. They come from the same mines and factories, from the same mills and shops, from the same stores and offices, but all countries of the world are represented in their features and all troubles of the world are mirrored in their eyes.

All of them contributed mightily to the glorious history of American Labor. From the days of the Molly Maguires to the last Dressmakers' strike in New York City to the last Textile strike south and north, they suffered and sacrificed, and fought, so that Labor might have its place in the sun. One may dislike Irish stew, or macaroni, or Gefillte fish, but it is impossible to deny that workers of Irish descent laid the foundation for the American Labor Movement, and fought many a great fight for its principles; that the Jewish Needle Trades led the way in shorter hours, and collective bargaining, or that the largest single local of the American Federation of Labor, that of the Dressmakers in New York, is composed exclusively of Italian workers. At least one-half of the gains in membership made by your organization since last year comes from the two Needle Trades Unions whose membership is over 80 per cent foreign born. So there can be no question on this floor of racial superiority, or racial domination. Irrespective of our external differences, we are all bound by

the same ties of work and struggle. Only appreciation of Liberty is perhaps a little deeper with us. With the native American, Liberty is such an ordinary and natural condition that he no longer feels it. But with us foreign born, it is an ever-recurring thrill. No supercilious intellectual, no prophet of dictatorship can tell me that Democracy is a sham. For, like so many millions of other Americans by choice, like myself, I was born and brought up under a tyranny, and I tasted of its bitter fruit. Education was denied to everybody but a few, freedom of movement was restricted, opportunities were destroyed, lives were stunted. Many of us went to jail at an age when your children here go to high school, not because of preaching violence, or championing anarchy, but because we wanted to think and educate ourselves. Just listen to the terrible, deadening silence that is falling upon a great part of the world today like a sinister shroud of death. Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia—for how many decades have their best sons fought for the right of self-expression, for liberty of thought, of meeting, of organization. Today nearly half of the world has lost its voice. What you hear is not the happy full-throated articulation of people awakening to the joy of creation, but the sharp, terrible voice of the whip cutting the air with fateful force to fall upon the backs of bleeding nations.

In these torture chambers of Fascism and tyranny, the Jew occupies a conspicuous and painful place. As workers, we are persecuted for being militant, as traders, for being greedy. If we produce geniuses we are charged with disrupting the world; if we produce criminals we are charged with corrupting it. When we give our lives for liberty we are contemptuous internationalists. When we comply and obey we are cowards. One of the most important reasons why all tyrants hate us is because of our long experience in resisting injustice and cruelty. Over four thousand years ago a Jew by the name of Moses, himself an intellectual, led the first great strike of bricklayers at the Pyramids, and since then all Pharaohs are our enemies. And because a helpless minority is always the prey of the beast of oppression, we have been made the scapegoats for everybody's failures, and broken promises. How easy it is to blame all crimes and failure, all omissions and commissions, on a small minority that has been for centuries marked for persecution!

And, as is always the case, the one who suffers most is the artisan and the worker. It is hard enough to be a Jew, but it is doubly hard to be a Jew and a worker. Whether it be Germany or Poland, Austria or Roumania or Latvia, whether a country is entirely Fascist, or half Fascist, the Jewish worker, the Jewish craftsman, the Jewish little man is the first to pay the penalty. You very often hear from anti-Semites that Jews don't like to work. But in Eastern and Central Europe today at

least half a million Jewish workers are anxious, not only to work, but even to slave in order to be able to maintain themselves. And in the United States, where the Jews comprise a little over 3 per cent of the population, they contribute nearly 10 per cent of your membership.

At this point, you may interrupt me with some questions. You may ask first, What has all this got to do with us? Why shall we bother with the trials and tribulations of the Old World? To this I answer: The interest in the Old World is there just the same. Whether your member is an Irishman, an Italian, a German, or a Scandinavian, or a Jew, he will think of his native land as often as things happen there. Except that when his natural interest is not properly led and directed, this interest will be used for his own detriment and the detriment of the United States. Our telling the workers not to pay any attention to Europe simply means that unscrupulous leaders will organize them for Fascism, for Nazism, for Chauvinism. We tell the workers—not Germany above all, not Italy above all, not Poland above all—but Democracy and Labor's rights above all!

Then, again, you may say: Why do the Jews persist? Why not forget that you are a Jew? This is a fair question. I can assure you that this is no easy burden to carry—this knowledge that the erosion of time has carved your face; that all the storms of history molded your mind; that the injustices of a thousand tyrannies have settled in your soul. In fact, the Jewish upper classes, and the middle class, in all countries of the world, tried to assimilate themselves, going back on their traditions, on their culture, and on their very religion. The Jewish worker considers him a coward who conceals, or denies his origin, or religion, or principles for the sake of convenience, or profits! Besides, if you think into the matter a little deeper, you will find that there is no reason why one, in crossing the ocean, should be required to drop everything to the bottom. There was a time when we thought that all a foreign-born citizen needs in order to become a 100 per cent American is to get a smattering of slang and a ready-made appearance. We used to call this the "melting pot." But this "melting pot," I am sorry to say, produced more dross and ashes than precious metal. This superficial Americanism sent many of our children to jail and reformatories. Our modern conception of a good American is one who, whether he knows the language, whether he is externally a conformist or not, he is ready to use his intelligence and his patriotism to make this country a better and a happier one for all. In this fight you are not as much concerned with externals as with real values. And I can tell you that, irrespective of the language we speak and the appearance we make, the foreign-born workers in this country are among the most intelligent, constructive and militant elements in the American Labor Move-

ment. We have no apology to make for our International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, for our Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, for our United Hebrew Trades, and our Millinery Workers Union, and for our Jewish Forward. And when the disrupters came to attack and capture us we put up a fight that resounded throughout the country. Our great unions today are our greatest protection against Communists and disrupters.

But now I come to the most important point of all. And that is the fact that since the coming of the industrial age the Jews have been a true barometer for the Labor Movement. Whenever and wherever a government begins to persecute the Jews, it inevitably follows with persecuting the workers. Whatever the name of the country and whatever the location, the equality and the liberty, or the lack of them, enjoyed by Jews is likewise true of Labor. This is why Organized Labor throughout the world, outside of sentimental reasons, is against anti-Semitism, because it knows that the first blast against the Jews is only the forerunner of a dark storm against Labor; that permitting a government to foster anti-Semitism is to strengthen a power that will crush Labor. This is why Organized Labor in France fought against the persecution of Dreyfus, and this is also why French Labor received a tremendous impetus for organization after the Dreyfus case fell to pieces. This is why in all countries today conscientious and intelligent Jews march with Labor, and why Labor is the staunchest defender of Jewish rights. So I appear before you this morning as one who is doubly interested in this fight against Fascism. And with all the earnestness and solemnity that I possess, I swear to you that Jewish Labor, both here and throughout the world, will not give up, will not falter or weaken, until the last trace of tyranny is wiped off the earth, and until Labor regains its unions, its co-operatives, its press, its liberty, its industrial, cultural, and political power! Some Jews may come to terms with Hitler. Some of them may sign a truce for a concession here and a concession there, but the Jewish workers will not compromise until not only the Jews but Labor and the people at large are restored to their inalienable rights.

The greatest comfort we derive from the present situation in Fascist countries is the fact that, of all classes, the workers were the last to submit and are the first to rise. As I look upon the pamphlets and periodicals of the German and Austrian trade-unions, published and distributed underground under the penalty of jail, concentration camp and the executioner's axe; as I read of the heroism of men like Wallisch and Weisel; as I hear of the risks taken by leaders of Labor in all Fascist countries in the work of reorganizing Labor for new battles and rebuilding the lost strength of labor organization I am thrilled more than I can

tell. "My ideal is higher than my head," said a young Austrian worker when led to the gallows for resisting Fascist tyranny—can we refuse to acknowledge this brave and noble challenge? When the young Italian labor deputy, Matteotti, was killed by the agents of Mussolini over ten years ago the free parliament was still in session. On the day following the assassination the clerk by error called his name from the rolls: Matteotti! the fifty remaining Labor deputies jumped to their feet and, all in one voice answered: "Present." Today the Labor Movement of the whole world answers "Present" to the name of Matteotti and by means of the Matteotti Fund heals the wounds and strengthens the resistance of all Labor fighters against Fascism.

On March 3, 1933, Hitler's right hand man, Goering, said in a speech at Frankfurt: "My strategy does not suffer from judicial considerations or bureaucratic obstacles. I need not exercise justice—my business is to uproot and destroy." Of all the promises made by Hitler this is the only one the Nazi Government lived up to. Everything has been uprooted and destroyed. The Labor Unions are dead. The powerful co-operative movement is destroyed. The press no longer exists. One thousand and thirty-one publications gave up within the last twenty months. The spirit of freedom, of research, of learning, of progress has been crushed. But neither the workers of Germany nor the workers of the rest of the world can reconcile themselves to this threat to their very existence and I am certain that the American Federation of Labor will not only continue its policy in regard to Fascism and Nazism as established at last year's convention, but will strengthen and broaden this policy with greater support both morally and financially. Mr. President and Delegates: The coat of arms of the American Federation of Labor represents two hands clasped across the globe with a motto, "Labor Omnia Vincit." With every fiber of my soul I believe that Labor will and must be victorious, and you know better than anybody else that victories don't grow on trees and that in order to achieve victory we must strain all our resources, all our moral and physical strength. In this spirit I greet you and thank you.

President Green: We are grateful to Brother Vladeck for his most convincing and impressive address. He has condensed into this address words of wisdom and expressions of sentiment that touch us very deeply. His reference to the loyalty of the Jewish worker to the American Labor Movement inspires me to say that in all my work as President of the American Federation of Labor, from the beginning when I took from the feeble hand of the departed Gompers, himself a Jew, the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and in all strength and purpose I have endeavored to carry it forward, I have been strengthened and heartened by the loyalty, the friendship and the devotion of the Jewish organizations. Along with all other workers, regardless of nationality, they have stood loyally and devotedly by the American Federation of Labor. During the past year they have achieved—achieved in such a way as to arouse our admiration, and for that reason our hearts go out to the persecuted Jews of Germany, for as Brother Vladeck has truly said, the persecution of the Jew is simply the forerunner to the persecution of Labor.

I thank you, Brother Vladeck, for your address. It will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's convention.

Chairman O'Connell, of the local Entertainment Committee, announced that the visiting ladies would be entertained on a sightseeing trip to Alameda and Oakland on Wednesday and would be the guests at luncheon of the City Council of Alameda. He also announced that theater tickets, good for use any time during the convention, were available for the ladies.

At 12:50 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees — Freng, Merlino, Horn, Kasten, Lucchi, Gaviak, Hatch, Fay (Geo.), Taylor, Mastriani, Iglesias, Bailey, O'Brien (Paul), Hirschfeldt, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh, Campbell, Gross, McInroy, Mitchell, De Witt, Meyers, Wood, Augustine, Ames, Ellis, Rice, Farrell, Shave, Quinn, Gornio, Bale, Campbell (Joe), Jackson, Draper, Bower, Davison, Wright, Holmes, Doyle (Frank), Wood (R.), Mercer, Covert, Kontag, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (Sam), Johnson (F.), Nathan, Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Murch, Doane, Whitson, De Long, Barnes, Flores (M.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Manash, Bertucci, Holland, Hampton, Dent, Garibaldi, Ryan (James), Mitchell (R.), Higgins.

President Green: We will now proceed to the consideration of the special order of business fixed for 2:30 o'clock this afternoon. The Chair desires to apologize for being a little late at this convention. It was unavoidable.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Brewery Workers, Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen

On pages 144 to 152, Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Jurisdictional Problems," will be found a report on the dispute between the Brewery Workers, Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen, on which a decision was rendered by the Washington 1933 Convention.

Subsequent efforts made by the Executive Council to give enforcement to that decision is reported in detail in that part of its report, which efforts, your committee noted, failed of their purpose.

Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation continue their efforts to bring about a condition under which the decision of the Washington Convention will be observed and complied with.

The committee moves adoption of this part of its report.

Delegate Possehl, Engineers: I desire a point of information, Mr. President.

President Green: State your point, Delegate Possehl.

Delegate Possehl: Is it intended that the Chair will permit discussion on the Committee's report relative to the subject-matter in dispute, that has already been disposed of by a convention? The convention in Washington has already passed judgment.

President Green: I have given most conscientious consideration to that matter, and it appears to me that the Chair has no choice except to permit the convention to act upon and dispose of the Committee's report. It is expected, of course, that the discussions that shall take place in consideration of the committee's report shall be in accordance with parliamentary law and parliamentary requirements.

Delegate Possehl: Section 11, of Article III, of the Constitution, says:

"No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

President Green: Do you raise a point of order on that?

Delegate Possehl: I raise a point of order on that.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that this section of the constitution does not apply to a committee's report. I have looked up precedents upon this particular matter and have endeavored to acquaint myself with the action of previous conventions upon a question exactly similar to this one, and, with your permission I will quote it.

In a report between the Teamsters and Railway Clerks the Executive Council re-

ported on all developments and recommended that it be permitted to continue its efforts in the interest of securing a settlement. I think the committee in that instance made a similar report. It was referred to the Committee on Executive Council's report, page 432 of the proceedings. The convention, acting upon the report of the committee, authorized the Executive Council to continue its efforts to secure a settlement.

That is an identical case. How are we to know whether this convention desires the Executive Council to continue its efforts to try to settle this case in accordance with the report of the committee unless the convention expresses itself?

In 1922, in the dispute between the Electrical Workers and the Engineers, acted upon in a previous convention, the Executive Council's report reviewed the dispute and reported its decision to the convention without recommendation. That was referred to a Committee on Executive Council's Report. Delegate Noonan, who represented the Electrical Workers at that time, offered a substitute to the committee's report, and his substitute was carried by a roll call vote.

In the case of the Electrical Workers and the Railroad Signalmen, in the 1927 convention, the Executive Council reported and reviewed the cause of the dispute between the Electrical Workers and the Railroad Signalmen, and in that report the Council said:

"We have been unable to secure an adjustment in accordance with the decision of the El Paso convention—which was a previous convention where the grievance was originally handled. That was referred to a committee and then the convention, acting upon the committee's report, authorized the Executive Council to suspend the Signalmen when it deemed such action necessary."

Now, it appears that, in the face of the precedents as set by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Chair has no choice other than to overrule the point of order which you have raised, Delegate Posschl.

The committee's report is before the convention. The motion is to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: The Brewery Workers' International Organization has no objection to the continuance of conferences with the three contending organizations and the Executive Council, but we do object to the position of the committee in which it directs the Council to continue its efforts to enforce the decision of the Washington (D. C.) convention.

The President has read numerous other decisions just now, in which committees had reported on jurisdictional controversies between organizations, and recommended that conferences be continued in the hope of being able to adjust, or alleviate, or in some way reach a compromise on the jurisdiction contentions between other International Unions.

I must beg your indulgence for a few moments so that I may review to you what has taken place between ourselves, the contending organizations and the good offices of the Executive Council since the Washington convention. At the request of President Green, we appeared before the Executive Council in reference to the decision. No understanding was possible, and it was suggested that a conference be had with the Brewery Workers, the three contending organizations, and the Executive Board of our International Union. This was necessary, since our September convention in 1933 had directed the officers to maintain the right of the organization to the form in which it had been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for nearly forty-eight years.

Thus the hands of the general officers of our International Union were tied so that we could make no concession, but we agreed with the request of the Executive Council to call a special meeting of our General Executive Board in February, 1934, for the purpose of affording opportunity for the contending organizations, President Green and Special Representative I. M. Ornburn of the Executive Council, to appear with us.

On February 20 that conference took place. Both sides made statements, but

we were unable to reach a conclusion. We then agreed that the Executive Board of our International Union would go into executive session and would transmit to President Green by eight o'clock that evening such proposition as we might be able to arrive at.

We submitted a proposition to President Green and the three contending organizations. I don't want to take the time of this convention to read the whole proposal, since it is embodied in the report of the Executive Council, excepting the three-point program that we offered as a basis of compromise, so that we might conserve the conditions that we had established for our membership and in the interest of peace in the industry, with the reservation that by making the compromise offer we reserved the right to continue in our efforts to ultimately secure the right of the retention of the men that have been in our organization for forty-eight years, expecting that the convention of the American Federation of Labor at some future date may make itself elastic enough so that there may be room in our great movement for organizations formed on the basis of the Brewery Workers, as well as those formed on strictly craft lines, and we offered as a basis of compromise the following:

That all brewery drivers and those on brewery payrolls be recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers.

That all other drivers delivering beer products, including long-distance hauling, be recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' International Brotherhood.

That all drivers engaged in these capacities now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union shall be transferred by them to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers within 60 days after the referendum vote of the membership, provided the referendum approves the recommendation of the General Executive Board.

That all Engineers employed in breweries now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union be transferred to the International Union of Operating Engineers at the expiration of agreements in the various cities of the country; provided, however, that in those cities where the Engineers have no local union the Brewery Workers' International

Union is empowered to retain engineers in membership and protect them in their collective bargaining agreements until such time as they establish a local union to which, if in existence one year, to assure its permanency, the engineers, members of the Brewery Workers' International, shall transfer at the expiration of the agreement in the respective locality.

That all firemen employed in breweries now holding membership in the Brewery Workers' International Union be transferred to the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers at the expiration of agreements in the various cities of the country; provided, however, that in those cities where the Firemen have no local union the Brewery Workers' International Union is empowered to retain firemen in membership and protect them in their collective bargaining agreements until such time as they establish a local union to which, if in existence one year, to assure its permanency, the firemen, members of the Brewery Workers' International, shall transfer at the expiration of the agreement in the respective locality.

When this proposition was submitted to President Green and I. M. Ornburn, special representative, we were advised that the three contending organizations rejected it. At a conference in our general office with our Executive Board on February 21, President Green advised us of the decision of the three contending organizations. President Green then proceeded to offer a nine-point proposal, with the request that that proposal be submitted to a referendum vote of the Brewery Workers' International Union, and it was done.

I am unable to understand how any organization could have rejected the proposal made by the Brewery Workers. It was made in the interest of peace in the industry, and for the conservation and preservation of the conditions we have established during the many years of our existence.

We offered to turn over the Engineers and Firemen, where they had local unions in existence of the members of those crafts, and we offered to surrender all drivers not on the brewery payrolls. We offered it in order that peace might prevail in our industry and in the Labor Movement. That was rejected, and the membership of our International Union proceeded to vote on the proposition submitted by President Green and I. M. Ornburn. The result of that vote was: For the surrender of our

membership in these three divisions, 170; against, 24,161.

This almost unanimous vote was a surprise even to the general officers. It was gratifying, however, to know that there existed in our organization a happy family, satisfied to remain with the organization that had brought them from the conditions of the industry when we worked seven days a week, and 12 and 14 hours a day, to 40 hours a week and wages that will compare favorably with wages paid workers in any other industry.

In the Executive Council's report, the documents and the correspondence that passed between us, following that February meeting of our Executive Board, are quoted, excepting the last letter to President Green, and I am going to be obliged to read that into the records so that the record may be clear.

I overlooked stating that when the referendum vote was taken we requested that President Green or the Executive Council select a representative to come to our headquarters so that he might be there when the ballots were opened and tabulated. President Green said for us to count the ballots, as he felt that would be done accurately, in view of the fact that we must publish for our own membership in our own journal the membership of each local in the United States.

After we notified President Green of the vote we asked that the right of self-determination be accorded the men employed in this industry, and we received a reply from him in which he stated, in substance, that the Executive Council is powerless; that it is guided by the mandate of the last convention; that the convention of the Federation is supreme, with which concept we thoroughly agree.

After President Green advised that the Council was powerless to do anything but carry out the decision, we sent the following letter:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
May 23, 1934.

Mr. Wm. Green, President
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I acknowledge receipt of yours of May 15th. In reply let me say that we have

no desire to get into a correspondence dispute with you regarding the jurisdictional decision rendered by the Executive Council in the case of the Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen vs. the Brewery Workers, but for the record we deem it advisable to reply in writing.

In your letter you repeatedly refer to the supreme authority of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the councils of the Organized Labor Movement. With this statement we are in full accord, and to refresh your memory, the protest of the Brewery Workers before the Executive Council on April 20 and 21, 1933, was based solely on the fact that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is supreme, and pointed out that the Executive Council is without authority to alter any convention decision. Your letter, therefore, in its entirety, is an indictment against the action of the Executive Council in its decision rendered against the Brewery Workers in April, 1933, and confirms the protest registered by the Brewery Workers' delegation. Your statements convict the Executive Council of gross usurpation of power when it, the Council, rendered a decision reversing the action of the Seattle convention of the Federation. We called attention to the Executive Council of the decision rendered in the Teamsters vs. the Brewery Workers case by the convention held in Seattle, Washington, in 1913, which decision was reaffirmed by the San Francisco convention in 1915, and pointed to the fact that that was the last time this jurisdictional question had the attention of a convention.

We quote herewith the protest made by the Brewery Workers' delegation before the Executive Council in April, 1933:

"1. We maintain that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is the supreme authority of the American Federation of Labor, and the convention decisions can only be altered, modified, or amended by another convention.

"2. We maintain that the Executive Council may administer the affairs of the American Federation of Labor between conventions, but it has no authority to alter any convention decision.

"3. We contend that the Executive Council usurped authority not vested in it in the constitution."

In your letter of May 15, 1934, you make the admission that the convention is supreme, which is an admission that the Executive Council acted without authority in April, 1933, when it, the Council, reversed the Seattle convention decision; therefore the whole procedure in the jurisdictional controversy between the Teamsters, Engineers and Firemen vs. the Brewery Workers was, and is, unconstitutional.

You state that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has but one choice in this jurisdictional dis-

pute, and that is to respect and recognize the decision rendered by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Washington, D. C., October 2 to 13, 1933. Was the position of the Executive Council different in April, 1933, than it is today? Is it not a fact that your records show that the Seattle convention, held in 1913, rendered a decision on the jurisdictional question between the Teamsters and Brewery Workers in favor of the Brewery Workers, which decision was reaffirmed by the San Francisco convention, and that was the last action of a convention of the Federation?

Are we to understand that the Executive Council interprets that the convention of the Federation is the supreme authority only when the Council chooses to make it so?

If the convention decision is, as you so forcefully outline in your letter of May 15, 1934, the supreme authority in 1934 (with which concept we have always agreed) the Seattle convention decision was equally so in April, 1933, and yet the same Executive Council, a year ago, proceeded to annul the Seattle convention decision in this jurisdictional controversy.

We hold that the entire transaction from the Executive Council session in April, 1933, on this jurisdictional question to date is unconstitutional, and respectfully request the Executive Council to be consistent in its dealings and interpretations of the actions of the conventions of the Federation.

Replying to your remarks dealing with the recommendation of yourself and I. M. Ornburn, special representative, to our membership, which was submitted to a referendum vote, permit me to say that your proposition was merely a reaffirmation of the decision of the Executive Council in April, 1933. The facts are that the only conciliatory proposition offered in that joint conference between the contending organizations, yourself and Brother Ornburn was made by the Brewery Workers' International Union to you and Brother Ornburn, which was flatly rejected by the contending organizations.

I am sorry that the result of the vote of our membership is disappointing to you, and I am wondering if you had any idea that a family, banded together for nearly fifty years, could look with favor upon a proposition to divide them.

With reference to your request for conferences with representatives of our International Union, I wish to advise that we shall be glad to meet with you at any time convenient to you. We expect to be in Washington during the fore part of the week of June 11th, and if convenient to you would like very much that a conference be arranged during that time.

Awaiting word from you, I am

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH OBERGELL,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

I have listened attentively at this convention to the speakers, as well as I have at the last twenty-three conventions, and during this convention we have heard much of the right of men to select the organization of their own choosing. And when I reflect back on the salient points of the speakers dealing with Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the inspiring remarks of our veteran leader, Andy Furuseth, I am unable to reconcile these fundamental and deep-seated ideals of our American Federation of Labor with the policies followed and the decisions rendered by the Federation in the consideration of the rights of voluntary membership.

It clashes so harshly with the position taken that an organization that has been formed and holding in membership for forty-eight years those men who during that time were affiliated—we were organized more than forty-eight years—and then to tell the organization after that many years' service to the Labor Movement, which we cheerfully gave, that we must divide ourselves in these days when we talk so loudly of the right of men to join the organization of their own choosing.

Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act is Labor's child. The force of the American Labor Movement was put behind that part of the National Recovery Act to secure for the workers of this nation the right to select the organization of their own choice.

Let me say to the delegates here that there is no law, Federal, State, or otherwise, that can operate upon only one class of citizens against the others; that law must be applicable to all classes. Some people have endeavored to interpret, I understand from some we have contended with on this question, that it applies only to unorganized workers, but the unorganized workers have no right to use that protection in the National Recovery law. I hold that the law cannot apply to one class of citizens against the other.

Referring to the masterful speech of Delegate Furuseth before us the other day, when he dwelt so forcefully upon

the rights of the people and stressed that sacred document, the Declaration of Independence, the right to freedom, I wonder if delegates sitting on the floor of this convention can interpret a decision to dismember an organization that has existed and been part of you for forty-eight years as freedom and the right of voluntary membership. I have a different concept of it.

He dwelt upon the right to the pursuit of happiness. What a glorious phrase, if it were only allowed to exist in our movement! There is happiness and contentment in our entire industry. The men are perfectly satisfied to remain where they are, as expressed in that amazing referendum vote. And yet we are told in the report of the committee that the Executive Council should continue its efforts to bring about enforcement of that mandate.

If the officers of the Brewery Workers, in the face of that referendum vote, were not to follow that as a mandate of our people we could rightfully be charged with having deceived our membership and we should rightfully be disowned and dishonored by the members of that organization if we did anything different from what their mandate expressed to us.

I hold that the decision of the last convention, which approved a usurpation of authority by the Executive Council, was nothing short of tyranny. Whether tyranny by Government, or tyranny by Labor or any other group, it is tyranny to deny men freedom of thought, to deny them the union of their own choosing.

Our organization holds in membership 97 per cent of all workers engaged in the brewing industry, except building and metal trades men, whom we do not admit, and we hold collective bargaining agreements with all of these breweries. In addition to that, the code for the brewing industry is one of the best codes operative and effective throughout the industry, which is creditable to the formation of our organization, the militancy of our membership and their willingness to go along because they are a happy family.

In one year's time, from September, 1933, to September, 1934, we issued 35,-

700,000 labels, and those labels give considerable work to the printing trades. If the Brewery Workers are left alone, not hindered by these conflicts, the organization will be in the vanguard of this movement to achieve the ideals of the thirty-hour week; but if we are hindered and hampered in our contract negotiations by jurisdictional contentions raised by the three contending organizations, it will be next to impossible to improve the economic conditions of our membership.

I have before me here the journal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters of September, 1925, in which there is a review of the jurisdiction decisions handed to the Teamsters against the following organizations: Bakery Workers, Laundry Workers, Retail Clerks, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Longshoremen, Railway and Steamship Clerks, Street and Electric Railway Employees—seven international unions whose members have been turned over to the Teamsters.

With the great field that the Teamsters have to organize, with a million unorganized teamsters in the country, it seems to me that the real sportsmanship would be to go out and organize the unorganized men and not tear down the workmen that are organized and happy and contented in their organizations.

These are seven organizations that now make up part of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. We are to be the eighth. Who knows who will be the ninth and tenth? How long are these raids on international organizations going to be permitted? I presume, by the strength of these organizations which they have accumulated in years, they will proceed to swallow up one after another until they destroy themselves by their own weight. History will repeat itself. I hold that there must be room in this Federation for workers in industrial plants, especially those that are in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and are partly semi-industrially organized, or industrially organized, just as well as those that are organized on craft autonomy lines.

The Brewery Workers are seeking no extension of jurisdiction over anyone.

They want to be let alone in the form of the organization the members know from experience will hold and improve their economic conditions. It is our hope that ultimately the conventions of this Federation will make room so that these organizations that are formed on this basis might be welcome in your councils and that they will be given encouragement.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, we have placed before you the position of our organization as a result of the referendum vote. Our hands are practically tied as a result of that vote. We were ready to meet in a conciliatory spirit the three contending organizations, but with the reservation that ultimately we hope to bring about a condition in the Labor Movement that we might restore our organization in its present form, even though we have temporarily surrendered it.

It is our hope and our desire to remain in the fold of the movement and go along with it, because we have helped build it to this point. I ask the delegates, when considering this, to consult your conscience and vote the dictates of your conscience, to preserve our organization and let it live among other trade-unionists. I thank you.

Delegate Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters: First I want to substantially disagree with the ruling of the chairman on the point of order raised by Delegate Possehl. I happened to be a member of the Committee on Laws when that section was put into the constitution, and it was the intent and purpose at that time to prevent a repetition of what you have here before you today. It could mean nothing else. These precedents that the President of the Federation has read to you to define his ruling are not the same kind of cases as this one. In the case of the Clerks and ourselves, after the Clerks refused to carry out the decision of the convention the matter was brought into the convention again by us asking for the suspension of their charter. Of course, that opened the case, and the convention suspended the charter of the Railway Clerks for refusing to carry out the decision of the convention.

Now, we didn't come to this convention, as we have to other conventions under similar circumstances, asking for the suspension of the Brewery Workers' charter for refusing, wilfully and deliberately refusing to obey the mandates of this convention. Why? Because we feel there is misery enough in the Labor Movement at this time without going that far.

Another grievance I have at this particular time is that the President did not confine the speaker to the question at issue, the report of the committee, but allowed him to wander over a period of thirty years, bringing up the whole question of jurisdiction when the only question was whether he agreed or disagreed with the report of the committee. Having done so, I feel compelled to travel over the same unpleasant ground.

One of the mistakes that our organization and the Engineers and Firemen made was going into this conference with the Brewery Workers last year at the suggestion of the Executive Council. The Council did nothing at all; they could not do anything to help bring about a settlement, and we gave fuel to the fire of uncertainty which has been engendered through their literature by the officers of the Brewery Workers holding out the false hope that the entire work of the Federation would be changed at this convention.

The committee brought in a report in which it confirmed the action of the last convention. The action of that last convention was almost a two and one-half to one vote for the Teamsters to have jurisdiction over the truck drivers working in breweries. The members of this committee are unanimous in this report. Let me read you their names: A. O. Wharton of the Machinists, Harvey Fremming the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, John F. O'Brien of the Street Railway Employees—one of the organizations mentioned by delegate Obergfell—Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers, who voted against the report of the committee last year and now votes for it, Charles Rau of the Plumbers and Steamfitters, William L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, Maurice C. Cohn, J. J. Heinz,

Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Stretch, Henry F. Schmal, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland and A. H. Peterson.

All of these men believe, all of them representing international unions—many of them who have disagreed with us—believe now unanimously that there is nothing else for this convention to do but confirm the action of the previous convention and instruct the Executive Council to do everything in its power not to enforce, but to put into effect the decisions of the previous conventions.

There has been no force used by the Executive Council. I wish there had been. Sometimes you have to use force with your best friends. I haven't got very much use for a man or an institution that says something and doesn't back it up. We have to use force in our organizations. If we didn't use force and enforce the decisions, we would not have an international union of 135,000 members—and they are not the rubbish that have lately come into other organizations.

(Several delegates objected to this expression on the part of the speaker, and asked him to take it back.)

Delegate Tobin: I will take nothing back. I am not in the habit of taking things back. I know what I am speaking about.

President Green: The convention will be in order.

Delegate Tobin: Brother Obergfell brings out the statement that we are trying to crucify his organization. You would imagine that we were doing him up without giving him a trial, or a jury, or a hearing, or anything else. Now, let me ask you to place yourselves in our position. We have in the city of San Francisco and vicinity 10,300 paid-up members. I think they demonstrated during the general strike that they were trade-unionists. I think it has been admitted that they were the backbone of the whole strike—admitted by men on both sides of the question.

There are 122 truck drivers driving side by side with our men that belong to the Brewery Workers, purely truck men, backing up at the freight houses and wharves the same as our men. Now, let

me ask any of you who represent international unions—I am not directing my attention to local men, because they can only see locally—is there any musician who represents an organization of 10,000 who would like to see 122 members in an organization while he has the bulk of the members? Suppose there were 10,000 miners located here in San Francisco County, and suppose there were 135 miners outside theirs, coal miners working in another mine, and belonging to another organization. Do you mean to tell me that John Lewis or Bill Green or Tom Kennedy and those men would stand for that? Not on your life! Because they would not be loyal to their oath of office if they permitted such a condition to remain. That is exactly the condition that surrounds our organization.

Brother Obergfell said there were six or seven international unions against which the Federation rendered decisions in our favor. The Bakery Workers had a union here for many years, a union of drivers that obeyed the mandates of this Federation. The Laundry Workers obeyed the mandates of the Federation. Bill Mahon's organization used to have truck drivers hauling rails, etc., and they obeyed the decision. Every one of them obeyed the decision of this Federation, but here comes an organization that says, "No, we will stand out in defiance of the Federation and we will take drivers and firemen and engineers and hold them in spite of this Federation that chartered us."

I say that if an organization of ours should stand out in defiance of the International that chartered it I will not remain President of an organization that allows that, and I say any organization that refuses the mandates of the body that chartered it is not acting in honor and decency if it continues to disobey the mandates of this convention. That isn't playing the game.

We have taken our lickings when the decisions were against us, and we are going to take them again when this convention speaks, and we won't stay in unless we obey the decision of this convention. But we will stay in no matter what the decisions are.

Brother Obergfell brought out that there was a conference. We spent two days over there doing nothing. We did go this far: The Brewery Workers said that the safety of their members depended upon the driver. We hauled every pound of material that went into your beautiful buildings in San Francisco, where dozens of trades were employed. We hauled every pound of material that went into the Empire Building in New York, and we hauled it under union contracts and every tradesman on that building was a union man and there was no dispute. We haul the raw material into the newspaper plants, and we haul every pound of finished product out. If we allow this organization to take ten men from us here, where there are 10,000 organized truck drivers, every other organization would be justified in demanding that the men who haul the materials upon which they work should be members of their respective organizations.

The Brewery Workers tell you of the great progress they have made. They say they have issued 35,000,000 labels. Well, in accordance with that, they must have issued a million labels for every one of their members. The Brewery Workers have jurisdiction over the Cereal Workers. When I was on the Council I fought very hard to get it for them. They also have jurisdiction over the soft drink workers, the men who make all kinds of tonics, pops, etc. They also have organized in their membership the yeast workers. I know there is one large manufacturing concern of yeast that employs about fifteen or eighteen hundred of their men, and, in toto, including the cereal workers, which embraces all the mills from Buffalo to Minneapolis, and also the soft drink workers, and there are supposed to be a hundred thousand in this country, and also the yeast workers—with all these they averaged last year a paid-up membership with the American Federation of Labor of 25,000 members.

Now they cannot have very many brewery workers, and in view of the fact that we only want the drivers, the men who haul, who do not go inside the brewery, you would not injure them very much by giving us over the few drivers they have got and continue the principle of the Fed-

eration to protect the jurisdiction given us by our charter—jurisdiction over all drivers, chauffeurs, and helpers, in the United States.

Now those are the facts. Figures don't lie. I think what they ought to consider—I don't know whether our people would object to it or not—I think we ought to take them over entirely and let them help us in our work. I think there are too many charters issued by the Federation. I think the trades that come close together ought to come together.

Brother Obergfell spoke about letting men choose their own unions. They took one of their cases up before the Chicago Labor Board and that Board, a Government created tribunal, decided that the convention of the American Federation of Labor was the supreme court of Labor and they could not and would not reverse the decision of the American Federation of Labor convention.

When Delegate Obergfell and those fellows talked about protecting the inside workers I pledged them the help of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. I said, "If you have trouble anywhere and you cannot get your contract signed, we will not sign and we will not work until you have your contract signed." I said in addition to that, "We will help you if you need it, morally, physically and financially." President Green heard me make that statement at Cincinnati. I filled every hole he made and then they went out and influenced their members, playing to the prejudice of their membership, digging up old historic deeds and acts and statements until their members cast an overwhelming vote against the proposition submitted by President Green and President Ornburn of the Cigarmakers' Union.

According to the record quoted by Delegate Obergfell they cast 24,000 votes against the proposition. They have only 25,000 members. Do you know of any organization with 25,000 members that cast 24,000 votes? All of these things lead me to believe, as I have in other instances, that it isn't a question of the membership, it is a question of our individuals themselves in these cases. There have been other unions right here in the Bay District that were members of other or-

ganizations, the Laundry Drivers, some of the truck drivers and the brewery drivers, and the same old hue and cry was raised by the international officers about the destruction of their unions.

I think one of the men now in the hall, who was an international officer, is now president of one of our locals. Since those members affiliated with the Teamsters they have increased their membership, increased their pay, decreased their hours, and built up conditions equal to those in any other State. And the other organizations, the inside workers, have also bettered their conditions and substantially increased their membership, and we work in harmony. We have our little misunderstandings, but substantially the two organizations work together, and instead of having the strength of one weak organization the craft has the backing of two substantial international unions.

I hope the delegates will realize the position in which our International Union is placed, the position of trying to guard our craft. The very life of the organization depends upon strict observance of the jurisdiction granted us over drivers and helpers. We want nobody except those who rightfully belong to us. We play no politics and use no double tactics; our life and our history is an open book. We don't play to the galleries. We want a square deal, and I hope and trust, understanding us as you do, that you International men who have been in close contact with us during twenty-five years will vote to maintain the unanimous report of the committee. I thank you.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—I say at the outset that the Brewery Workers' history is an open book, and I don't propose to go into the basis of granting a charter to the Brewery Workers' International Union.

I have been coming to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for over a quarter of a century, and I know our conduct and our actions have always spoken for themselves. I only want to say that when we were in the convention in this city nineteen years ago the

finale of that jurisdiction question was settled. At no time up to last year did anyone ever have the privilege of listening to a discussion of the Brewery Workers, and, as it was so rightfully said last year, thirty years ago it was a question of lightning out of a clear sky; last year there was a resurrection of the jurisdiction question, and today it has reached the floor of the American Federation of Labor. We want amicable relations with every one of the contesting organizations. They pat us on the back and say, "Go out and organize." After that starts the program of dismemberment.

I am not a man to read many documents. You will never find me in any forum that I have to be fortified with a portfolio. I know that the decision reached in the last convention was through a short cut. If it was properly brought about through the proper procedure, a question of the rules and order of business and a question of law, we would show why the Brewery Workers today, unfortunate as it is, takes the position that there was nothing before the last convention but the law of the Federation. Let me read the language, anyhow. I am not going to read much, just Section 11 of Article III, which says:

"No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

I listened attentively to the proceedings here, and I hear "co-ordination, co-operation, conciliation," and that is the position of the Brewery Workers. It may be added that we played our part, and as long as we have this charter, so long we will exercise self-control under the laws of the Federation unless we find ourselves out on the street.

We have not retained the Flour Mill and Cereal Workers. We asked the Federation to give us full jurisdiction to organize that industry. If you want to organize the Cereal Workers you have got to have a certain background. Why? Because the associations of employers are facing you, local, State and national. The secretary of the Federation will tell you that we turned over thousands of mem-

bers of the Cereal Workers. It isn't a question of per capita tax.

We have gone through the fight with no chance for a breathing spell, no chance to wait until the next convention to defend the line of demarcation. Instead of being out doing the work we have dedicated our lives to, we have to carry on this contest and defend our jurisdiction claims. And here we are before you. I don't want to go into details. I know you have been very patient with us.

If this convention decides to reaffirm the decision of the Washington convention it will mean the destruction of this organization. We didn't get much of a break last year. It is all right to read the names of the committee. I am conscious of the fact that when a committee makes a report it is hard to make a change. And, gentlemen, this is a life and death struggle of the organization. We need nobody to take us over. We organized the Soft Drink Workers. We took care of the inside workers and we gave the teamsters to the outside workers. The yeast industry is 100 per cent organized. We haven't as big an organization as some of you, because our industry is limited.

My associate has practically covered every point of view. We are satisfied to continue conferences. We appreciate every effort put forth by the Executive Council; we are highly pleased with the attitude of President Green, and he should not feel that the Brewery Workers are not loyal, but the Brewery Workers recognize their form of organization. I know there are not so many, but we have the industry, we have got the contracts, we are functioning and we intend to function for a good many years. If you consider the report of the committee a guiding star, I am against the whole thing.

Mr. President and delegates, I thank you kindly for the time you have given me. To go into the entire struggle of Brewery Workers up to the present time would take too long.

Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers: In 1908, there was an agreement reached between the Brewery Workers and the Engineers. That was the only basis upon which the Engineers again entered into

the controversy in 1933, or at least prior to the legalization of the brewing industry. The jurisdiction always was the Engineers', and in fact, at the present time there isn't much difference between the Brewery Workers and ourselves. I doubt whether there are 500 members involved. Since the legalization of the brewing industry and prior thereto, and prior to the decision rendered by the American Federation of Labor in Washington last year, we had brought about a reasonable organization of the men in the brewing industry, and have them signed up today with our organization all over the country.

It is true, as Brother Obergfell says, we were offered a proposition in the Cincinnati conference, but the whole thing had to be referred back to the membership before they could sign. I took the position for our organization that we did not want to be before the Council of the American Federation of Labor or the conventions in the future in an offensive position. It is our job to go out and get the engineers in the breweries and we have done it. I think the Brewery Workers will agree that wherever we have a contract we have better conditions than they can bring about for their members. In several cities it is only a matter of time when they leave the brewing industry and they have to go out and follow the trade, and we will get hold of them.

We are satisfied that if the Executive Council can continue its discussion of the subject matter through conferences they will bring about an agreement that will be satisfactory to everybody and there will be no need to come in here with a flimsy excuse to reopen the whole thing. I am for the committee's report.

Delegate Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Flour and Cereal Workers, Seattle: When I left Seattle there was a labor struggle in progress. It was receiving the headline attention of all the newspapers. Anti-labor employers in that vicinity were following it closely. Groups of working men were being beaten up, taken for a ride, their homes raided and in one case bombed. You ask who was the dastardly employer doing all this, and I say there was none. The Teamsters and the Brewers were locked in fratrici-

dal combat while the employers looked gleefully on. I am talking about my own home city, Seattle, where I have lived for twenty years.

Many of the brothers engaged in this disgraceful business are my personal friends and acquaintances. When I asked as to the cause of this trouble I was invariably answered something like this: "The Teamster boss, Dave Beck, ganged up on the Brewery Workers and threw them out of the breweries. Now some of the Brewery Workers have a contract with one of the breweries and are fighting back, using some of Beck's own methods on him. Why don't you stop it? Don't you know that this is ruining Organized Labor in the Northwest? Stop it—ha, ha! You can't do that. If one of us got up and criticized Beck or his policies in meeting, we would be knocked down before we got started."

Such is the low state to which trade-union democracy has sunk in the Northwest. The rank and file of the Teamsters and Brewers do not want to fight each other. They have enough to do with their employers, but they have little to say about the matter, and so this shameful business goes on, to the detriment of all Organized Labor in the Northwest.

What is happening in Seattle is going on all over the country. Seattle has few gangsters compared to the larger industrial centers, and this is only a minor case compared to the big time rackets you all know about. There is only one cure for such conditions—greater democracy within the trade unions.

The question being brought up here for the Executive Council is a matter whether Labor is to have the right to organize in the group it wishes to. I believe that is right. I believe that as a member of a rank and file union, the Brewers should be supported in this matter, but I want to point out further that this is no cure for this matter; it is only the beginning, and not until the trade unions are returned to their members, not until we have a rank and file democracy throughout the trade-union movement, will this matter be settled.

Delegate McNamara, Firemen and Oilers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am

satisfied that if this matter is left in the hands of the Executive Council and their report is adopted by this convention, a solution of the situation will be accomplished by the Executive Council. I have got along fairly well with the Brewers since the legalization of beer. We have gotten along in every section of the country, and I hope and trust that this convention will adopt the report of the committee, and leave it in the hands of the Executive Council.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I don't suppose anybody else desires to speak on this question. Our organization has expressed itself and there is no use repeating this indefinitely. Since this is a very serious and momentous question, and for the purpose of keeping it out of future conventions, and because the seating accommodations in this hall are inadequate, much worse than we have experienced in recent years, and as there are many in this convention sitting here as visitors, I would like to ask for a roll call vote on this question.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers—

President Green: For what purpose do you rise, Brother Obergfell?

Delegate Obergfell: For a correction of a statement made regarding the numerical strength of the Brewery Workmen. Secretary Morrison, I think, can verify what I have to say.

President Green: The Chair will recognize you after all have spoken who desire to speak. Chairman Wharton of the committee.

Vice-President Wharton: I think it might be well for the Chairman of the committee to explain to this convention the purposes and the reasons for its offering the recommendation that it has. I might say, in the first place, that I believe every member of the committee recognizes as friends the participants in this controversy. When this subject matter was referred to this committee for handling in keeping with our understanding of the duties of a committee of this character, we sought to bring about a recommendation to the convention that would make unnecessary the discussion that has taken place this afternoon. I believe you are all familiar with all of the

facts pertaining to this controversy, because they were recited in detail at the convention in Washington, D. C., last year. And if my recollection serves me correctly, there has been nothing new added in the discussion today.

The facts were clearly brought forth at that time, and the principle that was involved was decided by the convention by a very substantial majority on roll call. The committee felt that there was nothing it had to do other than to bring in a recommendation that would provide for the continued efforts on the part of the Executive Council to bring about peace and harmony and agreement between these organizations. That is what our recommendation means if it means anything. Certainly no delegate in this convention would expect this committee to bring in a recommendation contrary to the decisions rendered by the convention itself. I think you should have that information and the reasons underlying the report of the committee.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

If there are no others who desire to speak, the Chair will recognize Delegate Obergfell for the explanation he desires to make.

Delegate Obergfell: For the record and that it may be clear, let me say that Brother Tobin referred to the membership of our organization as being members of Cereal Mill Workers, etc. The Cereal Workers have been turned over to the Federation and I want that part of the record clear.

Respecting the statement that our membership is constituted of approximately 25,000, I want to have that corrected by Brother Morrison, and to say that since our International grew during the past year, we have paid on an average membership of 25,000, but the membership today is 32,000, and the vote that was taken in March of this year was taken by the members, and the votes are still at headquarters that anybody may come and review them.

President Green: The question will now recur on the motion to adopt the committee's report. Delegate Tobin has requested a roll call vote. Are there a

sufficient number who will join with Delegate Tobin in asking for a roll call?

If so, please raise your hands and keep them there until counted.

Secretary Morrison: It requires forty-four for a roll call and ninety-three have joined in the request.

President Green: A sufficient number having asked for a roll call, the roll will be called. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll, and the chairman of each delegation will announce the vote of each delegation as the roll is called. Those in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee will vote yes. Those opposed will vote no.

Delegate Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: Would you mind having the report of the committee read?

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, again read the committee's report.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

Roll Call—Brewery Workers, Teamsters, Engineers, Firemen and Oilers

YES—Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan, Crane, Merlino, Garnett, Horn, Pelkofer, Franklin (J. A.), Walter, Davis (J. N.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Bates (H. C.), Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Price, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight (F. H.), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Warren (G. E.), Ryan (Dave), Riskey, Ward, George (L. E.), Hyatt, Frisvold, Cohen, McCarthy (J.), Coulter (C. C.), Desepete, Warfield, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Feeney, Milton, O'Brien (Thos.), Possehl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter, Maloney (Wm. E.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Dooney, McNamara, Clinton, Conway (J.), Dannenberg, Rickert, Hashkins, Gordon, Adamski, Houck, Dubinsky, Langer, Freedman, Bialis, Feinberg, Dinola, Gillooly, Babcock, Hoffmaster, Moreschi, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Ernst, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (Chris), Cohn (M. C.), Burt (R. R.), Brown (Anna), Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz (L. E.), Duffy (C. D.), Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (Wm.), Peterson, Morris, Wharton, Robinson, Grow, Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (D. P.), McCarthy (Wm.), McInerney, Fouratt, Meat Cutters' Delegation (48 votes), Hynes, Ryan (Jas. J.), Wickman, Close, Wilkerson, Smith (V. F.), O'Keefe, Miller (S. A.), Myles, Weber, Canavan, Weaver, Bagley, Castronova, Kapl, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Daniel, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (J. L.), Kaufman (Harry), Britton, McAuliffe, Mahon (W. D.), McConnell, Appleton, O'Brien (J. F.),

Carey (J. C.), Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Sparks, Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.), Maloy, Cashen, Carter (P. M.), Reznick, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (Thos. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin, McKenna, Tobacco Workers' Delegation (42 votes), Typographical Union Delegation (122 votes), Frey (J. P.), Hoch, Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Clinedinst, Osborne, Taylor (J. A.), Nance, Watson (W. W.), McConaughy, O'Brien (T. J.), Jackson (D. W.), Brooks (W. C.), Doll, England, Kennedy (J. G.), Coulter (J. C.), Buzzell, Pitner, Farrell (Chas.), Doyle (J. H.), Bowles, Anderson (G.), Townshend, O'Connell (J. A.), Johnson (C. O.), Matthews, Early, Turnock, Doyle (F.), Dahlager, Glass (D.), Johnson (F.), Duyungan, Tuohy, Flynn (M. J.), Dowd, Dellums, Nickols (Wm.), McElligott, Kelly (H.), Johnson (T.), Lufrano, representing 15,558 votes.

NO—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Mara, Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Morrin, McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Ryan (E.), Harrison (G. M.), McMillan, Gilbert, Hillman (S.), Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strebel, Bellanca, Doyle (J. J.), Maloney, Dunlap, Greene (M. F.), Goldman (M.), Lawlor (M.), Spector, Tighe, McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case, (C. J.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck (R.), Fljozdal, Finneran, Farnan, Millman, Meat Cutters' delegation (147 votes), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (T.), Green (William), Boylan (J.), Hartneady, Brennan (M. F.), Fagan (P. T.), Burns (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), Collieran (M. J.), Rooney, Redmond, Donlin, Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon (William), Duffy (J. M.), McGowan (J.), Bowen (C. E.), McHugh (William H.), De La Rosa, Murphy (D.), Spooner, Barnes, Jr. (F. C.), Sullivan (H. W.), Jones (G. W.), Gaviak (J. M.), Furuseth, Larsen, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser, Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Swan, Manion, Leighty, Thomas (P.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), McKeown (A.), Tobacco Workers' delegation (41 votes), Typographical Union delegation (609 votes), McDonough (M. J.), Gross, Tiller, McAnally, Lawson (G. W.), Rogers (J. L.), Thompson (M. I.), Easton (J. B.), Ohl, Jr., Burr (R. M.), Burns (M. J.), Friedrich, Campbell (W. W.), Volkers, Eggert, Barte, Stubbee, Anderson (R. E.), Russell (M. P.), Read (W.), Cook (W. M.), Moore (F. X.), Townes, Lowe (C. E.), Van Ohrmann, Fisher (M.), Maisus, Murch, Costello (E.), Roll, Dallas (J. P.), Taylor (C.), Di Capio, Ault, Stephens, Phillips (T.), Lumm, Gerhart (F. B.), Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Porter (P.), Turner (R. F.), Anthony, Bosley, Gartrell, Matlin, Boyd (L.), Groner, Lawrence (C. B.), representing 9,306 votes.

NOT VOTING—Freng, Kasten, Ornburn, Rosemund, Lucchi, Hannah, De Veze, Sumner (Charles A.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Hatch, Fay, Billet, Taylor (T. N.), Watt, Mastriani, Meany, Phillips, Iglesias, Bailey, O'Brien, Gresty, Hirschfeldt, Mac-

Donald, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (James), Wills, Campbell, Gross, Restine, Cushing, McInroy, Mitchell (Humphrey), De Witt, Meyers, Woods, Eby, Fritz, Watson, Augustine, Ames, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Shave, Quinn, Gornito, Bale, Campbell (J. C.), Jackson, Draper, Hoocher, Bower, Davison, Marsh, Wright, Dorsey, Holmes, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Ringius, Mercer, Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (Harry), Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Nathan, Gorman, Wagner, Money, Doane, Bunting, Whitson, De Long, Barnes, Flores, Wolfe, Manash, Bertucci, Watson, Holland, Hampton, Dent, Garibaldi, Hull, Kidwell, Ryan (James), Mitchell (Richard A.), Beariall, Yetta, Higgins, Moore, Walkden, Stokes, Dunn, representing 440 votes.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted.

The Chair recognizes the committee.

Delegate Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor:—

President Green: For what purpose does the delegate arise?

Delegate Taylor: I rise to answer the man who spoke of Seattle, Washington. I want to say a word to the delegates here with respect to the Labor Movement in the city of Seattle.

President Green: You are out of order just now, Brother Taylor. The committee is reporting. You will have to wait until later for that.

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Conclusion

In this part of its report, page 178, the Executive Council calls attention to the serious loss experienced by the Labor Movement during the past year by the death of an unprecedented number of union executives and experienced officials and the responsibility which devolves upon our present ranks to carry high the torch of enlightenment which has led the way for many and temporarily rests in our keeping.

It also calls attention to the necessity of taking advantage of present day opportunities to organize and to advance the cause of Labor with assurance and dispatch, free from commercialism and devoted to human betterment.

In all of this your Committee heartily concurs.

We also wish to take opportunity at this time to express appreciation to President Green and to all Executive Council members for their efforts and accomplishments in our behalf. The successful manner in which they have met every issue which presented itself during the year is reassuring. They have spoken for the American Labor Movement in a manner which demanded confidence and respect. Under their guidance we have moved forward with dignity and assurance of a brighter future. At no previous period has the voice of Labor received more earnest attention and consideration. The policies outlined and pursued have been of such high character and purpose as to disarm those who for selfish reasons and private gain would discredit the Labor Movement in this country.

We have, indeed, been fortunate in our choice of leadership under whose guidance and vigilance we have attained many of our major objectives.

Your committee recommends that this convention express its appreciation and approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schmal: This concludes the report of the committee.

Fraternally submitted,

A. O. WHARTON, Chairman,
HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary,
HARVEY FREMMING,
JOHN F. O'BRIEN,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
F. H. KNIGHT,
MORRIS C. COHN,
J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES J. SHANESSY,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
JOHN J. STRETCH,
CHARLES SUMNER,
HENRY W. STRICKLAND,
A. H. PETERSON,
CHARLES RAU,

Committee on Executive
Council's Report.

Delegate Schmal: I now move the adoption of the Report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair expresses the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention to the committee for its service and its work. The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Colleran, Plasterers: The hour of adjournment has arrived. It is now 5:30 and I move that this convention stand adjourned until morning.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Delegate Colleran moves that the rules be suspended and the convention stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning. Is that your motion?

Delegate Colleran: Yes.

President Green: The Chair wishes to make this announcement. Unless there are objections, the Committee on Adjustment will report at 2:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. Hearing no objections, the report of that committee will be submitted as a special order of business at 2:30 o'clock tomorrow, Wednesday afternoon.

The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll for an announcement.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions is ready to report, and I wanted to make a motion that our report be heard at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning. I assume now, by the special order of business, we can report at the end of the week.

President Green: We have a committee reporting, and I will call on you immediately following that.

The motion offered by Delegate Colleran was carried by a vote of 132 to 94, and at 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 10.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco California.

October 10, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Frang, Brown (A.), Merlino, Hatch, Fay (Geo.) Taylor (T. N.), Mastriani, Iglesias, Bailey (A.), O'Brien (Paul), Gresty, Hirschfeldt, Watson, O'Brien (T. J.), MacDonald (J. C.), Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh, Campbell (G. C.), Gross (R. A.), Restine, Mitchell, (H.), De Witt, Meyers, Woods (G. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames, England, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Shave, Quinn, Gronto, Bale, Campbell (J. C.), Jackson, Draper, Hoocher, Bower (A. F.), Campbell (W. W.), Marsh, Wright (J. A.), Johnson (Cecil O.), Matthews, Dorsey, Wood (R. T.), Mercer (R. E.), Dahlager, Franklin (R. S.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (Sam M.), Gorman (B. A.), Maisus, Wagner, Money, Doane, Costello, Whitson, De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Flores (M. V.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Bertucci, Dellums, Holland, Hampton, Dent, Gartrell, Garibaldi, Hull, Ryan (James), Mitchell (R. A.), Beardall, Higgins.

Delegate Wills, Chicago Federation of Labor: I rise to ask a question of personal privilege to present a matter to this convention that has been referred to me by the Chicago Federation of Labor, on action that was taken last Sunday, I am asking for that personal privilege.

President Green: How could that be a matter of personal privilege? You have to get unanimous consent for the introduction of that matter.

Delegate Wills: I am asking for unanimous consent.

President Green: What is it?

Delegate Wills: It is in reference to that Dresner & Sons Leather Company with which you are familiar.

President Green: That is being handled by a committee. You can offer that when the committee makes its report. It is a resolution, isn't it?

Delegate Wills: It is, but I am not presenting it as a resolution.

President Green: In my judgment that matter is before the convention in some form, and it occurs to me that when the committee is reporting upon it you can have the opportunity to present it.

Delegate Wills: When the committee is reporting upon the Dresner resolution?

President Green: Upon the National Recovery program.

Delegate Wills: That is satisfactory to me, Mr. Chairman.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received the following letter from General President John J. Hynes of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association dated October 9, 1934:

"On account of a very serious situation existing at this time affecting our International Association in the East, it is compulsory for me to leave San Francisco tonight, and would request that James Moriarty be seated as a delegate in the convention in my place, beginning Wednesday morning, October 10."

In accordance with the request of General President John J. Hynes, we recommend the seating of James Moriarty in the place of President John J. Hynes, who will be unable to be present at further sessions of this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Gorman, Textile Workers: I rise for special privilege, Mr. Chairman, to make a motion. I rise to make a motion that that part of the record of yesterday, reading: "We would not have an international union of 135,000 members, and they are not the rubbish that have lately come into other organizations," be expunged from the record.

President Green: I think as a matter of fairness that motion ought to be offered when President Tobin, who made the statement, is present. He is not here at the present time. Wait until later.

Delegate Gorman: I will wait until later.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Florence Hanson, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

A Permanent Policy and an Emergency Policy

Your committee concurs in the statement of the council under the above caption, page 109:

"During this emergency the Federal Government must render immediate and adequate aid to the states so that no child will be denied the opportunity for training in good citizenship, and that schools will be maintained at a level which will not result in social losses."

Your committee urgently calls attention to the immediacy of this problem and recommends that every possible effort be made to secure immediate relief to the schools of the impoverished districts of the drought area and for the teachers of the nation employed by school districts that are unable to pay them fair wages. We recommend that the standard of wages for these teachers be at least the wage scale received by skilled labor.

Your committee also holds that the problem is not exclusively an emergency one—that while the schools should be locally administered and the funds locally disbursed, it is as a permanent policy the obligation of the Federal Government to provide a substantial share of those funds.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Loans to Educational Institutions

Upon that portion of the Council's report under the above caption, pages 134

and 135, the committee reported as follows:

We commend the work and accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in securing Federal loans for educational purposes. We recommend as an immediate emergency step continued effort to secure for the nation's educational institutions the right to borrow or refinance their paper at a low rate of interest through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Teacher as a Worker in the Community

On that portion of the Council's report under the above caption, page 135, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its recognition of the teachers as fellow workers. It deplores the living and working conditions of these fellow workers in their insecurity of position, irregular salary payments, salaries reduced to the vanishing point, school buildings on the verge of collapse, loss of sick leave at a time of even greater need, a stretch-out system in the schools in the form of greatly enlarged classes. It reaffirms its policy that the teacher must be paid a salary commensurate with the responsibilities entrusted to him.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teacher Tenure

Upon that portion of the Council's report under the above caption, pages 135 and 136, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of security of tenure for teachers based on efficiency and urges its affiliated groups—State federations, central labor unions and local unions—to put forth every effort to preserve the tenure laws now in partial operation in eleven states and now under attack by the enemies of public education and also to exert every effort to make existing tenure laws state-wide in appli-

cation and to secure sound tenure laws in the other thirty-seven states and the territories.

The American Federation of Labor, however, desires to emphasize and urge upon the attention of the teachers of the United States of America that their security of position is in their own hands. It urges them to organize in such strength together with their fellow workers that they can bargain collectively, so that the individual annual contract will be superseded by a contract between the Board of Education and the teachers as an organized group, as has already been done in Utah, where, through their contract as a union with the school board, the terms and conditions of their employment are better protected than through any tenure law which may be attacked and repealed by their enemies, and, moreover, it urges this protection through organization in order that there may be developed such a loyalty of teachers to each other that no teacher will accept the position of any teacher unjustly dismissed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Educational Research

Upon that portion of the Council's report under this caption, page 136, the committee reported as follows:

The Committee on Education finds itself in complete accord with the Executive Council's report on Educational Research and its endorsement of the increased activity in the field of research with the United States Office of Education. It recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council of adequate appropriations for the research work of the United States Office of Education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Emergency Federal Appropriation for Education

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The nation is now confronted with a national emergency in which decisions of governments and of the people have become of critical importance; and

WHEREAS, A national emergency requires an emergency program of education so that wise decisions may have proper support and unwise decisions may have proper criticism; and

WHEREAS, At the present time mass reactions to controversial issues are often based upon insufficient and one-sided information; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the public schools are financially unable to give and pupils unable to procure adequate training concerning present-day controversial issues; and

WHEREAS, Millions of unemployed people might be making constructive use of their forced leisure by studying the causes of unemployment and other social questions; and

WHEREAS, The market is flooded with thousands of unemployed teachers; and

WHEREAS, Were an educational program included in a program to give idle people work it would not only effectively reduce unemployment and spread purchasing power but also develop a popular understanding of ways and means of preventing future depressions and unemployment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby recommend and request an adequate emergency Federal appropriation for education (including adult education) concerning the social, economic and political problems of the day, with effective safeguards to secure fair presentation of all sides of controversial issues, such appropriation to be partly allotted to the States on some appropriate basis and spent by the States for projects and purposes approved by the Federal Government, and partly retained by the Federal Government to supervise, co-ordinate, and promote the State expenditures; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we commend efforts of the National Administration to start a program of adult social education and that we recommend the program herein proposed to widen and amplify the administration's program.

We favor a well-informed and enlightened citizenship and believe the people should have the opportunity to secure the fullest information on all social, political and economic questions.

The resolution provides for a plan of education in that direction, but it is so comprehensive that the time available to your committee will not permit of the

study necessary to determine the attitude to be taken. We, therefore, recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CCC

Under this caption, pages 136 and 137, the Executive Council reports that the Civilian Conservation Corps was established to furnish constructive guidance to thousands of boys and young men without employment and without funds. It has helped in their physical and spiritual rehabilitation and tends to remove the danger to community standards inherent in the unemployment and homeless wandering of thousands of adolescents and youths.

Robert Fechner, chief of the Civilian Conservation Corps, reports to President Roosevelt on the first eighteen months of the CCC that 850,000 young men, war veterans and Indians had been enrolled at a cost of \$443,000,000—or at about \$522.50 apiece.

"As a result of the labors of this army an immense program has been worked out, involving road building, fire prevention, checking of soil erosion, and tree planting.

"The effect on the members of the corps is even more gratifying. Their health and morale have been tremendously improved, and in many instances they have made marked gains along educational lines.

"The authorized strength of the corps is 369,838, and camps are located in every State. Mr. Fechner reports that the men are dropping out at the rate of about 10,000 per month to accept private employment, and he is, therefore, preparing to enroll an additional 100,000.

"The boys have received \$136,000,000 in wages and of this, \$113,000,000 has been turned over to their families, thus easing the relief burdens of practically every community."

Your committee commends the development of the educational program of the

Civilian Conservation Corps and the correlation of their vocational training with public employment agencies, thereby increasing their already great social value. It recommends further development of this program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Adult Education

Under the caption, Adult Education, pages 137 and 138, the committee reported as follows:

The Emergency Education Program of the FERA, which included six major fields of endeavor, stands out as one of the important activities of the Administration to meet the problem of the unemployed teachers and at the same time serve the educational needs of great groups of our citizens.

The provision for adult education as one of these six fields with its special emphasis on workers' education should be of particular interest to Labor. The plan to establish State Directors of Workers' Education marks an important step in advance and is one which is of particular interest to Labor. Labor cannot entrust to those unfamiliar with its life and work the interpretation of its ideals.

Your committee shares the conviction of the Executive Council that the officers of State Federations of Labor and the Workers Education Bureau should be consulted in the selection of these supervisors.

The offer of co-operation tendered to the convention by the specialist in workers' education of the FERA deserves to be included in this report. It reads as follows:

"Please offer to the convention the co-operation of the Emergency Education Office, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in finding qualified teachers for workers' education, securing study material related to union problems, and arranging co-operation with State and local school officials. New facilities this year for supervision and research. Ready to assist Labor in expanding educational program.
HILDA W. SMITH."

Your committee recommends that this convention record its appreciation of this offer of co-operation and urges that the officers of the Federation and the Bureau explore the possibilities of utilizing these proffered facilities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers Education Bureau of America

Under this caption, pages 138 and 143 of the Executive Council's report, the committee reported as follows:

The year 1933-1934 has witnessed a phenomenal growth in American workers' education. Both in the range of interest and the number of workers and students enrolled the past year's record stands as the high water mark since the Workers Education Bureau was established in 1921. The vast increase in the membership of the new unions and the new extension of organization of wage earners into industries not formerly organized has provided stimulus to interest which has been most pronounced. It placed upon the Workers Education Bureau a new test of its capacity for Labor education leadership. Unions both old and new turned to the Bureau for assistance. The Bureau has notably responded.

The New Deal in government has brought about a New Deal in workers' education. Workers' education was made a definite part of the Emergency Education Program of the Federal Government. Furthermore, provision was made for State supervisors of workers' education financed by FERA grants and responsible to State Departments of Education. Although this is an emergency program it is highly important that State and local organizations of Labor should have a vital relationship to it both in the selection of subject matter and of teachers. The Workers Education Bureau has already been of invaluable service in establishing contacts between the Federal Workers' Educational Program and Organized Labor.

National Convention Held

The initiative of the Executive Officers in summoning a national convention of

the Bureau in conjunction with the Washington convention of the American Federation of Labor was foresighted. By bringing together leaders of the Emergency Education Program with the leaders of workers' education it was possible to work out a co-ordinated plan of Labor institutes at strategic centers throughout the country, and of summer schools and educational classes which would aid the Government in the development of its program.

Regional Directors

One other constructive result of convention action of the Bureau was the plan for an expansion of the program of the Bureau. The selection of four regional directors, one for the Pacific Coast, the second for the Western Area, the third for the East, and the fourth located in Washington to serve as a liaison between the Workers Education Bureau and the Emergency Education Program, was an important step in meeting the widespread demand for service.

The notable work of the Director for the Pacific Coast, who in addition to directing the program for California, Oregon and Washington has included Idaho, Utah and Arizona, is to be highly commended. As Director of Workers' Education for the past thirteen years in California he has successfully extended the California plan of establishing co-operative relationships between federations and the educational institutions. In addition, through his endeavors he has conducted Labor institutes in San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington, as well as taking part in a summer school for workers held in Los Angeles. The remarkable increase in the scope of his service and the helpful way in which he assisted in the Emergency Education Program deserves the commendation of this convention.

Similarly the work done by the Western Director in the fifteen states lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains deserves commendation. The Western Director has stressed the organization of educational committees in connection with State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils, and local unions

with the objective of making education a part of the regular program of every Labor organization. He has encouraged these committees to study the work of tax-supported institutions of learning to see that curricula include adequate and fair presentation of the objectives of the Labor Movement; to work for adequate representation on the governing boards of such institutions; and to co-operate with the Workers Education Bureau and other educational agencies in formulating and carrying out educational programs adapted to the several states and communities. He has also held Labor Institutes in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Shreveport, La.; Little Rock, Ark.; Topeka, Kansas; Kansas City, Mo.; Cheyenne, Wyoming; and State Federation Institutes were held in Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, South Dakota, Colorado, Minnesota, and Wyoming. Contacts have been established with fourteen colleges and universities and assurance of co-operation by these institutions in an educational program has been received.

The administration of a program by the Eastern Director, formerly the New England representative of the Bureau, is worthy of praise. He has held institutes in the six New England states in such places as New Haven, Springfield, Boston, Lawrence, Augusta and Providence, and has co-operated with the FERA in setting up summer schools at Cambridge and Amherst. He has also made a contribution to the movement through the organization of the Connecticut Valley Conference on Workers' Education in which nine different Central Labor Councils and a number of educational institutions will be represented. This Board will bring together representatives of Labor and education to their mutual advantage and will also make available to Labor the library and research facilities of the educational institutions.

The work of the Regional Director assigned as liaison with the American Federation of Labor, the Bureau and the Emergency Education Program has been highly satisfactory and deserves the commendation of the convention. During that time she served as a member of the informal advisory committee on the

Emergency Education Program and assisted in many ways in keeping close contact between Labor and the educational forces.

For a period of three months, as a representative of the Bureau, the Liaison Director made an intensive study of the possibilities of workers' education in Michigan. This study was made in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor and the Emergency Education Program. In addition a Labor institute was planned and materials for study classes were prepared.

Labor Institutes

(1) The tireless labors of the secretary of the Bureau, who, in addition to his administrative duties, conducted institutes at Buffalo, Akron, Richmond, Knoxville, Memphis, and Rutgers University, is most deserving of convention recognition. The special service performed by a local representative in Cleveland in developing a Labor institute also is worthy of favorable action of this convention.

Negro Labor Institute

(2) Among the notable services of the WEB during the past institute has been the holding jointly with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and representative social welfare agencies among Negroes of a Labor Institute to consider the status of the Negro under the Recovery Act. The institute, which was held in Harlem, brought a representative group of the leadership of Negro labor together, with representatives of three branches of Government service. As this was the first objective appraisal of the Negro under the Recovery Act its findings were as important as they were helpful. The Bureau is to be commended for its co-operative assistance in this undertaking.

The problem of conserving the interest in educational activities stimulated by the holding of institutes has become important. Plans are being worked out for offering specific courses in collaboration with neighboring educational institutions. In many cases classes organized under these auspices have been a conspicuous success. In other instances special reading groups are carrying forward the con-

structive work already begun. We highly commend the Bureau for its development of a continuing program for workers' education.

The Training of Leaders

A great body of knowledge and experience related to Labor organization has been accumulated in America during the past fifty years. During the past decade over 300 leaders of America who contributed largely to the accumulation of this experience have passed away, and with them has passed a storehouse of practical wisdom. The rapid growth of Labor organization membership and the increased responsibility on leadership growing out of the expectation by Government that Labor will act wisely in collective bargaining makes necessary that the membership of organizations be thoroughly grounded in understanding of the history, principles and policies of Organized Labor. Your committee is of the opinion that some training plan should be devised to make permanently available the experience of present leaders. Industry recognizes the importance of trade and industrial education for foremen, supervisors and men engaged in productive industry. The Church, State and professions all require a training program. In a modern complex system of industry it is just as important that shop stewards, local officers, organizers and national officers be trained. The Bureau hopes with the assistance of leaders of the Federation and under Federation control to develop training centers for leaders; it is also beginning the collection of materials on trade union methods, policies and experience in trade union leadership. Your committee commends the Bureau for focusing this problem as well as for the various activities so successful for the past year and recommends that the convention give its unqualified endorsement.

Radio

During the past three years the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor has had occasion to refer with high commendation to the radio programs inaugurated by the Workers Education

Bureau in co-operation with the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education and the American Federation of Labor. It is a matter of regret to your Committee on Education that funds have not been forthcoming with which to carry on this distinguished piece of education service on a nation-wide scale. On the other hand, your committee notes with especial satisfaction the recent round table discussions presented by the Workers Education Bureau of America on a nation-wide network of 100 stations over the Columbia Broadcasting System. The informed and objective discussions of the textile situation not only helped to clarify the issues but to provide a background of knowledge upon which to judge this whole question. Similarly the effective discussion of the question of Democracy vs. Dictatorship provided a unique opportunity both for presenting the pros and cons of this issue but also in setting forth the historic basis upon which Labor's policy toward democracy has been fashioned. Your committee recommends that the Workers Education Bureau be highly commended for this distinct service both to the education of Labor and to the general community through the device of the radio.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: President Green and delegates to the convention—I want to commend the Committee on Education for the splendid report they have made on the work of the Workers Education Bureau. It sounds a note of militant idealism and practical realism, a note which is indispensable if the cause of education in America is to be saved in this hour of crisis. At the present time it is important to note the dangers that surround the movements of education throughout the nation. The basic principle of education is that ideas beget desires, desires beget action and action is helpful or harmful, constructive or destructive in accordance as that action flows from correct or incorrect ideas.

The application of this principle shows that if the workers are to secure their objectives, such as, for instance, raising their standards of living, their rates of pay, reducing their hours of work, meet-

with the objective of making education a part of the regular program of every Labor organization. He has encouraged these committees to study the work of tax-supported institutions of learning to see that curricula include adequate and fair presentation of the objectives of the Labor Movement; to work for adequate representation on the governing boards of such institutions; and to co-operate with the Workers Education Bureau and other educational agencies in formulating and carrying out educational programs adapted to the several states and communities. He has also held Labor institutes in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Shreveport, La.; Little Rock, Ark.; Topeka, Kansas; Kansas City, Mo.; Cheyenne, Wyoming; and State Federation Institutes were held in Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, South Dakota, Colorado, Minnesota, and Wyoming. Contacts have been established with fourteen colleges and universities and assurance of co-operation by these institutions in an educational program has been received.

The administration of a program by the Eastern Director, formerly the New England representative of the Bureau, is worthy of praise. He has held institutes in the six New England states in such places as New Haven, Springfield, Boston, Lawrence, Augusta and Providence, and has co-operated with the FERA in setting up summer schools at Cambridge and Amherst. He has also made a contribution to the movement through the organization of the Connecticut Valley Conference on Workers' Education in which nine different Central Labor Councils and a number of educational institutions will be represented. This Board will bring together representatives of Labor and education to their mutual advantage and will also make available to Labor the library and research facilities of the educational institutions.

The work of the Regional Director assigned as liaison with the American Federation of Labor, the Bureau and the Emergency Education Program has been highly satisfactory and deserves the commendation of the convention. During that time she served as a member of the informal advisory committee on the

Emergency Education Program and assisted in many ways in keeping close contact between Labor and the educational forces.

For a period of three months, as a representative of the Bureau, the Liaison Director made an intensive study of the possibilities of workers' education in Michigan. This study was made in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor and the Emergency Education Program. In addition a Labor institute was planned and materials for study classes were prepared.

Labor Institutes

(1) The tireless labors of the secretary of the Bureau, who, in addition to his administrative duties, conducted institutes at Buffalo, Akron, Richmond, Knoxville, Memphis, and Rutgers University, is most deserving of convention recognition. The special service performed by a local representative in Cleveland in developing a Labor institute also is worthy of favorable action of this convention.

Negro Labor Institute

(2) Among the notable services of the WEB during the past institute has been the holding jointly with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and representative social welfare agencies among Negroes of a Labor Institute to consider the status of the Negro under the Recovery Act. The institute, which was held in Harlem, brought a representative group of the leadership of Negro labor together, with representatives of three branches of Government service. As this was the first objective appraisal of the Negro under the Recovery Act its findings were as important as they were helpful. The Bureau is to be commended for its co-operative assistance in this undertaking.

The problem of conserving the interest in educational activities stimulated by the holding of institutes has become important. Plans are being worked out for offering specific courses in collaboration with neighboring educational institutions. In many cases classes organized under these auspices have been a conspicuous success. In other instances special reading groups are carrying forward the con-

structive work already begun. We highly commend the Bureau for its development of a continuing program for workers' education.

The Training of Leaders

A great body of knowledge and experience related to Labor organization has been accumulated in America during the past fifty years. During the past decade over 300 leaders of America who contributed largely to the accumulation of this experience have passed away, and with them has passed a storehouse of practical wisdom. The rapid growth of Labor organization membership and the increased responsibility on leadership growing out of the expectation by Government that Labor will act wisely in collective bargaining makes necessary that the membership of organizations be thoroughly grounded in understanding of the history, principles and policies of Organized Labor. Your committee is of the opinion that some training plan should be devised to make permanently available the experience of present leaders. Industry recognizes the importance of trade and industrial education for foremen, supervisors and men engaged in productive industry. The Church, State and professions all require a training program. In a modern complex system of industry it is just as important that shop stewards, local officers, organizers and national officers be trained. The Bureau hopes with the assistance of leaders of the Federation and under Federation control to develop training centers for leaders; it is also beginning the collection of materials on trade union methods, policies and experience in trade union leadership. Your committee commends the Bureau for focusing this problem as well as for the various activities so successful for the past year and recommends that the convention give its unqualified endorsement.

Radio

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Bureau in co-operation with the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education and the American Federation of Labor. It is a matter of regret to your Committee on Education that funds have not been forthcoming with which to carry on this distinguished piece of education service on a nation-wide scale. On the other hand, your committee notes with especial satisfaction the recent round table discussions presented by the Workers Education Bureau of America on a nation-wide network of 100 stations over the Columbia Broadcasting System. The informed and objective discussions of the textile situation not only helped to clarify the issues but to provide a background of knowledge upon which to judge this whole question. Similarly the effective discussion of the question of Democracy vs. Dictatorship provided a unique opportunity both for presenting the pros and cons of this issue but also in setting forth the historic basis upon which Labor's policy toward democracy has been fashioned. Your committee recommends that the Workers Education Bureau be highly commended for this distinct service both to the education of Labor and to the general community through the device of the radio.

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The application of this principle shows that if the workers are to secure their objectives, such as, for instance, raising their standards of living, their rates of pay, reducing their hours of work, meet-

ing the problem of unemployment, abolishing the company union, eliminating yellow dog contracts, abolishing child labor, securing unemployment insurance, better and more progressive workmen's compensation laws, if these achievements are to be secured, the working man's battle to gain economic strength must be guided and directed by a type of intelligence which will enable the workers to understand the world in which they live.

We have had during the last month a very splendid example of the value of the Workers Education Bureau. In co-operation with the Bureau, under the direction of Spencer Miller, Jr., the Pullman porters of New York City staged a Labor Institute. At that institute we had some Government officials and representatives from colleges and universities and the subject discussed was NRA in relation to colored workers. The discussions during the institute were so challenging and so provocative that Dr. Gustave Peck, who is technical head of the National Labor Advisory Board, said that if he was convinced in that Labor Institute that the principle of racial wage differential was unsound and against the interest of Negro workers he would move back to Washington and take it up with the National Labor Advisory Board and attempt to prevent the application of that principle of racial wage differential to Negro workers in the future.

This shows you how valuable workers' education is, and hence it is most important that the trade unions today adopt more and more workers' education as a means of having an effective organization.

Workers' education will enable the workers to understand the relationship between trades and industrial unionism. It will also enable the workers to see the menace of Facism, of Nationalism, of Imperialism, of war, all these things that grow out of capitalism. It will enable the workers to understand the movements of technification, rationalization and mechanization as they affect the policy of the workers in relation to work and wages, and as they affect the destiny of the workers. Hence I commend the work being done by the Workers Education

Bureau because that work will enable the workers to bring about greater solidarity, it will show them how unsound and preposterous and absurd is the claim of Herr Hitler that the Aryan or Nordic race stands at the top of all races in achievement, capacity and human excellence; how incompatible his rugged individualism is with modern industrialism, under which our economic life is dominated by giant trusts, financial mergers and holding companies.

Therefore I believe that by the unions co-operating with the Workers Education Bureau their progress will be more certain and sure.

I thank you.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If there are no remarks that any of the delegates in attendance at the convention desire to make, I wish to beg your indulgence for just a moment while I express to you, in behalf of the officers and delegates and all the members of the American Federation of Labor, their sincere appreciation of the service rendered the Organized Labor Movement, the masses of the people and the workers generally, by the Workers Education Bureau. There is a constant growing appreciation, in my judgment, of the work of this educational organization. The last year has been one during which the Workers Education Bureau has not only demonstrated its practicability but its necessity.

Thousands of new members have come into the American Federation of Labor. These members have had little experience and little understanding of the Organized Labor Movement and of its philosophy, its principles and its purposes. I want to announce publicly that every one of these splendid men and women coming from the mass production industries and elsewhere are welcome in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. They are splendid men and women, for I have met them in the automobile industry, the aluminum industry, the rubber industry, the radio, the aeronautical, the filling stations, the oil workers—all of them in different sections of the country seeking

to know, to understand something about our movement. We can help them and they can help us, but above all we are desirous of helping them to raise their standards of life and living to a higher level and to force, if necessary, through organization the payment of a decent wage, so that they can live a life commensurate with the requirements of our American life.

I hold a high admiration for these workers, every one of them, trained and untrained, the new and the old, and I would lack an understanding, a comprehension of the aims and purposes of our Organized Labor Movement if I failed to state definitely that it is the purpose of our movement to organize into a mighty army affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, every man and woman who works for wages in America. And to those who come we extend a hearty welcome. There is a place for everyone here in our movement, and we want to assure them that they will be welcome, that we want them, that we will help them and that we will regard them as a part of us if they will only come into our movement.

Why do I say this? It is because I want, if I can, in connection with the expression of this invitation to the unorganized to come with us, to refer to the work of the Workers Education Bureau and to its service. It is in this special field where this great organization can serve. The work of education must parallel the work of organization, because I find in my experience a lack of understanding of the aims and purposes of our movement, and I find that when the workers possess an understanding of the aims and purposes of our movement they immediately become devoted to that movement, loyal supporters of the American Federation of Labor.

Our organizers are doing splendid work. They are carrying the message to the remote sections of the United States, into the mass production industries, into the trades of all kinds. The organizers employed by national and international unions and by the American Federation of Labor are rendering a heroic and valuable service. But we want to strengthen

their arm and their arguments and their presentation of Labor's cause through the development of an educational policy devoted to the work of the American Federation of Labor. For this reason I appeal to the officers and members of Organized Labor to rally to the support of the Workers Education Bureau.

I recall a few years ago that we started a movement designed to bring to the Workers Education Bureau the full financial support of the American Federation of Labor. The organizations responded in a noble fashion and in a noble way. I think the understanding was that each national union would contribute one cent per member to the support of the Workers Education Bureau. Many international unions have continued that policy. I hope that all may find it possible to make such a financial contribution to the work of the Workers Education Bureau.

I wanted to say these few words. I think they are appropriate and I appeal to all of you to give to the Workers Education Bureau a full and complete measure of support.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Workers Education Bureau

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Francis X. Moore of Electrical Device Workers Union No. 18946 of Hartford, Connecticut.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years recognized the need of education in further progress and development in its organization work; and

WHEREAS, The program of the Workers Education Bureau is the agency of its movement to educate the workers of the United States, and its welfare is of importance to the success of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been evidenced in many States of the Union that the existing agencies of adult education are controlled by people who are not friends of labor and who are definitely opposed to union control and direction of adult workers' education programs; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, urge all the affiliated State agencies to bring such pressure as is possible upon the educational authorities to gain co-operation with the program and aim of the Workers Education Bureau.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers Education Bureau

Resolution No. 175—By Delegates Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; George D. Early, Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council; James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The vast increase in the membership of organized labor throughout this country has placed new and important responsibilities on the leaders of Labor to train these members in the history, policies and the methods of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This task of the education of the new members of Labor can be carried on only by a duly constituted educational agency of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America, which has served the educational needs of the labor movement for the past thirteen years, is recognized officially as the educational arm of the Federation; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby commend to the officers and membership of the new unions the educational services of the Workers Education Bureau; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Local Unions to consult with the officers of the Workers Education Bureau in the selection of directors or supervisors of workers' education, and in the development of labor educational programs, whether of an emergency or permanent character.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor Amendment

Under the above caption, page 87, the Executive Council reports that fourteen states ratified the Child Labor Amendment in 1933, and that twenty states now have ratified the amendment, leaving sixteen more to be secured before it can

become a part of the Constitution. This partial success has aroused the opponents of the amendment to conduct a most bitter campaign to prevent other states from ratifying, with the result that ratification failed in Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Massachusetts.

President Green has been continuously and vigorously active in the campaign for amendment, and your committee desires to express the most generous appreciation of these efforts.

It rejoices in the progress made against this crime against the childhood of the nation—Child Labor—under the National Industrial Recovery Act, but desires, with the Executive Council, to urge that it be kept clear in the minds of all who oppose Child Labor that it can only be prevented and prohibited on a national basis through the enactment of a Federal statute made possible by the inclusion in the United States Constitution of the Child Labor Amendment.

It recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council that all organizations of labor and all members of Organized Labor unite in the effort to secure the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by a sufficient number of state legislatures during the coming year to guarantee the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hanson: This concludes the committee's report, and is signed by:

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Chairman
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,
Secretary

L. P. LINDELOF
THOMAS E. BURKE
WILLIAM R. TROTTER
JOHN B. HAGGERTY
WALTER V. PRICE
LEO E. GEORGE
ROBERT WATT
DANIEL MURPHY
P. T. FAGAN
OTTO J. KAPL
R. G. SODERSTROM
ARTHUR APPLETON
L. E. SWARTZ
G. E. WARREN
J. H. LYONS
A. W. HOCH

Committee on Education.

Delegate Hanson: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair desires to express the sincere appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention for the valuable and fine service rendered by the committee. You are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT DR. HAROLD BUTLER

President Green: The Chair desires to announce just now that Harold Butler, Director of the International Labor Office, has arrived in the city. He is here as a guest of this convention and will address the convention at its session tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock. This honored director of the International Labor Office came to this city all the way from Geneva, Switzerland, for the purpose of bringing to the convention an instructive and inspirational address.

I desire to appoint a reception committee to wait upon Dr. Butler and to escort him to this convention hall tomorrow, when he addresses the convention. I appoint on this committee President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America, Brother Thomas E. Burke, Secretary of the Plumbers and Steamfitters' International Union; President George E. Browne of the Theatrical Stage Employees. I wish that this committee might contact Dr. Butler at their convenience and serve him in every possible way during his visit with us in this convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, chairman of the committee: First of all, in behalf of the committee, I want to express regret that one member of the committee, who has served heretofore as secretary of the committee, has been unable to attend the convention. In expressing regret at his

absence, we have the pleasure to report that we have as secretary of the committee a delegate who has served in that capacity in the past, Delegate John P. Frey.

We have forty-seven subjects to report on from the Executive Council's report, and in addition 155 resolutions have been referred to the committee. We shall report upon the Executive Council matters first, thereafter reporting upon the resolutions. Where resolutions have dealt with the same subject, or are closely akin to each other, we shall report on all the resolutions so related. The secretary will report for the committee.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Introduction

Upon the Introduction of the Executive Council's report, pages 26 and 27, your committee submits the following observation:

Ten million unemployed! This is the stark fact which faces America in October, 1934, a year after the Government of the United States embarked upon a most heroic program of putting people back to work. After a year's effort and the expenditure of billions of dollars, we find that the index of unemployment is even higher than when the Federation met in Washington a year ago. The consumers goods industries have re-employed approximately 50 per cent of their workers, but the heavy industries remain practically at a standstill. This, in a word, is the picture with which the Executive Council prefaces its extended report to this convention. These facts place upon the delegates to this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor a responsibility they dare not shirk.

But with these facts the Introduction reminds us of the striking achievement in the vast extension of organization among American wage-earners, though there still remain large numbers in the organization who are unable to pay their membership dues because of the pro-

longed depression. Then, too, there is the reminder of the price we pay for the long years of relentless opposition on the part of employers to the rights of working men to organize voluntarily into unions of their own creation. The effort on the part of the Government to make explicit this right runs through every page of this report. It is a subject of dominant importance.

Your committee recommends approval of the Introduction of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor and the National Recovery Administration

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, pages 89-100, your committee submits the following:

The promise of the NRA for Labor was in its plan of industrial self-government under which the employer and Labor should function together in a partnership relation under the supervision of the Government. The twofold objective of the Recovery Act was recovery on the one side and reform on the other. The first was a short-run objective, the second was a long-run objective. In achieving its objective, the NRA sought to raise wages, shorten hours and legalize collective bargaining. The extent to which these objectives have been attained is now a matter of record. It will suffice to summarize the evidence.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing section of the Executive Council's report and recommends approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wages

This is the first of a series of subsections reported upon by the Executive Council under the general caption "Labor and the National Recovery Administration," 89, 90, 91, 92, already reported on.

Upon this subsection your committee submits the following comments and recommendations:

In determining the net gains in terms of wages, it is important that a base should be established. To revert to March, 1933, when wages and prices were at their very bottom, serves as a sharp contrast with wages in July, 1934. While it is true that a considerable part of the advance made during the spring of 1933 was made in anticipation of the passage of the Recovery Act, it also remains true that the Recovery Act did not go into effect until June, 1933, and the first code was not promulgated until July, 1933. For purposes of statistical accuracy it is a sounder practice to divide the periods of comparison into the months from March, 1933, to July, 1933, and measure the advance from July, 1933, to July, 1934. Whereas, minimum rates of wages were set in the code of fair competition, when one begins to examine weekly earnings in the light of living costs, the gains to wage-earner income have been small. During the year period ending July, 1934, employment in the sixteen industrial pursuits showed increase in employment of 9.8 per cent with average weekly wages up 6.4 per cent, and an increase in the cost of living of 6.3 per cent. Such a situation adds little to purchasing power either of the individual or of the nation.

It is a distressing fact that in the automobile industry, where there has been the largest increase in employment, there has actually been a reduction in weekly earnings as well as in the average hours of work. In iron and steel, paper and coke, and wool textiles, the same is true.

For Labor one of the most disturbing aspects of the whole situation is the lack of protection given to the wage standards of skilled craftsmen. Codes of fair competition have failed to protect these groups, with the result that actual wage decreases have resulted in some trades. With a few exceptions, such as the men's clothing industry, hosiery and the graphic arts, wage scales above the minimum have not been written into the code. The net result of it all would seem to be that codes must be drastically revised "to in-

crease minimum wages, to eliminate groups of workers now below the minimum rates, and to protect wages of higher paid groups of employees."

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hours

This is another subsection of the Executive Council's report under general caption of "Labor and the National Recovery Administration," pages 92, 93, 94 and 95. Upon this subsection of the report your committee presents the following:

The NRA was a compromise measure devised to offset the Black Thirty-Hour Bill; it sought to achieve economic balance by reducing hours as well as increasing wages. The determined opposition of industry to any shortening of the working week is best revealed by the fact that the average number of hours under the code is approximately forty hours. While this represents a substantial gain from the excessive hours worked in a good many industries at the depth of the depression, it is a long way from providing the measure of re-employment for Labor that it had a right to expect when the law was passed. The results speak for themselves. Between two and three million persons have been re-employed under the NRA. Without a further drastic shortening of the hours there is little prospect of providing job opportunities for the ten million who are idle today.

Furthermore, the subterfuges resorted to by employers of averaging their hours over a long period, especially in seasonal industries, virtually remove the very safeguards that were being set up. Labor reverts to its old and simple remedy for curtailing excessive hours of labor by the imposition of the penalty of time and a half for overtime. It works!

Your committee recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor and Home Work

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's Report, page 95, under general caption of "Labor and the National Recovery Administration," your committee offers the following:

The NRA, among other things, is a piece of social legislation and has made a distinct gain in the elimination of child labor in many industries. It is frequently described as one of the foremost moral gains of the Act itself. With this Labor is in complete agreement; it counts it as a significant achievement.

Similarly, home work for women and children, which has given rise to the sweated industries, have been measurably improved by the standards set up under the code. A special committee recently created between the Federation, Department of Labor and the NRA to work out standards of safety and health in the major industries is an important next step.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Enforcement Machinery

This is another subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 95, 96, under general title of "Labor and the Recovery Administration," and upon which your committee reports as follows:

One of the major defects of the NRA has been in its enforcement machinery. The delays incident to acting on complaints, the lack of Labor representation on codes have all tended to create a sense of disappointment and disillusionment on the part of Labor. Nothing less than representation of Labor on the code authorities and equal representation of Labor on all governmental boards and commissions dealing with Labor and industrial relations will overcome the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

Your committee concurs in the opinion of the Executive Council that the con-

dition of improving the Labor provisions of the codes depends upon first, an increase in wages; second, a drastic shortening of working hours; third, an accurate system of reporting, and fourth, Labor representation, and recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extent to Which Codes Cover Industries

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 96, 97, under general title of "Labor and the Recovery Administration," your committee presents the following:

The report of the NRA that the 515 codes of fair competition represent a coverage of 95 per cent of employes, is subject to question, in view of the fact that service trades industries are exempt from the code. Yet the coverage is very substantial and constitutes an achievement of real proportions.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Reorganization of the NRA

Upon this subsection of the general subject of Labor and the Recovery Administration of the Executive Council's report, pages 97, 98, your committee submits the following observations and report:

Plans for the reorganization of the NRA have now been made public, providing as they do for a division into a threefold grouping of administrative, legislative and judicial functions. We await a clarification of the meaning of this new setup. Within the NRA itself it is purposed to classify the codes into large industrial groupings. This looks toward a general simplification of the administration which has become very necessary. Your committee concurs in the ten major policies

which should be followed in any reorganization of the NRA, ranging from the long-time view as opposed to the emergency view, and recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compliance

Upon this final subsection of the Executive Council's report upon the general subject of Labor and the Recovery Administration, pages 98, 99, your committee presents the following:

One of the most vulnerable points of the Recovery Administration has been the compliance or adjustment of code complaints. Prolonged delays, indefiniteness, and an unwillingness to make the requisite decisions have all conspired to render ineffective certain sections of the law. The absence of labor representation on the original Compliance Boards has been responsible for much of the difficulty that has arisen; it is in the process of being changed. Your committee is of the opinion that the enforcement program is of first importance and that Organized Labor should be permitted to have a voice in shaping such a program.

We recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Wills, Chicago Federation of Labor: I believe it is the subject touched upon by this report that I intended to bring up this morning. The Chicago Federation of Labor has had considerable difficulty in getting enforcement of Section 7-a. I agree with the committee and with the Executive Council that if this law is going to be effective it will have to be enforced.

We are organizing men and women into our labor unions, and when we go before the employers we find they have dismissed them, that they have been turned out on the street, and we are unable to get them back into their positions again. Then they get an award from the Re-

gional Labor Board; that award is carried to the National Labor Board, but in the meantime strikebreakers are placed in their positions. Then the vote is taken as to the kind of organization they will have. After filling the positions with non-union men they take a vote on the form of organization.

Last Sunday in the Chicago Federation this matter was handled for the purpose of bringing it to this convention. I can see by this report that the Executive Council is on the job and intends that Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act shall be what it was intended to be, and that we will not continue to organize workers into the unions solely for the purpose of having them lose their jobs, but it will organize them into unions for the purpose of getting wages and conditions for them.

I will quote from the resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor:

"WHEREAS, the National Labor Board as constituted with Senator Wagner as chairman made the following ruling on January 30, 1934, in the Dresner and Son case where a strike was in progress:

"First: The strike shall be called off immediately.

"Second: All the workers on the payroll on September 5th shall be reinstated, without discrimination or prejudice. In view of the fact that the strike was precipitated by the Company's refusal to deal with the duly selected representative of the workers, the striking employees are entitled to priority over those who have been employed since the strike. In the event that a seasonal lull precludes the immediate reinstatement of all the employees, the Company shall absorb as many of the striking employees as is immediately feasible in the order of seniority, placing the balance upon a preference list to be reinstated before any new employees are engaged.

"Third: An election shall be held under the supervision of the Chicago Regional Board for the selection of representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining. All employees on the payroll of September 5th who are in the Company's employ or who manifest a desire to be reinstated shall be eligible to participate in this election; and

"WHEREAS, Local No. 12 of the United Leather Workers International Union, in good faith and having full confidence in the National Labor Board immediately complied with the first ruling by calling off the strike, believing that the National Labor Board would compel the

Dresner Corporation to comply with the second and third ruling or carry out the recommendation of the Chicago Regional Labor Board of December 11, 1933, which was to withdraw the Blue Eagle and prosecute this corporation for violation of Section 7-a; and

"WHEREAS, The Dresner Corporation refused to comply with the second ruling and proceeded to secure an injunction against the Chicago Regional Labor Board when they attempted to hold an election on May 16, 1934, at the new Post Office Building in compliance with the third ruling; and

"WHEREAS, Through some underhanded method the Attorney for this Corporation in collusion with somebody on the National Labor Board and somebody in the United States Department of Justice, whose names we are unable to ascertain, did secretly without our knowledge or consent hold an election on the Corporation's premises with strikebreakers, who were hired after September 5, 1933, voting, who according to the ruling of the National Labor Board, were not eligible to a vote; and

"WHEREAS, Local No. 12 was at no time advised that the ruling of the National Labor Board was set aside, altered or changed and therefore this shameful conspiracy against the workers is a breach of good faith and must not be permitted to go unchallenged; and

"WHEREAS, Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, chairman of the new National Labor Relations Board, on August 2, 1934, advised us that in his opinion he could not set aside the so-called agreement entered into by the Department of Justice and the National Labor Board with the Dresner Corporation; and

"WHEREAS, Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act would become a fraud and a deception if the bartering away of our rights under this ruling were permitted to stand; now therefore be it

"RESOLVED, By the United Leather Workers International Union, Local No. 12, in special meeting assembled on October 4, 1934, that we do hereby protest this travesty on justice and insist that the recommendation of the Chicago Regional Labor Board of December 11, 1933, namely that the Blue Eagle be withdrawn and the Dresner Corporation be prosecuted for violation of Section 7-a be enforced, and be it further

"RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Labor Relations Board and the delegates from Local No. 12 be and are hereby instructed to present this resolution to the Chicago Federation of Labor with the request that the purport of these resolutions be forwarded to the American Federation of Labor Convention in San Francisco and the Chicago Federation of Labor Delegate to the Convention be instructed to

bring this case to the attention of the Convention for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in having the Blue Eagle withdrawn and that the S. Dresner and Son Corporation be prosecuted in conformity with the recommendation of the Chicago Regional Labor Board and ruling of the National Labor Board.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this organization came back into existence, mainly on the invitation, if you please, of Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act. I recall this organization trying to organize several years ago and they met with strenuous opposition. The organization was practically put out of existence. With the coming of the National Recovery Administration a young man named Isadore Gordon, an organizer of the Leather Workers, went out to these people and said: "Now we have the protection of the Government. Section 7-a says you can join a union without being interfered with," and they believed him and so did I, and we helped him get these people into an organized group.

As soon as it was found that they were organizing, the company dismissed them wholesale. We appealed to the Regional Labor Board and secured a decision in favor of the men. Then we went to the National Labor Board and got a decision favorable to those men who had given up their jobs because they thought they had a right to organize. Without any money, just plugging along, this young man deserves credit.

The enforcement of Section 7-a has got to start some time. We have had other cases similar to this one. Unless that is a law that can be enforced, then we ought to discontinue saying that we are going to get conditions for you now through legitimate means. We are apt to forget that section of the Act and resort back to the methods we have used in the past, that is, use our economic strength and strike to get the conditions. Unless Section 7-a is enforced a lot of your organizations will find themselves in the same position that Local 7 of the National Leather Workers' Union finds itself.

I thank you for this opportunity of presenting this matter for the Central Body. I hope the American Federation of Labor

will co-operate with the Leather Workers in bringing about a settlement of this matter. I have been advised by the national representative of the Leather Workers that he has had the fullest co-operation of President Green in trying to bring about an adjustment of this matter.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: I believe a majority of the delegates in this convention realize that the weakest link in the National Recovery program has been the failure of the Government to secure compliance. Many of our organizations have had the same experience as related by the delegate from Chicago. When the National Recovery Act was adopted, including therein Section 7-a, at the behest and through the support of the American Federation of Labor many of us thought the time had arrived when the Government had come to realize that it was its duty to protect the rights of American workers to organize into organizations of their own choice and select representatives without interference or coercion.

Many of the organizations which have been seeking this opportunity set out upon a program of organization, and with the pressure removed from the other organized interests of the country, thousands of men were induced to enroll with the established national and international unions. The results that followed were that many of these workers were discharged as soon as it was learned by the employers that they had established contact with a trade union or had made application for membership. In some instances a majority of the workers in an establishment had already affiliated with the organization of their choice.

When the machinery was provided, following policies laid down by the Federal Government, we sought to procure protection against discharge, and we sought to establish a method whereby differences in regard to wages and hours could be determined without the necessity of strikes. I could cite to this convention instances where appeals were made to the

Regional Labor Board, and in every instance decisions favorable to workers were rendered, and yet the workers in whose favor these decisions were rendered are at this time on the street, without jobs, as a result of an affiliation with the union of their choice and an attempt to select their own representatives.

We were told upon the platform the other day by a member of the President's Cabinet that more than one-half of the strikes which have occurred during the last year have come as a result of the attempt of the workers to exercise privileges which were granted to them under Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act.

Very few, if any, instances can be cited where there has been a serious attempt to prevent the workers in the exercise of this right or to protect them after they have been displaced as the result of a lockout through exercising this right. It has been said on the floor of this convention that the reasons given for the failure of the government to take action in cases of this kind was some doubt as to the constitutionality of the National Recovery Act. I believe the statement was made that if Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act cannot be enforced, if it is unconstitutional or if the entire Act is unconstitutional, certainly the American workers should know as to the legality of the Act and they should have an opportunity to secure legislation that will be held constitutional by the courts, and they should have that opportunity before half the workers of the country starve as a result of the failure to enforce a Federal statute that is upon the books.

There is no element in this country that has given more united support and more helpful support in the National Recovery Act than has the organized workers. All over this land the spokesmen for Organized Labor have endeavored to assist in creating sentiment upon the part of the great mass of the people in support of the National Recovery program. I dare say that 90 per cent of the spokesmen of the workers in this convention have stood before audiences of American citizens and upheld the hand of the Presi-

dent in what he has attempted to do to bring this country out of the depression.

I am inclined to believe that perhaps we have not been open enough in our criticism where there has been failure, and I have come to believe that unless we place the finger of responsibility where it should be placed that we are likely to go through another year with the same conditions obtaining that obtained during the past twelve months.

I find some very disconcerting statements, which appear to be authoritative, since the reorganization of the National Recovery Administration. As a result of my experience and contacts in Washington I was rather of the opinion that I could place my finger upon those who are responsible for the failure in the matter of establishing codes of fair competition to regulate the various industries. But there has been a reorganization, and I find in the public press, if it is quoted correctly, a statement that does not give me confidence that there is going to be a change in the application of Section 7-a in the National Recovery Act, in which we are most directly interested.

I find that Mr. Richberg, a friend of mine and a friend of many of the delegates in this convention, who must accept the responsibility, at least for the legal opinions rendered, because he was the general counsel of the National Recovery Administration, has made a statement since this reorganization, and he is quoted as having said before the National Press Club in Washington, in referring to the National Labor Relations Board, in connection with a most important decision upon the question of minority and majority representation, that the Board laid down the theory that when an election by any group, no matter what its size, was held for the purpose of electing their representatives, and when they had chosen by majority their representatives, those were the men who had been chosen to represent the voters.

So far, so good. But we find out that they were not laying down the theory that the majority of all the employees of the plant must be decisive. If we are going to have a decision made we have

to provide a place where the majority will vote and have their decision accepted. That doesn't determine the right of the minority or any individual or small group, any more than the rights under the laws of this country are determined by the fact that your district has elected a Democrat or a Republican to Congress. Of course, I suppose that might be interpreted to mean that if you happen to live in a district in which the majority of the voters are Democrats, that the Republicans who don't like the policies of the Democratic Congressman, the minority might get together and select a Republican as a spokesman. The individual has a right to state his grievances, and has a right to get together a committee in his own interests. That is a separate and individual right, but when it comes to the choice of representatives, if he joins in the selection of the representatives, he must abide by the will of the majority.

So in the application of the decision of the Board, if I understand it correctly, when they said that after the test had been made the representatives of the majority of the employees speak for all. Under the application of this theory, any individual or any minority group which refrains from participation in the election and refrains from voting, can go in and practically destroy the work of the representatives of the majority.

From the beginning there has been a bitter contest over this principle. Every trade unionist that represents an organization which operates under the plan known as the union shop understands full well what the application of that policy means. I seriously doubt, unless the American Federation of Labor gives very effective opposition to such an interpretation of Section 7-a, whether or not those unions which have in the past, without Federal assistance, operated under union shop agreements would be able to do so in the future.

Soon after the National Recovery Act was adopted in our industry we were confronted upon every hand with statements by the employers that it was illegal to sign a so-called closed shop agreement, a contract under which the

union was the agency that furnished help and under which the employer agreed to employ only members of the union which constituted that agency.

It required a great deal of effort in the large cities of this country to break down the belief that it was a violation of the National Industrial Recovery Act to sign a union contract of that nature. And I want to say to you that as a result of personal experiences that in breaking down that belief and continuing contracts, the nature of which were the same as they have been for more than fifty years in our organization, we received no help and nothing but embarrassment from the heads of the National Recovery Administration. In some of the industries there have been Labor Relations Boards. The employer members of these boards have taken a most illogical position. They are directed, as a result of the employers' code, to determine the issue as to who or what agency is the representative of the employees when the question arises. The employer representatives have taken a position that where that issue is raised they will participate in determining who or what agency is the representative of the employees, but that there is no obligation to proceed any further in determining the conditions as to wages or hours.

I submit to you there is no purpose in determining who are the representatives of a group of employees who have just organized unless the agency that determines that question continues to retain jurisdiction and settle differences as regard wages and hours.

If we are to have a practical application of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and Section 7-a, in which we are vitally interested, if we are able to compel agencies that are set up for the adjudication of differences to comply with a sound procedure, it is going to be necessary for the American Federation of Labor to be most active in securing proper interpretation and the proper application of the National Recovery Act. If we cannot secure that interpretation and that application of the law as it is fixed at the present time, for God's sake let us fight it out and go to Congress and get

a law that can be applied properly for the protection of the workers.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: On Section 7-a I would like to take about five minutes of the time of the delegates to review some of the decisions regarding collective bargaining that has been made in this nation over a period of years. I say this because I am wondering whether the delegates to this convention are justified in considering Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act as a new bill of rights for Organized Labor. As long ago as 1842, in the case of the Commonwealth versus Hunt, the Massachusetts court ruled that combinations of workers were perfectly legal, provided their purposes and methods were legal. Then in 1914, in the passage of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, we reiterated that decision. However, neither of these decisions, as far as the workers were concerned, were worth the paper they were written on, because employers were foxy enough to have the courts from the Supreme Court down, rule in almost every instance that the activities of labor organizations were illegal.

The benefit derived by workers from the enactment of the National Recovery Act, and particularly Section 7-a, was the tremendous amount of free advertising that the American Labor movement got. In other words, collective bargaining and organization have been dinned into the ears of the American worker for about nine months, and it would be surprising to me if we did not have the same degree of success with that advertising as they have had with the selling of Listerine, Maxwell House Coffee and other products of that kind.

In 1932 the Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed. That was more specific than Section 7-a, and still we find that the Norris-LaGuardia Act has been used two ways. The delegates here will recall how the Norris-LaGuardia Act was applied in the Weirton steel case.

I am sure that I am expressing the opinion of the members of the State Federation of Labor that I represent when I say that Section 7-a is just a lot of high sounding words. In other

words, let us take some actual proof. What do we find in the case of our friend Henry Ford. He maintained that he had complied with all the provisions when he talked to his workers over the telephone before he hung up, after talking to them for a few minutes. The president of the Harriman Company claimed he had complied with the law, with all the provisions of the Act, when he had talked to his employees.

The important phase of this question is that neither Mr. Donald Richberg nor Mr. Hugh S. Johnson has at any time said to the Harriman Company and to Henry Ford that they were not obeying the law, so it is safe to assume that they agreed with Ford and with the Harriman Company. The only hope of the worker doesn't lie in the transfer of the National Recovery Act from one department to another, it doesn't lie in the retirement of ballyhoo officials, it lies in the organization of the workers in mass industries. And when we set our hands to that task of organizing the workers in the mass industries, we won't have to give a damn whether Richberg or Johnson or any other body interprets Section 7-a.

Delegate Fremming, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers: The United States Supreme Court has before it at this session the original injunction case arising in the State of Texas, wherein the Amazon Oil Company has attacked the injunction proceedings, the validity of Section 7-a, and they have proceeded from two distinct points in their pleadings in so far as the workers are concerned. First, that Section 7-a is an abridgement of contract between persons; second, that the workers in Texas employed by that particular corporation operate in intrastate commerce rather than in interstate commerce. All of these points that have been so outstanding are now subjected to review by the United States Supreme Court.

The original court in Texas caused the injunction to lie as against the administrator. The circuit court reversed the original court and it comes now before the Supreme Court. That court has indicated in its calendar arrangement or agenda, that it will be heard early in this session of court.

We have assisted materially with the Petroleum Administrative Board's legal department in perfecting the Administrator's case in defending the workers' rights under Section 7-a.

You may be interested in knowing that the Petroleum Industry is under separate administration and not related to the NRA. The President named the Secretary of the Interior as the Administrator of the Petroleum Codes. We have no direct relationship whatever to the National Recovery Administration. We have our own legal department, and that department upon two separate occasions has held in its interpretation of Section 7-a differently from the legal department of the NRA. One of the early decisions back in March of this year, on the question of majority and minority relationship under the rules of collective bargaining, was that the Petroleum Administration Board and the Petroleum Labor Policy Board held that the majority spoke for the minority, and upon two occasions have they taken that position on issues that have been before them.

I thought you would be interested in knowing how the Supreme Court in this session of the court will determine the question discussed here this morning relating to Section 7-a.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman and comrades, the remarks made here are of such overwhelming importance that I trust that I may be excused for offering a few remarks with reference to it. The only trouble with the Industrial Recovery Act, Section 7-a, is the construction which has been placed upon it. If it is necessary to re-enact it to meet those objections, the first duty of the American Federation of Labor is to see that that is done. When the Recovery Administration and the Department of Justice questioned the right of Congress to adopt Section 7 and change the original decision as to its meaning, formulated by the National Board, with Senator Wagner as its chairman—when that was changed the blows that were struck at the Recovery Administration and at the legislation were such as very few realized the full meaning of.

There is in the American policy engraved very deeply the idea that the worker as such is not really incorporated in the social and political institutions of the United States. We may be described to be the unincorporated division of the population. We are incorporated in it so far that in three months or two months every two years we have certain rights, and then after we have exercised those rights we are through. That is the political equality of it so far as it goes.

With reference to the industry we have followed to some large extent, and improperly so, the system of the common law developed in England during six centuries of work and wages and brought here and applied here largely after England had changed its policy. The fight of the Third Estate—of Big Business—against Section 7 is natural, because they hold the position that "they are the legitimate heirs to the castle and the guild," the castle in this case standing for administrative power and legislative power, the guild standing for industrial power.

In the United States, however, that could never be true, because the United States grew out of voluntary associations organized by free men in the colonies for mutual protection and aid. Those organizations became the swaddling clothes of the United States as a nation.

I have no fear of what the Supreme Court will do if the matter is properly handled. The industrial workers of the United States are in the position of the equal protection with any other part of the population under the Declaration of Independence. It is the general understanding and the accepted maxim that when the Constitution of the United States is in doubt, the judiciary will go to the Declaration of Independence to solve the question. There is the additional provision here that when there is a question of a right of a citizen, whether he works in digging a ditch or in writing a judicial decision, it is the same, the right to the pursuit of happiness, such as the country shall be able to provide.

Under the Constitution the legislative grants given to the Congress of the

United States provide for a consideration of "General Welfare." Where, therefore, the difference in the states is such as to make it questionable whether it should be dealt with by these states or by the United States, then the United States deals with some particular questions, in the interests of the "General Welfare," and no one can question that the Recovery Act was passed for the general welfare. No one has questioned that. Those who fought it first, secretly then, and openly since, may make all kinds of claims, but it is in their welfare as well as our welfare that the courts shall give proper interpretation to Section 7-a, and under the authority granted to Congress I haven't any doubt that when the board presided over by Senator Wagner gave the construction it did to Section 7, it did so with the perfect understanding of the meaning and purposes of Congress, and certainly of the meaning and purposes of the Constitution of the United States.

And for us, representing Labor, and representing the mass of the people who are now in the trenches to extend rights of all in industry and labor as well as in other fields of activity, for us to fail to make an emphatic protest, yes, a demand that there must be such a construction of Section 7 as will actually give the absolute equality of man for the purposes described in the Act would be treason. Now if we are not permitted to have that Act enforced in the proper way there is no remedy but to strike. We had it here. I am not going to take up any time describing the strike here, but I want to say to you that the question of who is to be able to represent the seamen is, after three months of an election, not yet determined. The seamen, under those circumstances, don't know where they stand. We hope that it will come out all right. There is no question but that a strikebreaker must not be permitted to vote, because if he is permitted to vote he will vote for the company union, necessarily, and this will nullify the Act.

Vice-President Woll: I take it that it is not essential to speak in behalf of the committee and its report, because that

is unquestioned, I shall not take up much of your time, though the subject discussed is one that, if time permitted, might well be discussed at length with reference to a number of phases of the National Recovery Act.

The problem of Section 7-a, its construction and interpretation and enforcement has been discussed. I am not going to deal with that question. I want to deal very briefly with principles underlying, which, to my mind are far more fundamental and certainly more grave than the question of interpreting Section 7-a as to whether to give the right to a majority to represent all workers or to permit representation to minorities. I desire to deal briefly with the principle on which the NRA is founded.

I might incidentally say that Brother Watt is not altogether correct in his analysis of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and some of the other legislative acts to which he referred. The National Recovery Act is founded upon such principles that the national government has the power to regulate commerce between the states and the nations.

It is upon that constitutional authority that power has been granted to the national government. It is upon that authority that the Clayton and the Sherman Acts are predicated which, as you well know, place a restriction and limitation upon combinations of industrial or capital organizations.

Leaving aside the question that Labor suffered most by these restrictions and limitations, the purposes of the Clayton and the Sherman Acts were to prevent combinations of larger capitalistic and industrial organizations, holding that the doctrine of conspiracy applied when two or more corporate bodies interfered with or attempted to interfere with interstate commerce. It is well known that for years industry has complained against these restrictions and limitations imposed by the national Government and designed to prevent a continued growth and enlarged combination, yes, monopoly, if you please, on the part of capital and industrial organizations.

The National Recovery Act says what? It says that employers, corporate entities, agreeing to stipulations required by the National Recovery Act shall be exempt from the restrictions of the Sherman and the Clayton Acts. It goes further and gives power to the President to say that those employers, corporate entities, who decline to go into the combination or code, may be denied the facilities of interstate commerce by the President. Thus we have reversed the whole national philosophy of preventing capitalistic organizations from becoming greater and more powerful and monopolistic in character though not in form by a policy of almost compelling individual units within an industry to join in the combination formed or code prescribed. In other words, we are setting about by force of pressure of Government to cartelize our industries and make stronger and more effective our industrial and capital organizations.

I am not concerned whether they are given merely power to allocate production or ascertain average cost of production, etc. The principle is that they have been given extended power of organization. When we come to the labor section we find, of course, declarations to the right to organize, and some restrictions regarding industrial organizations interfering with that right. That principle involved is well founded, for if we give capital organizations the right to extend their powers, to combine, to monopolize, to cartelize, certainly a like right ought to be given Labor, who necessarily is in contractual relations with industry. If like power of combination be denied, then the contractual relationship becomes a doctrine of enslavement rather than a doctrine or device of freedom and of liberty.

Unfortunately there is no directing power given to the President such as there is given to the President when we come to the capital organizations, and where a recalcitrant employer or recalcitrant unit within the industry declines to follow the rule of the majority and conform to the cartelized combination. When we come to Labor there is no recognition of majority rule—there is no provision against a recalcitrant who refuses

to join with his fellow workers or declines to observe adopted or approved standards of employment. It has been said that these matters are coming before the United States Supreme Court. Unquestionably they will.

Recently the Administration realized that service organizations cannot be held to be engaged in interstate commerce. They played safe in that direction. However, if the United States Supreme Court maintains its former attitude and definitions as to what constitutes interstate commerce—take, for instance, the miners' case—then the productive processes within the State will be held to be intrastate and not interstate affairs and hence not subject to Federal control. My great fear is that the United States Supreme Court will thus rule. If this fear comes to pass then what will happen—what will we then be confronted with? We will then have a situation wherein the Government will have actually undertaken to promote large capitalistic combinations, large trade associations, effective employers' associations. While under dictum of that law Labor relations cannot constitutionally be regulated by the Federal Government because of this or some other reason, labor will be at the mercy of enlarged corporate power. Will the Government or Congress, when it meets this winter, dare to permit that sort of situation to continue? Will it dare, on June 30, when the Act expires, have all these combinations of capital declared criminal conspiracies? Such a decision would again, we will be told, throw us back into a chaotic industrial condition. Unquestionably, Congress will in one form or other modify or change the Clayton and Sherman Acts in order to permit this increased power of corporate enterprise to continue, while on the other hand restrictions will then have been effectually placed on Labor in gaining like power of organization.

What are we to do? What is to be our course? I quite agree that in economic organization lies our greatest safety. But I also do believe that we ought to exercise political power—the power of states limiting and regulating the corporate power of corporate enterprises.

I don't mind saying that I heartily agree with what Andy Furuseth said the other day when we spoke of the philosophy of power, only I don't think he did make quite clear how this power was being applied. Section 7-a goes beyond the Norris Act, because the Norris Act was merely a declaration of rights. Under its provisions the yellow dog contract is not declared illegal but only unenforceable. No restrictions are placed upon the employer to control Labor organizations under that Act.

Section 7-a and the rights sought to be safeguarded are predicated and apply only when codes have been approved upon interstate commerce. To my mind it is built upon effects, upon manifestations of power granted, rather than being founded upon the source of power involved. My suggestion to Labor is to consider seriously, as I have expressed on former occasions—and I don't mind saying a good many call me conservative—dealing with the source of corporate power. I think the most radical departure that could be made and the most fundamental in dealing with this subject is to regulate and control the source of power, and not merely attempt to deal with manifestations of such corporate power. And I mean the original grant of corporate power, the power of the State to issue charters to three or more to form a corporation and under that corporate form have an extended life, an extended vitality, an increased resourcefulness which is not and cannot be possessed by any natural individual. To say that a corporate entity is invested with the same rights, the same privileges and prerogatives as are possessed by a natural person strikes at the very foundation of safety of the natural individual.

Can you conceive of the steel trust being considered as an individual person in law, when as a matter of fact it is an artificial entity, getting its power and resourcefulness by act of the State, by charter privileges and not by God? That is what Andy Furuseth referred to when he referred to the old kings granting charters to their friends to exploit the masses and all natural resources.

If we find it essential—and I agree that corporate enterprise is essential in our modern day and time—I do agree that many of the great things that have been done could not have been done excepting through that form of industrial organization; but in granting such corporate power let us destroy the implied doctrine of power given to corporate enterprise by the courts, implied power denying to Labor the right to organize freely, compelling the individual worker to deal with a congregation of a hundred or a hundred thousand shareholders organized into one combination as a mere individual and to decline collective action on the part of the workers. Let us place restrictions and limitations upon these corporate grants and at the source of corporate power. Let us say that while you may form a corporation for the undertaking of a certain objective, while you may have one hundred, one thousand or a hundred thousand stockholders, each putting in their little mite to make possible a great corporate enterprise, let there be, however, a restraint, a limitation, a regulation placed upon such grant of power in the interests of Labor and for the freedom of individual and collective contract and of equality, of power. Labor must have accorded to it the same right of organization as corporate enterprise, and if the attempt be continued to deny that right to Labor, then the corporate grant of power shall be held to be null and void.

I ask for no action at this time. My suggestion is that we study the sources of power and seek to deal with these corporate grants legislatively rather than to center our attention on mere effects of corporate power. By the methods heretofore pursued we may gain for a time, but ultimately we will find that our efforts have been in vain and that constantly increasing powers will have been gained by corporate enterprise and to the further enslavement of Labor as a whole. I regret time does not permit of a more extended presentation of this subject.

Delegate Fritz, Indianapolis Central Labor Union: I just want to call your attention, Mr. Chairman and delegates, to the fact that I am mostly interested in the enforcement of the Act and to get the

people in there who will help to enforce Section 7-a. We have in Indianapolis a Regional Labor Board that I might say was at least 95 per cent successful in settling all the controversies that came before that Board. After we got these things all straightened out they came along with a new set-up. The idea in mind as I understand, was to form a new Board to enforce Section 7-a. We had a secretary who actually did things that no one else could accomplish, and he was not a trade union man. However, he had the interests of Organized Labor at heart. This man went into a city where a strike was in progress, and where we were hopelessly in the minority and he came out with an agreement running all the way from one to two years, with full recognition of the Union.

At the Indiana State Federation of Labor convention a resolution was introduced endorsing this man as the new man to take the place of the old man in the new set-up to enforce Section 7-a. This action was communicated to the National Labor Relations Board and after that was all done, here is the letter we received:

"My dear Mr. Fritz: This letter is in response to your telegram of yesterday. Because of the changes in the law and the responsibilities placed upon us to really enforce 7-a, the National Labor Relations Board is making necessary changes in each of the Regional Boards. The position of Executive Secretary is being discontinued and a Director has been, or will be, appointed for each of the twenty districts. The Director is charged with full executive authority, including that heretofore vested in the chairman, and has such responsibilities in cases involving violations of Section 7-a, that he needs special qualifications in training as well as considerable experience in mediation work.

"In our opinion, Mr. Watson, who has served as Executive Secretary of the Indianapolis Board, did not qualify well enough for the duties imposed upon a Director and for promotion to that position. Hence the termination of his service with the elimination of the position he has filled for several months. A man from our staff, made available by the transfer of conciliation work to the Division of Conciliation of the Department of Labor, has been sent to Indianapolis as Associate Director. We think Mr. Cowdrill is well qualified to serve in the new program and trust he will prove to be wholly acceptable to Organized Labor."

As far as we are concerned out in Indiana, we did not know this man and we did not know Mr. Millis. I am not going to read the whole letter that we sent in reply, but we said in part:

"I have before me a copy of the second monthly report from your Board to the Honorable Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Release No. 160, dated September 26, 1934, and on page 4 and in the fourth to seventh lines and note the following: 'No man has been chosen without a personal interview, and without first making certain that his appointment would be satisfactory to representatives of Industry and Labor in the locality in which he is to serve.' Now as far as I can ascertain representatives of Labor in this locality were not consulted in any way relative to the appointment of a Director of the Indianapolis Regional Board."

I ask you delegates, why was this man removed? He had the endorsement, I might say, of the entire Labor Movement, and in addition to that, notwithstanding the fact that he had worked for the manufacturing industry in getting the agreement, he likewise had the endorsement of every member of the manufacturers who served on that Labor Board. Yet in the face of that we get this kind of return.

I say to you it looks rotten to me and it looks as if they do not want Section 7-a enforced.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Under the foregoing caption, pages 110, 111, 112, 113, the Executive Council submits a most interesting, helpful and constructive presentation on this whole subject of unemployment.

Upon this section of the Executive Council's report your committee offers the following comments and report:

The unemployment estimates of the Federation are today the most reliable index of involuntary idleness in the country. They are so recognized by the Government and most other responsible agencies. The fact that today more than 10,000,000 still remain idle in the land, constitutes the overshadowing problem

so far as American labor is concerned. The complete collapse of the heavy industries and the failure on the part of the President's re-employment program to get these started, is part of the record of our time. It is abundantly clear that the situation requires a major adjustment in our economic organization. Unless it is possible for us to build up consuming power and our industries we shall not be able to cope with this problem effectively. It is clear also that we must have a vast expansion in living standards and a plan for growth in consuming power to lift the American worker up to new levels. Even with the program of the CWA and the ERA providing as they did temporary work for several million unemployed, we have had an evidence of the widespread pressure of the unemployed on available jobs. Government relief work is at best a stop-gap. The responsibility of industry to provide employment for the vast bulk of our workers is clear and unmistakable.

Your committee would emphasize the words of the Executive Council's report. The present unemployment situation is immediate and critical, and the final responsibility for this solution rests upon the Government.

The present situation does challenge the Administration to give us a plan by which Industry, Labor and the Government may co-operate to restore to the workers their opportunities to create wealth and earn a living. We might add that industry is likewise challenged and we join with the Executive Council in the hope that by such a solution we may avoid a more drastic course and avoid a radical departure from our present order. But whatever measures may be required, employment opportunities for all able and willing to work must be had and our army of unemployed must not be allowed to become a permanent burden upon the community.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman—

Vice-President Woll: May I say a word before the delegate speaks? This deals with but one phase of the unemployment problem. We have other matters dealing with relief and unemployment insurance. This deals only with the statement on the unemployment problem.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: In this connection the delegates to the convention will recall that that organization representing undoubtedly the most colossal failure of the age, the United States Chamber of Commerce, issued a statement the first week in August assailing the figures of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council on unemployment.

I have here the official document of the United States Chamber of Commerce which I am going to take the time to read, because I am sure it will prove of interest to all the delegates:

"Any figure for the number of unemployed persons in so large a country as ours, and with so varied conditions, must be an estimate. There are no real statistics for employment or unemployment, month by month, in a population of 125,000,000. If all the reliable data to be had are gathered, and if there is care to err upward rather than downward—in order that there may be no chance for intelligent criticism of the result as too small—there is reached for July an estimate under 7,000,000 for persons in unemployment for all reasons.

"This is a gross figure. It includes many persons that are unemployable, those who will not work, those whose employment comes normally at other seasons of the year, and those that have voluntarily left employment for reasons of their own. The gross figure even includes persons who formerly were occupied in a field, are not now employed in it, but who are fully employed in a different field for which statistics are not collected.

"Obviously, much refining of the gross figures should be in order before it receives serious consideration for any important purpose. There are not data which permit exactness in the refining process, but existing data point definitely the direction to be taken and the approximate size of minimum reductions. They make clear, too, that when unemployment caused by the depression is under consideration, at least 2,000,000 must be taken from the bottom of the gross figure. For even in a period of great economic activity, with 'full employment' in all quarters, there are in unemployment at any given time several million persons out of a working

population of 50,000,000 or more. By such processes, and with care to make allowance for young persons reaching the age where they seek employment, the estimate of those who in July were out of employment by reason of business conditions cannot exceed 5,000,000."

And that is the official statement of the United States Chamber of Commerce the first week in August in answer to the statement of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. If under ordinary conditions we had no figures to challenge the statement of the United States Chamber of Commerce, I should hesitate to take the floor. However, last December the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was given by the Federal Government \$550,000 under the PRA to make a house to house canvass on unemployment, under the supervision and direction of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry. Here very briefly is the partial result of that survey that was made in Massachusetts during the first three months of 1934. First of all the figures on unemployment disregard the children under 14 years of age, housewives, students, persons not able to work, or retired and disabled persons or persons voluntarily unemployed for other reasons. The figures disclose that, exclusive of those classifications, the employable persons in Massachusetts number 1,808,840 persons. Breaking that down into four classes we find that there are, wholly unemployed 19.1 per cent; temporarily employed on Government work, 5.6 per cent; temporarily employed on private work, 1 per cent; employed part time 9.6 per cent. In other words, we have in Massachusetts wholly unemployed 346,021 persons. If we date back to the census of 1930, the last census that we can date anything upon and use the same percentage—and I think under the circumstances it is quite fair to do that because of the fact that Massachusetts might be looked upon as a fair state to compare any other state with—if we use that figure in Massachusetts with the Federal census of 1930, we find there are 9,326,514 wholly unemployed. If we add to that the figure of the percentage who are on part time employment, both government and private, then we reach a figure of 14,014,186. If we add the four classi-

fications, wholly unemployed, temporarily employed on government projects, temporarily employed on private work, and employed part time, we find that compared with the United States census of 1930 we reach the figure of 34.5 per cent—34.5 per cent based on the employables which amount to 48,000,000 in the United States census of 1930, would give us a total of 16,846,322 unemployed, proving what a great many of us have believed for a good many years, that the figures issued by the American Federation of Labor were extremely conservative.

In fact this proves that if you include those on part time employment, it is about six million out of the way. I have two other tables which are of some importance to the delegates which I will give. One is a table which was designed to give figures of the heads of households only, those men and women who were designated as the heads of households with family responsibilities. One half of the total persons designated as heads of households were reported in Massachusetts to be wholly unemployed.

The other figure of a great deal of interest to those interested in education, because the unemployment in groups from 14 to 18 is involved, shows that approximately 46 per cent of all those between the ages of 14 and 18 were unemployed. Those figures are not completed, and as a closing word I would like to urge upon the delegates here, within the next month, to communicate with the Department of Labor and Industry in Massachusetts, State House, Boston, Mass., and request from them when this has been completed the report of what is officially known as the Massachusetts Unemployment Census. I might say that this is the only State in the Union where this survey has taken place. It will give your international officers unemployment figures not only by occupations, but it will give employment by groups, and I repeat that it seems to me a fair way to compare Massachusetts with the other states of the Union on a percentage basis.

Delegate Cook, Bookkeepers and Steenographers' Union No. 12646, New York City: In backing up Brother Watt, speak-

ing as an accounting and statistical expert participating in codes and referring to the attack on the unemployment figures of the American Federation of Labor Statistical Research Department, let me say that the department came into being, as probably every delegate here knows, before the formation of the NRA for the purpose of aiding the officials of the American Federation of Labor in handling its problems. The National Industrial Conference Board Research Department was formed years ago by the employers to do similar work, and the Government of the United States has a similar collective agency, and in not one instance has any of them questioned the figures of the American Federation of Labor.

I have myself studied some thirty-five or forty industries in the past year. I have received the cordial co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in most intimate fashion and I have regarded the figures of the American Federation of Labor as being very conservative. Recently the Chamber of Commerce, as so many unfair employers have done, resorted to the subterfuge of pretending to create a similar research department in order to blacken the figures of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. In view of that I feel that the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce have demonstrated, as have the unfair employers in this country, that they are unfit to guide and receive the recognition of leadership that has been given them in the past.

The American Federation of Labor has demonstrated in this department that it has created in the past year, under extreme difficulty and in the midst of extremely trying conditions, that they have a staff of research people second in ability to none in America. They have established a most marvelous service which I think the Government of the United States should incorporate into its activities.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Vice-President Woll: The meeting of the Committee on Resolutions, called for this noontime, has been postponed and will be held immediately after adjournment this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

San Francisco, Calif.
October 9, 1934.

Absentees—Freng, Brown (A.), Merlino, Horn, Pelkofer, Kasten, Lucchi, Wilkerson, Smith (V. C.), Brown (A., J.), O'Keefe (L.), Hannah, Hatch, Fay (G. V.), Taylor (T. N.), Lawson, Mastriani, Meany, Phillips, Iglesias, Bailey (A.), O'Brien (Paul), Gresty, MacDonald, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Hirschfeldt, Walsh (J.) Campbell (G. C.), Gross, McInroy, Brooks (W. C.), Mitchell (H.), De Witt, Meyers (C. A.), Woods (G. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Pitner, Shave, Quinn, Gornito, Bale, Jackson, Draper, Hoocher, Bower, Davison, Wright, Dorsey, Holmes (T. W.), Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Doane, Whitson, De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Bertucci, Watson, Holland, Hamton, Dent, Gartrell, Garibaldi, Hull, Ryan (Jas.), Mitchell (R. A.), Beardall (H.), Yetta, Higgins.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Polk Hall, Civic Auditorium,
San Francisco, California.

Socialist Party of California sends fraternal greetings. We pledge full support to your efforts to obtain justice and economic security for workers.

MARJORIE KIPP, Secretary.
SAM WHITE, Chairman, Labor
Committee.

Miami, Florida,
October 9, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Assembled at San Francisco.

Organized Labor of Miami and Florida heartily concur in invitation extended last week by Miami City Commission inviting American Federation of Labor to hold its Fifty-fifth Convention in this city. Holding convention in Southern State we believe would accomplish much for the movement.

WALTER HOYT, President,
Miami Central Labor Union.

President Green: These telegrams will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's session.

We will now proceed to the special order of business set for 2:30 o'clock this afternoon. The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment, Brother Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers, to present the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials reports that John Feeley has been substituted for John H. Donlin, because of the latter's illness, on the delegation of the Operative Plasterers' International Association, and we recommend that he be seated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Chicago, Illinois.
October 8, 1934.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Whitcomb Hotel.

The United Tire and Rubber Workers' Union, Local No. 18236, wish to announce that happy relations now exist with the American Tire and Rubber Company in Chicago. The strike terminated Saturday, October 6. A temporary agreement was accepted by this company. Union workers discharged are re-employed and the firm is now fair to Organized Labor.

JOSEPH A. BRIEGEL, Organizer.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Secretary Maloney: Your committee has had two cases referred to it for adjustment. The first case to be taken up is that of the controversy in the building trades. It is contained in the fifth day's proceedings from pages 346 to 348, the Executive Council's supplementary report and the decision of the Executive Council.

Supplementary Report and Decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Convention, upon the appeal of the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America from the decision of the Building Trades Department with reference to affiliation of these organizations with the Department.

San Francisco, California,
October 5, 1934.

The Executive Council herewith transmits a supplementary report dealing with the serious internal controversy which has arisen in the Building Trades Department and which so seriously affects the relationship of building trades organizations.

It has ever been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to unite all building trades organizations eligible to affiliation, into a strong, united, effective Building Trades Department. The economic and industrial welfare of building trades' workers calls for the establishment of solidarity, co-operation, and united effort on the part of building trades organizations.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide for the establishment of a Building Trades Department and for the eligibility of building trades organizations to become affiliated with the Department. There is nothing, however, in the law which compels building trades organizations to accept affiliation. It all rests upon voluntary action on the part of building trades organizations.

In order to achieve solidarity and to establish strength and unity in the Building Trades Department, efforts were put forth by the Executive Council to bring about the affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. These organizations had withdrawn from affiliation with the Department. Recently it became quite apparent, particularly because of the development of an industrial code of fair practice for the construction industry, that there was a most

emphatic need for the return of these organizations into affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

On June 14, 1934, an agreement was reached providing for the reaffiliation of these organizations with the Building Trades Department. The President of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the representatives of the three organizations named to unite with the Building Trades Department. The appeal was accepted. The President of the American Federation of Labor submitted the application of the three organizations for affiliation, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously agreed to approve the application of the three organizations named for re-affiliation with the Building Trades Department. The entrance fees required by the law for affiliation of organizations with the Department were promptly paid and accepted. It was understood and agreed that these organizations in becoming affiliated with the Department would be entitled to exercise and enjoy all the rights and privileges of organizations affiliated with the Department as provided for in the laws and constitution of the Building Trades Department. The record clearly shows that every requirement of the constitution of the Building Trades Department necessary to secure affiliation was met by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America when they became affiliated with the Department.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that these three organizations were an integral part of the Department, were affiliated with it, and entitled to representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department as affiliated organizations when it convened in this city on September 26, 1934.

To the amazement and surprise of the Executive Council, the convention rejected the credentials of the delegates duly elected by these three organizations, denied them seats, and the organizations representation in the convention.

An appeal was made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the three organizations named from the action of the Building Trades Department convention in denying them representation in the convention. The Executive Council heard and considered this appeal as well as the answer made by the representatives of the Building Trades Department. The Executive Council has weighed carefully all the facts and all the information available. It holds that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is clothed with authority by the laws, procedure and customs of the American Federation of Labor to direct and conduct the business of the Building Trades Department in the interim between conventions.

The Executive Council also exercised its mediation influence in an effort to compose the differences and to bring about a settlement through agreement with the representatives of the Building Trades Department and of the three organizations affected.

Inasmuch as no settlement could be reached, and in accordance with the authority conferred upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the following decision is reached and recommendations transmitted:

It is the decision of the Executive Council that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America were legally affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor when the Building Trades Department convention convened in this city on September 26, 1934. For this reason, these organizations could not be legally denied the right of representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department. The reasons assigned in the records of the Building Trades Department convention for the rejection of the credentials of the duly elected delegates of the three affiliated organizations were not valid, legal or justifiable. As evidence of this fact, the following quotation is submitted as the reasons why the convention rejected

the credentials of the delegates of these three organizations and denied them representation in the convention:

"The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

"We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and co-operation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and co-operation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and co-operation prevailing.

"We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversation among the delegates; we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

"Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which is so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such money that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation be denied."

(Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report, from printed proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention.)

There is nothing in the reasons assigned charging violation of any law of the Department or any failure on the part of the three organizations named to comply with the Constitution of the Building Trades Department, or with its laws, which prescribe the requirements which building trades organizations must meet in order to become affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that the Building Trades Department, created and chartered by the American Federation of

Labor and subject to its laws, can not arbitrarily and without valid, legal reason exclude a building trades organization from affiliation with the Department or deny an affiliated organization representation in conventions of the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that because the Building Trades Department convention excluded legally affiliated organizations from representation in the convention and denied the right of the legally chosen delegates of organizations seats in the convention, that all action taken by the convention is illegal and can not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council will continue its efforts to compose the differences existing between the Building Trades Department and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and to reach a settlement of the differences which exist. In the event a settlement is brought about and an agreement reached satisfactory to the executive officers of the Building Trades Department and the three organizations named, it shall be approved and accepted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In the event, however, that no such agreement is reached a convention of the Building Trades Department shall be called to meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in the City of Washington within forty-five days from the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of transacting the business of the Building Trades Department in a legal manner and in accordance with the laws, principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor; the call for this convention to be issued by the President of the American Federation of Labor to all organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department as determined by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at said convention, and

the action taken at said convention to be regarded and accepted as the legal action of the 1934 convention of the Building Trades Department. The business transacted at this convention in accordance with the laws of the Building Trades Department shall be regarded as legal and binding by the American Federation of Labor upon all affiliated organizations, and the officers elected by the convention shall be recognized as the legally elected officers of the Building Trades Department.

By Direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Your committee to which this matter was referred after hearing President McDonough of the Building Trades Department and others interested in making this appeal, as well as the other organizations, parties to this dispute, going over the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as well as the proceedings of that convention and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is of the opinion that the decision of the Executive Council clearly and correctly sets forth all of the facts, which indicate first, that through President Green application for affiliation to the Building Trades Department was made by these three organizations, accompanied with the usual entrance fee. The same was presented to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, accepted, and the three organizations notified of the Department's action. They were advised that they were an integral part of the Department, per capita tax accepted and credentials sent to them for their delegates to the convention.

Nothing in the records of the Building Trades Department convention indicates that they violated the law or did not comply with the laws of the Department or of the Federation. Nevertheless they

were denied seats and the convention directed the return of their application fees and per capita tax. This action is regrettable. It was hoped that with the rejoining of the three organizations, the Building Trades Department and the Building Trades as a reunited family would thereafter function harmoniously to the benefit of the workers in that industry.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor do not make affiliation with Departments mandatory, but clearly indicate that when organizations are eligible they should belong to that Department. In this case these three organizations became affiliated to the Building Trades Department through an agreement consummated by the President of the American Federation of Labor with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, which in the interim between conventions is the executive power and authority of that Department and clearly has the right to grant charters of affiliation.

Whether every minute detail was followed is not a matter of importance, the agreement having been made, entrance fee and per capita tax accepted, credentials issued with the understanding provided for in the agreement that these organizations were to be accorded all rights and privileges under the laws of the Department, your committee believes that the agreement was binding on all and that refusal to seat them was irregular and illegal. Inasmuch as the convention of the Building Trades Department has adjourned and will not again convene in a regular way until next year and these organizations having been deprived of representation at this convention, your committee is of the opinion that the Council's recommendation is the only hope of adjusting these differences, and therefore your committee concurs in the decision of the Executive Council. We would urge, however, that the Executive Council use its best efforts to try to compose the existing differences between both groups in the hope that a friendly settlement may be reached and thus avoid the necessity for calling a convention, believing in that way the interests of all will be best served.

Secretary Maloney: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention. As the Adjustment Committee has presented the report of the Executive Council I will not go into the action, but in fairness to the delegates to this convention I believe it is necessary for me to recount some of the incidents that have happened since these three organizations made application to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department for affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

When President Green appeared before the Building Trades' presidents in our office in Washington and presented this statement to us he emphatically stated it would be the intention and desire of these three organizations to co-operate with and harmonize the building trades industry. Now, for the benefit of the delegates here, I desire at this time to recall to your attention some of the incidents that have occurred since this application was received by our Department.

Over the signature of William L. Hutcheson, general president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the following letter was addressed to all its local unions in this country. I will read that letter at this time. It says:

"United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners

"Information to Members of Our
Brotherhood

"To All Local Unions and District Councils:

"For several years our Brotherhood has not been affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

"Recently, upon the solicitation of Wm. Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, the Electrical Workers' organization, the Bricklayers' International Union and our Brotherhood, decided to again affiliate with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and on June 14 were admitted to the Department.

"In doing so, however, it was agreed by the three organizations that the Tri-party Agreement existing between the Electricians, Bricklayers and our Brotherhood would continue in existence.

"While we are now again affiliated with the Department, our membership, if desiring to affiliate with local Building Trades Councils, should keep in mind that they should affiliate through their District Council, where a District Council exists.

"They should also bear in mind that the laws of the Building Trades Department provide that no strike of a Building Trades Council shall be called because of a jurisdictional dispute. In other words if a jurisdictional dispute arises between two trades the Building Trades Council is to remain neutral and not enter into the controversy by taking sides with either one or the other of the organizations.

"Our members should also keep in mind that if they affiliate with a Building Trades Council it does not in any way change our jurisdictional claims, nor do we, nor can we, permit a local Building Trades Council to determine what our jurisdiction shall be.

"Fraternally yours,

"WM. L. HUTCHESON,

"General President.

"June 25, 1934."

Now I would like to read the law. This is Article XI, Section 2 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

"It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered central labor bodies, Departments and State Federations of Labor in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

I wish again to call the attention of the delegates to the letter written by Brother Hutcheson. In it he says:

"While we are now again affiliated with the Department, our membership, if desiring to affiliate with local Building Trades Councils, should keep in mind that they should affiliate through their District Council, where a District Council exists."

As far as the law is concerned, it is proposed that where a District Council exists the organizations affiliate through their District Council. I want to call attention to the word "desire." The Carpenters in sending this letter to their local

unions just said "desire." In other words, "it makes no difference to us whether you affiliate with the local councils or not."

In the Building Trades industry, to have a successful movement locally, it is necessary for the Building Trades to co-operate to the fullest extent.

I will quote further:

"We desire to call your attention to the fact that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners violated Section 5 of the rules governing departments. This section provides that the organizations should pay the per capita tax on their full membership. The records of the American Federation of Labor disclose that they have paid on 200,000 members to that body and have paid on 150,000 members to the Building Trades Department."

That is another violation of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. I will quote further:

"Again we call your attention to the violation of Section 26 of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has refused to submit a copy of their jurisdiction claim to the Building Trades Department."

I will read Section 37 of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and when reading the constitution of the Building Trades Department I want to impress on the delegates here that the same has met with the approval of the American Federation of Labor:

"Section 37. Should jurisdictional disputes occur, involving affiliated trades, the President of the Building Trades Department shall notify the presidents of the International unions in conflict. Said presidents, or their designated representatives, shall be required to meet within five days after notice and mutually adjust the matter in dispute. For failure to agree or to meet within the time specified, the matter in question shall automatically become a prerogative of the President of the Building Trades Department, who shall render a decision on the subject involved, said decision to be immediately recognized and concurred in by all parties concerned. It is understood that such decision shall be without prejudice to the right of appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter the Building Trades Department, and it is understood that work shall proceed pending such appeal."

On several occasions where serious jurisdictional disputes were occurring, in accordance with the law I addressed

either telegrams or letters to the officials of the Carpenters' International Union, requesting that this matter receive their attention, and in no instance to date has the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners sent a representative in to adjust a jurisdictional dispute. The other organizations involved have, at considerable expense, assigned representatives to the places where controversies were in existence, and in at least one instance, at Bloomington, Illinois, the Carpenters struck the job, and within a short time all of the trades were involved. The same thing occurred in Scranton, Pennsylvania, where the Elevator Constructors, the Iron Workers, and the Carpenters were in dispute. The reply I received from the Carpenters' officials was that the work belonged to the Carpenters, and the Carpenters were going to do it.

We also call your attention to the violation of Section 6 of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the credentials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were not submitted until September 25, 1934.

Section 6 of the Building Trades Department constitution reads:

"Section 6. The delegates shall be elected thirty days previous to the convention, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Department immediately after election."

It might be of interest at this time to relate the past relationship of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners with this department. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners affiliated with this department in 1908; refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the Building Trades Department convention held in Tampa in 1909, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were suspended at the convention held in St. Louis, Mo., in 1910, and every effort has been made by the officials of the Department to have this organization comply with the decision. They reaffiliated in May, 1912, on a two-thirds vote of their membership, and withdrew after the convention held in Seattle, Washington, in 1913, again re-

fusing to comply with the convention decisions of 1909 awarding hollow metal trim to the sheet metal workers. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1915, after the American Federation of Labor Convention and decided by a yea and nay vote that the manufacture and erection of hollow metal doors and trim was the work of the sheet metal worker. The Carpenters rejoined the Building Trades Department in 1915, as stated, and at that convention the Machinists and Boiler Makers were put out of the Building Trades Department. A motion by President Hutcheson prevailed in the Department Convention, abrogating the Tampa decision awarding the erection of hollow metal doors and trim to the sheet metal workers. In 1921, refusing to abide by decisions made by the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners seceded from this Department. They reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department at the Los Angeles Convention in 1927. At the 1929 Convention held in Toronto, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners advocated a reduction in the per capita tax. The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously recommended that there be a reduction in the per capita tax. The convention repudiated the report of the Executive Council. Again, the Carpenters seceded from the Building Trades Department.

In 1915 the Boilermakers and Machinists had been in affiliation with the Building Trades Department for several years. At that convention, through the efforts of the officials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Boilermakers and Machinists were expelled from the Building Trades Department. Now, bear in mind that both of these organizations had been in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, that their applications had been received in the proper manner and same had been ratified by the Building Trades Department and they were seated for several years. Through manipulations and other means both of these organizations were expelled from the Building Trades Department.

The officials of the Boilermakers Union appealed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the action of the Building Trades Department in unseating them from the Department. The appeal was carried to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and for the information and benefit of the delegates to this convention I want to read a rule made by President Gompers:

"That each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which the affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions."

He emphasized the fact that the section provides that organizations "should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions." He stated that if it is voluntary for an organization to become affiliated with a Department it cannot be made compulsory for a Department to accept an organization; that it is either mutually compulsory or it is mutually arbitrary.

Now, I think that, as far as the Building Trades Department is concerned, in line with the decision made by President Gompers that they were within their rights in refusing the admittance of the three organizations into the Department, the precedent has been established.

With reference to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, this organization affiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1916 and, refusing to comply with the decisions rendered by the Building Trades Department, seceded from the Department in 1927.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers joined the Department in 1908. The President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers participated in the drawing up of the agreement for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the Building Trades Department and the National Association of Building Trades Employers in 1930.

I want to say in reference to President Tracy, that it was the President of the Electrical Workers that preceded him that is mentioned in this statement.

When the Boston convention of the Building Trades Department, held in 1930, approved this agreement the International Brotherhood of Electrical workers seceded from the Building Trades Department.

And, knowing something about the past activities of these organizations with reference to the Building Trades Department we thought it would be advisable to accept into affiliation these three organizations, but because of the activities they had displayed, particularly since that time, we felt we were within our rights in refusing to accept the applications of these organizations for affiliation.

In checking the records of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the membership paid on by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union to the American Federation of Labor, from October, 1933 until March, 1934, this organization paid on a membership of 35,000; in April, 1934, 45,000; in May, 1934, 45,000, and in June, 1934, 65,000.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers paid on a membership of 92,000 in July, August and September, 1933; 110,000 from October, 1933 to May, 1934, and in June, 1934, they paid on 130,000 members. Notwithstanding this, at a conference held in March between the officials of the three outside organizations and representatives of the Building Trades Department, the Carpenters' representatives stated that they would pay per capita tax on 200,000 members; the Electrical Workers on 110,000, and the Bricklayers on 45,000.

Now, as a representative of the Building Trades Department, it is my duty to at least let you know some of the conditions prevailing in the building industry of this country, and there has been no increase in employment in the building trades' industry for the past sixteen or seventeen years. In my opinion, and I believe if the records of the organization are checked it will be verified, if the

Bricklayers' organization had 35,000 members in March they could not have 65,000 members in June, because there hasn't been any possibility of that organization or any other organization in the building industry making such an unnatural increase in membership in that time.

It is my belief that the Bricklayers had just as many members in April as they had in June, and it is my opinion that they were not paying the proper per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

As far as the Electrical Workers are concerned, I feel if they had 110,000 members in May it was an unnatural increase to gain 20,000 members in one month.

Some of the delegates might say that in some instances we are protesting an organization paying on less than its membership, and in the next instance protesting because another organization is paying on more than its membership.

It so happens that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in paying on 150,000 members, would be entitled to 14 votes. If they desired two more votes it would be necessary to pay on 106,000 more members. If the membership was 128,000, this organization would be entitled to 14 votes, and I say, as far as the Bricklayers are concerned, on the payment of per capita tax on 45,000 members they would be entitled to only 5 votes. On 60,000 members they would be entitled to another vote.

The representatives of the organizations might say, "Why didn't you ascertain or look into it and find out what our membership was?" The officials of the Building Trades Department, the latter part of August, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, requesting that he furnish a monthly statement to our Department of the per capita tax paid on members from June, 1933, to June, 1934, and the records of the American Federation of Labor will conclusively prove to any fair-minded delegate here that those three organizations were the only organizations that had an unnatural decline and an unnatural increase in membership.

Now, what are we to assume? It is the contention of the officials of the Building Trades Department that, in conformity with the law of the American Federation of Labor, it is within the province of the Building Trades Department to determine all matters pertaining to the particular department. We contend that even our Executive Council or any committees appointed during the interim of conventions must report to the convention for final action, and any action taken by the Executive Council is not conclusive and final until the convention has acted thereon.

In this case the Executive Council agreed to accept the affiliation of the three organizations upon same being presented to the convention of the Building Trades, and the convention decided not to admit these organizations into affiliation. We contend that we acted within our rights in refusing to seat these three organizations in the Building Trades Department.

At this time I would like to read Article XV, Section 1, General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor:

"For the greater development of the Labor Movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs."

Section 5, page 31, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective departments, and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

I want to mention right here that at the Vancouver convention I submitted an amendment to the Constitution of our Department, which was necessary to receive the approval of the Federation, requiring that all organizations must affiliate with their various departments. The convention did not concur in the resolution. If my

amendment had been adopted then it would have been compulsory upon all organizations engaged in the building industry to affiliate, but the American Federation of Labor, believing that these organizations are voluntary, did not want to compel any organization to affiliate, at least under pressure, with the various departments. And again we feel, in accordance with the ruling made by President Gompers, that if it is not compulsory for an organization to affiliate with the various departments, it is not compulsory for the various departments to accept organizations into membership.

I want also to call attention to Article III of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

"Section 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President; first, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to building trades); thirteenth, Legislation."

That, to me, is an indication that the American Federation of Labor believes that all matters pertaining to building trades should be determined among the various building trades organizations.

We contend, along with the foregoing that, in accordance with the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and which is a general rule with all similar bodies, that the delegates in a convention have full and complete power to not only decide who shall be accepted to membership as affiliated organizations, but on all other questions affecting the administration of the Building Trades Department. In other words, they are recognized as the supreme power and the supreme body, whose actions are conclusive, and from which there can be no appeal.

Now, even with all of this misunderstanding and controversy that has arisen, the officials of the Building Trades Department realize and feel that if we are to have a progressive and forward-moving

Building Trades Movement in this country, the entire building trades organizations should be integrated into one organization. The building trades officials are willing to get together to adjust the matter under proper conditions.

In face of the report made by the Executive Council, and the report that has been concurred in by the Adjustment Committee, we feel that it is impossible that this must be settled in 45 days, or a convention will be held. It is just like holding a gun at the head of the building trades officials and the officials of those organizations that have remained true to the Department. As far as the building trades workers and organizations in this country are concerned, none of us will stand for a gun being put at our head and being told that this must be done.

Now, that is the position of the American Federation of Labor, concurred in by the Adjustment Committee. The Building Trades Department officials and the building trades organizations are told, "you do it or it will be done for you." Realizing that it is necessary for the success of the building industry that some effort be brought about by the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, we feel that it can be done, but it cannot be done as long as you say it must be done in 45 days, or we will do it for you.

We are open for affiliation, and feel it can be accomplished.

Delegate McSorley, Lathers: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I want to state at the outset that I have been a delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for more than thirty years continuously. I have also been honored by having been selected to act as President of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. I want to frankly confess that this is the first time in all of my experience that it has ever been held, either in conventions of the American Federation of Labor or the Building Trades Department, that the action of an Executive Council of either one of those bodies was final without further consideration from the conventions of those bodies.

At this time I desire also to take issue with the report of the Executive Council as well as the report of the committee in declaring all of the acts of the recent Building Trades Department illegal. All of the actions that were taken by the delegates of the recent convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were taken by duly constituted delegates, and delegates that had been steadily in attendance at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years.

The organizations that have presented this appeal have not been in affiliation with the Building Trades Department. The Bricklayers' International Union has been on the outside of the Building Trades Department since 1927. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has been on the outside of the Building Trades Department since 1929. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been outside the Building Trades Department since 1930. Does it seem reasonable that the duly constituted delegates to the Building Trades Department will allow these organizations that have been on the outside, doing everything they possibly could in order to tear down the conditions of the building workers of this country, especially so as applied to those holding membership in the Department, to override the Department? There is no use of us hiding behind the bush, absolutely none. We must first begin to examine the incentive that made these organizations want to become reaffiliated with the Department.

Recently in Washington we succeeded in having enacted and signed by the President of the United States a construction code. As part of this construction code there emanated a provision providing for a National Planning Committee. This National Planning Committee is supposed to plan for the building construction industry in this country, and recently, at a meeting of the National Planning Committee, what do we find? We find a program set forth whereby there will be set into motion the machinery necessary to settle jurisdictional disputes, in order to adjust emergency

disputes which had heretofore been settled by the Building Trades Department, by the National Board of Jurisdictional Claims. We find that the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the National Planning Board are the two instrumentalities which will decide these emergency disputes, subject to appeal to a commission that is later to be appointed. These organizations that have been on the outside, particularly one of those organizations, has jurisdictional disputes with numerous trades that are affiliated with the Building Trades Department. Is it reasonable to assume that these organizations who are represented by their delegates in the convention of the Building Trades Department will sit idly by and allow this organization that has seceded and been on the outside to come in and take the presidency of that department, so that they may be in position to render jurisdictional decisions against all of us and in favor of his own organization? No, it is only natural that we should try to protect ourselves. We say this, and we say it in all fairness and in all justice: We welcomed these organizations into the Building Trades Department, but when it came to a condition of conniving and manipulating and attempting to peddle the positions of the Department, then we said it was up to us and it was to our interests to prevent an occurrence of this kind at this time.

It may be stated that politics entered into this and that we are trying to stave off. I am frankly willing to confess, yes, that that is true. I want to try, if I can possibly do so, to protect the president of the Building Trades Department who is in that office at the present time, because I believe he is fair and impartial and I believe he will render fair and just decisions. And not that alone, but I also believe that he is in such a position in Washington at the present time that he can serve my interests and the interests of the rest of the building trades organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department in a manner better than any newcomer can do it.

President McDonough is a member of the PWA Labor Advisory Council. He

is also a member of the NRA Labor Advisory Council. He is also a representative of the Administration on Division Three of all codes. He is also the representative of the Government on all construction code authorities and particularly construction codes. In these positions it is my firm opinion that he is better able to serve us than any other man that may be brought in there, and it is for these reasons that the delegates to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor stopped this coup, if you please, so that the officers who were in there and the men who had paid their money and fought loyally in order to carry on the Building Trades Department might have their interests served against those who would tear them down and render decisions that were not to the interests of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Lindelof: Mr. Chairman and delegates, there seems to be a great deal of difference of opinion with reference to this dispute within the Building Trades Department. I represent an organization that has always been in the Department since it was first organized, an organization that has always paid its full per capita tax every month in the Building Trades Department and we expect to continue members of the Department and pay our per capita tax in there in spite of anything that may be contained in the report of this committee.

As a member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department I was glad to vote in favor of the application of the Carpenters and Joiners, the Bricklayers and the Electrical Workers for affiliation with the Department, in spite of their past attitude of being in and out. I fully expected on arrival here in San Francisco that the report of the Executive Council would be concurred in by that committee and by the delegates in the convention. However, it was not, and that is nothing new. That has happened before in your conventions and in mine.

In the Brotherhood of Painters, the organization that I represent, the convention is the supreme power of that organization, and no matter what the

Executive Board members or the President may do or may not do between the meetings, between the conventions, the convention has the power of either approving or disapproving any of their actions, and I have either been misinformed or I misunderstand if the laws of the Building Trades Department are different from the laws governing the American Federation of Labor. The entire delegation stood by the officers of the Building Trades Department and they expect to stand by the officers of the Building Trades Department. We believe that those officers acted for the best interests of the group that they represent, especially President McDonough, of the Department, whom I have had the pleasure of contacting for the past four years. I have been in position in Washington to observe the great work that he has done for the building trades mechanics that he represents. I believe that President McDonough has worked hard and put forth greater efforts than any other building trades representative on the various governmental propositions that we have had to contend with during the past few years.

It has been stated by the previous speakers and it has also been inferred in the records of this convention that politics have entered into this matter more or less and that it is purely and simply a matter of official position within the Department. As one of the Executive Council members and a member of the Planning and Adjustment Board, I want to state to this delegation that if any of the contending trades seeking admission in the Building Trades Department are in any way ambitious for the position I hold they are welcome to it tomorrow. As the International President of the Brotherhood of Painters I have plenty to do without attending to extra duties that may come under my position as an Executive Council member and a member of the Adjustment and Planning Board.

Like President McDonough, I feel that an adjustment can be made satisfactory to both sides of the controversy with the help of President Green and the Executive Council. I have great faith in these men. Personally, I will make any effort,

any sacrifice, so that peace and harmony and co-operation to the fullest extent may be had within the building industry and within the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Tracy: Mr. Chairman, the defendant waives all its rights to the appellant in this case at this time. They may have all the opportunity they desire, because they have plenty of them here to present their side of the case. The defendant will speak later.

Delegate Franklin, Bollermakers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I regret that it becomes necessary for me to make a few remarks upon this important question. The organization I have the honor to represent was one of those referred to as having been unseated from the Building Trades Department, and it happens to have been in this hall—not this particular corner of the building—but in this building in the year 1915. We were unseated from the Building Trades Department because certain people didn't consider we had a right to be members of the Building Trades Department. It was claimed that we were not purely building trades men, or a building trades craft, notwithstanding the fact that it was well known then, as it has been recognized since, that we did have a large interest in the Building Trades Department. But, notwithstanding that fact, due to the changing of the laws of the American Federation of Labor, as set out in Article XV, adopted at the 1914 convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, after the adoption of that law, and at the following convention held in this city in 1915, we were unseated as has been stated to you by the previous speakers.

There was no grievance against our Brotherhood; there was no complaint from a single delegate; but, in order to suit the opinion and desires of certain delegates in that convention, we were removed, as was the Machinists' International Union at the same time and upon the same motion. After being unseated, and in an effort to protect the interests of the organization I was charged with the responsibility of representing, I appealed from the decision of the Building Trades Department Convention to the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

And, if my memory is not at fault, our distinguished Chairman was a member of the Executive Council at that time. The decision rendered has been read to you in part. We were notified that the Building Trades Department had autonomy over its own affairs, with full authority to determine its membership. We are operating today under that same law, Article XV, as it is written now is as it was written then, and it was decided by the Executive Council that under its provisions the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had the right and full authority to decide for itself who should constitute its membership.

I am wondering upon another point that is involved in this controversy and, in order that I may know and in order that we all may know, I feel that I am justified in asking a question of our Chairman, and if I may be permitted, President Green, I will ask if the Convention of the American Federation of Labor has authority to set aside any decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor?

President Green: Delegate Franklin asked me a question, and I will answer him directly. The Convention of the American Federation of Labor is supreme; it is a sovereign body; it is clothed with supreme power. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is a subordinate body. The Building Trades Department is a creature of the American Federation of Labor, created by the American Federation of Labor. It is not sovereign in itself, but the convention of the American Federation of Labor, being sovereign and supreme, can set aside a decision of the Executive Council.

Delegate Franklin: I appreciate very much the information given. The question was asked for this purpose: The law of the American Federation of Labor, in Article XV, Section 4, says:

"The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor."

If that be true, then a Department of the American Federation of Labor has the same authority to set aside a decision of its Executive Council. I am not claiming that the Department is supreme above the action of this convention, but I maintain that the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department was legal, was in accordance with its law and in accordance with the law of the American Federation of Labor, which I have just read. And if the Convention of the American Federation of Labor can set aside, or refuse to approve any decision or action of its Executive Council, by the same token the Building Trades Department can set aside any action of its Executive Council. And that is the point, as I understand, that is largely at interest in this convention at this time.

It has been declared, if I understand the language correctly, that the Building Trades Department acted illegally in declining to approve of its Executive Council's action in admitting three organizations to affiliation. I naturally wonder, as an interested party who suffered for sixteen long years why the American Federation of Labor failed to recognize our interests, notwithstanding that we appealed directly to them in a written appeal which set forth the reason and the basis upon which our appeal was made.

It seems rather strange that law is good law sometimes, and is bad law other times, when it suits the occasion for it to be bad law. It is true the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers was just a small organization, fighting for its preservation, fighting for an opportunity to get for its membership all of the rights we believed they were entitled to. Our rights have since been recognized, but for sixteen years there was never one voice raised by the Executive Council, notwithstanding our appeal from the decision that we considered at that time unfair, without foundation or justice, but it was made to apply, and the officers of this Federation declared that the Building Trades Department was within its rights, and I accepted; I had no alternative and had no choice in the matter.

We went on during that sixteen years appealing, making application year after year, but never at one time was there one voice raised by the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor in our defense, not one. We had to get our affiliation through our own efforts.

Now it is stated here in this report that affiliation with the Department is voluntary. Isn't it rather strange, if an organization can exercise its own prerogative and its voluntary action in a matter, that the Department hasn't something to say about whether it comes in or not? It seems rather strange that the law should apply only in one way.

Personally, I have no grievance in this matter. I am interested in the Department in which we hold membership at the present time, but I predict if you strip the Department of the authority for its convention to be the supreme power, subject, of course, to this convention, you are going to make a serious mistake. I maintain that the convention of the Building Trades Department acted within its rights under the law of the Building Trades Department and under the law of the American Federation of Labor.

We happen to hold membership in three Departments. We do our best to conform to the laws of those Departments. We have always recognized in the Departments that we have full autonomy to select our own membership and, Mr. Chairman, we have exercised that authority on numerous occasions. The Department has declared who should constitute its membership, and we have always understood that we have that right, and I am afraid if you change that now, if you strip the Department of the right to determine who shall constitute its membership you will establish a precedent that will be the Banquo's ghost that will come back to haunt you in later days.

I am willing to have an effort made to bring about an adjustment of the differences. Without question that may be done, but I agree 100 per cent with the statement made by President McDonough that if you put a shotgun at our heads and say that certain things must be done

it can be settled, but it can be done easier and with far greater success by doing it in the proper manner than attempting to do it by force.

President Green: Are there further remarks?

Delegate Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers: Mr. President and fellow delegates—As a member of the Adjustment Committee who did not vote on the report of that committee because I felt at that time, and do now feel, that this matter can be settled in a manner satisfactory to all parties involved. I therefore offer the following substitute for the committee's report: That the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council to continue to use its best efforts to effect a settlement.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

President Green: Brother Leighty offers a motion to refer the entire matter to the Executive Council. The discussion will take place on the motion to refer.

Delegate Leighty: I desire to speak very briefly on the motion. As a delegate from the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, I represent an organization that is as far removed from this controversy as any organization could be. I am not presenting a brief for either side. My only interest in the matter is to promote harmony. I am convinced there is merit to both sides of this controversy, and I also feel that an agreement satisfactory to all concerned can be reached.

I don't like to think that our American Federation of Labor wants to cram an obnoxious proposal down the throat of any labor union affiliated with it. If it does do that it will create sore spots and enmities that will take years to heal. This controversy originated less than three weeks ago. Why all the mad rush to settle it right now? I don't think it is proper. All parties are hot under the collar and they are in no mood to compromise immediately. After they have had time to cool off I am convinced they can get together and, with the assistance of the Executive Council, reach an understanding that will be satisfactory to all.

We came here to promote harmony and better understanding among ourselves. The entire nation is watching this dispute and our method of handling it. We should handle it in a manner that will add respect and dignity to our Federation, and also in a manner to promote harmony.

It would be unwise for us to say to the Building Trades Department, "you must take in these three organizations," when twelve or sixteen organizations now affiliated with it are so strenuously opposed. On the other hand, it is unfair for us to say to the Carpenters, the Bricklayers and the Electrical Workers, "you cannot affiliate with the Building Trades Department." There must be some middle ground. A positive decision on our part either way will tend to widen the rift and it will not create the solidarity which we so earnestly desire.

The substitute motion only provides a means for harmonious adjustment, and I appeal to every delegate to support it and adopt it.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates. Speaking to the motion of Delegate Leighty and his analysis and his reasons for his motion, it is rather amazing that a man who is a member of a committee, who says that he is absolutely neutral in the affair—and I take it that he is an honorable man—comes here not with a minority report, but with a substitute motion for a committee's action. In presenting that he has gone to the trouble of having a lengthy document typed that he reads to you, a prepared address in the neutrality of his presentation, but not a minority report.

Matters of this kind are best not to be covered up by being shunted from Peter to Paul, but in open discussion. You have heard a number of opponents to the ruling of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. You have not heard the part of the opposition, the protestants against the actions of the Building Trades Department.

Another remark that does not sound very well and should not come from any delegate on the floor, as I view it, is the

statement by Delegate Leighty in the presentation of a substitute motion that it was cramming things down the necks of people. What do you suppose men may have thought whose International Unions went to the expense of sending delegates here, who had paid their entrance fees, if you please, who had paid the per capita tax for a number of months, who had been extended credentials and invited to elect delegates to a convention, and then traveling from a thousand to three thousand miles to attend the convention, being told at the last minute, you are not a party here, we don't want you, not on the basis of a question of eligibility as to trade, as Brother Franklin stated.

All the dark pits of violence are not set forth, only by innuendo in a statement made of a violation by those three unions, and I don't believe and I am sure that notwithstanding the applause—and it is not hard to make a noise on an empty barrel or a table—it is better that the matter be thoroughly discussed that an orderly decision may be made.

A statement was made by Brother Franklin of his appeal to the Executive Council. That is absolutely correct, and today on the basis of the decision that they had a right to decide whether he was a bona fide building tradesman, the American Federation of Labor, the parent body of the Building Trades Department, delegates to the Building Trades Department the right to make decisions in jurisdictional disputes. This is a different question, one much larger, covering much more of that which is good for every man in the Building Trades Department, and I have as a building tradesman spent forty years in it.

Delegate Bleretz, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak in opposition to the substitute motion on the basis that the purport of the motion is contrary to the object of the discussion. I predicate the statement upon the defense offered by the Building Trades representatives of their action in this convention. I further base the statement upon that which was offered in a substantiation of a motion by the maker of the substitute motion. The purpose of the substitute

motion can only be a substitute for the purport of the matter before the convention or assembly. I want to refer you to the statements of the representatives of the Building Trades Department in substantiation of my position on this motion.

It has been stated most emphatically, first by the Chairman and the President of the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor is supreme, that it is the sovereign body of labor. The maker of the substitute motion directed your attention to the fact that the eyes of the world were upon this convention in this matter, and to that extent I want to agree with him. I want to emphasize my own convictions. It is my firm belief that the eyes of the world are centered on this convention for a twofold reason: one, to learn whether the American Federation of Labor will take a positive position in a matter that so vitally affects the future progress of this movement, and the other is whether the American Federation of Labor will recognize that behind and beyond the question is that eternal question of jurisdiction.

Attached to that eternal question of jurisdiction is a question of taxation without appropriate representation. They are the two objectives of the Building Trades Department representatives. This question involves the theory of whether or not the American Federation of Labor, when it said in the creation of departments that the Department was subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, when the Federation of Labor further iterated the fact that the departments were created solely for the advancement and progress of those organizations that should be affiliated with the Departments—on the strength of that I want to ask do the delegates to this convention feel or believe that the representatives of the Building Trades' cause today can successfully attempt to persuade the representatives of the American Federation of Labor into believing that they are the victims of a gun being held at their heads when they themselves are attempting to take advantage of the fact that the charter was granted for all Building Trades organizations and trying to usurp for

themselves the right to speak for all Building Trades organizations?

They have told you that that is their conviction. They have said that the Department must speak for all Building Trades organizations. They were sincere when they told you that. The sincerity of their statements can be emphasized by the fact that despite the absence of these organizations from the Department, the Department has proceeded to render *ex parte* decision after *ex parte* decision against the organizations who were not a part of it. If that is not a clear cut example of the ambitions of those now directing the affairs of the Building Trades Department, to assume and arrogantly relegate to themselves the supreme authority of dictating the policies of all organizations without those organizations having a right to a voice in the making of those policies, then I misunderstand both their words and their actions.

The President of the Boilermakers has told you that he accepted and abided by the decision of the American Federation of Labor. The three organizations now so vitally affected are waiting to abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor and for that reason they resent a motion that is negatively offered for the purpose of stalling this matter and referring it back, with no definite stipulation of action being required within a certain time, so that they may say, "They have put another one over." I appeal to the fairness of the delegates to this convention only to the extent of hearing both sides of the question.

I am not going to abuse the privilege of speaking on the substitute motion by acting out of order and speaking on the question that is paramount before the convention. That right will be reserved for our officers at the present time. I appeal, in opposition to the substitute motion, for the opportunity for the three organizations to have their case heard and decided by the American Federation of Labor, the supreme, the autonomous, the sovereign body of the Labor Movement, and decided at this time, so that the eyes of the world, while being centered upon us, will be able to discern a determina-

tion to conduct the affairs of our own organization in strict accord with the rule, the voice and the decision of the majority.

Delegate Warren, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: It seems to me that the time has arrived when the American Federation of Labor if, as my friend from the Telegraphers said, has the eyes of the world upon it, that we act so that the world may know that we are able to clean the linen of our own family if necessary.

Coming at a time after every accusation, after everything that would lead the minds of the delegates astray toward the three building crafts in question, they now offer a subterfuge, not a substitute, for the chance of cutting off what we have to say. If we were guilty of all that has been charged by the previous speakers, why did they not present that matter at the Building Trades Department convention while we sat there? Not a single accusation that has been made here was made during that convention. Now if we are to be prosecuted or persecuted, why not in the Building Trades assembly, and give us a chance to defend ourselves? Why not make the accusations when a great number of men were there willing and anxious to meet the issue? It seems to me that we ought to now, without further delay, decide this by overwhelmingly defeating his substitute motion and go on and let you sit in judgment upon the three building trades crafts that are being accused.

Delegate Morrin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers: I arise at this time to support the substitute offered for the committee's report. I do that because I believe honestly and sincerely that through that medium you can promote peace and harmony in the building trades. I believe that it will be possible to bring the building trades men together on equal terms where they can sit and discuss their problems in a harmonious manner without having a gun placed at their head, to say to us if we don't agree to do thus and so in 45 days the gun will be pulled.

The substitute for the committee's report eliminates that feature, it eliminates the threat which is held over the heads

of the building trades men. I, as a member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, am anxious and desirous of seeing the members of the three trades that are outside of the Building Trades Department become affiliated with the Department. We welcome them in the Department, but we want them to come in on a basis of equality, not come in, like the bull in the china store, to rule or ruin.

The officers of the Department have rendered good service, and I am speaking of the salaried officers, the President and the Secretary who maintain the offices in Washington and look after the affairs of the Department. Thanks to the iron workers of the country that keep me so busy as President of our organization looking after their affairs, I have had little time to take care of any other business except to attend meetings of the Executive Council of the Department.

We want to see harmony prevail in place of discord. President Green, in coming to the officials of the Building Trades Department, said he was making that move for the purpose of promoting harmony, for the purpose of bringing about unity in the building trades organizations. That is what we want, but you are not going to get it by adopting the committee's report.

Many of us can look back over a quarter of a century and remember fights that were more bitter than this that were settled. We can all remember the disputes of the U. A. and the I. A., the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers. They were continued on conference before the Executive Council of this body until such time as they did finally effect a settlement, and in some instances it took a number of years to do it. I have confidence in the President of the American Federation of Labor in helping to bring about a settlement of this, provided you do not sow the seeds of discord to such an extent that it will be impossible to effect an agreement.

I am speaking now for the organizations that maintained that Department intact and maintained it at a great ex-

pense, maintained salaried and efficient officers of that Department, when I say they do not want to have organizations come in with padded representation, for the sole purpose of sweeping the decks of the officials that have worked hard in the interests of the trades that maintained that Department.

In Washington the greatest problem confronting all building trades is the Code. The President of the Department occupies the distinction of being appointed by the Government as a member of the Code Authority. It is impossible almost for someone who is not familiar with building trades affairs as they have been carried on in Washington to come in and supplant that man. I am sure that the officers of this Department are not bothered about jobs. I know I am not, and I know the other members of the Executive Council are not. Politics have no place here, and have no place in this controversy. It is a clean-cut proposition of building trades men trying to conduct their affairs according to the action of the American Federation of Labor when it created these Departments for the purpose of settling the affairs of the various branches of the industry.

The action of the Building Trades Department convention in reversing the Executive Council was not unusual. In Toronto I happened to be Chairman of the Building Trades Committee. President Noonan was Chairman of that committee. The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department had unanimously recommended to that convention that the per capita tax be reduced. The committee reported against the proposition, the convention sustained the committee, and immediately the Carpenters walked out of the Department. We were not surprised, because they were out in 1910 and returned in 1912, out again in 1913 and returned in 1915, out in 1921 and returned in 1927, out in 1934, and now they are seeking affiliation again.

Delegate Tracy: A point of order. Is the discussion to be confined to the substitute motion, or upon the motion to adopt the report of the committee?

President Green: The discussion occurs upon the substitute motion to refer.

The point of order is well taken and Delegate Morrin must confine himself to the motion to refer.

Delegate Morrin: I will be glad to do it, but inasmuch as the previous speaker who offered the substitute did so, I thought I would do the same thing. I am surprised that you called my hand. The other fellows got away with it. Nevertheless I have said what I wanted to say. With all respect to my old friend Tracy, he was late on the job.

I do not want to say that in the interest of harmony the substitute should prevail. If we could sit down with President Green, without being hamstrung by restrictions, we would get somewhere; but if the restriction is put on that is contained in the committee's report, that says to us, "If you don't do it by a specified time it is just too bad!" I say you are not promoting harmony, you are not promoting conciliation, you are not putting us in a position where we can harmonize.

I respectfully submit that this committee's report does not in any shape or form promote harmony, and the substitute makes it possible for the officials of the American Federation of Labor to take hold of this matter in a conciliatory spirit with the trades outside as well as the trades inside, which I feel positive they can do.

President Green: The Chair recognizes First Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman and delegates—After all, this is an appeal from a decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. So far no member of the Executive Council has been heard. I think it is only right that some member of the Executive Council be heard on the matter and that was the reason why I came up on the platform this afternoon, so that I would have a chance to give the reasons why the Executive Council, as I understand it as one member of the Executive Council, took this action.

Now I am opposed to this substitute and I am for the committee's report.

This afternoon we have taken a great deal of time in not actually dealing with the question. We dealt with many matters of old and long standing, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five years ago. That is not the question before us at the present time. The question is the reaffiliation of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, and the Electrical Workers International Union. It is not what happened fifteen or twenty years ago, it is not what happened three or four or five years ago.

It is said here that the Carpenters are out since 1929, that the Bricklayers have been out for ten or fifteen years, and that the Electrical Workers were out a couple of years. Well, in those years the President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Green, has been using his efforts at all times and on all occasions to try to get these three organizations back into the Building Trades Department and he has reported his failures from time to time to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

What happened last June was something consummated from conferences and meetings of the International officers of the three organizations named and the officers of the Building Trades Department with President Green. He is to be given credit. Whether he failed or whether he succeeded, he did his best and he is to be given credit for that.

On June 14, 1934, it seems that there was a meeting of International officers in Washington, D. C., among them President Hutcheson of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, the President of the Bricklayers' organization and the President of the Electrical Workers. At that time President Green got busy. He thought that he might be able to get these three International officers to at least sit down with him and consider the matter of re-affiliating with the Building Trades Department. He did get them to sit down with him. He talked the matter over. They wanted to know what terms and conditions they were coming back under, what they would be entitled to, would they be entitled to representation? President Green saw the officials of the

Building Trades Department and not only gave his word for it, but he put it in black and white, in a letter addressed to each International President, and he asked them to seriously consider it. I don't want to read you the whole of the letter. I will read just a part of it. He said in this letter: "In making this request"—that is to reaffiliate and rejoin with the Building Trades Department—"In making this request I wish to state that the affiliation of your International Union with the Building Trades Department would mean that your organization would be entitled to all of the rights and privileges of an affiliated organization with the Building Trades Department and entitled to representation, with all its rights and privileges in conventions of the Building Trades Department."

"The three International officers"—

Delegate Morrin, Ironworkers: I rise to a point of order. The speaker is not speaking to the motion before the house, the substitute motion. Some one raised a point of order on me a moment ago.

Vice-President Duffy: That point of order was raised by a delegate on Brother Morrin when he was on the floor, and he said you gave leeway to all the others previously and that he should have the same right.

Delegate Morrin: I ask for a ruling on that point of order, I ask for a ruling from the Chair.

President Green: The trouble is they did not call you until you had said what you wanted to say anyhow.

Delegate Morrin: That is Brother Duffy's hard luck. I have raised a point of order. If he did not see fit to raise it sooner, that is not my fault. Is the point well taken or not?

President Green: The question before the house is the motion to refer, and of course it is expected that the speakers will confine themselves to a discussion of the motion to refer. That is the ruling of the Chair.

Delegate Morrin: And I have raised the point that this speaker is not talking on the question.

President Green: That is the ruling of the Chair and of course if you raise the point of order that the discussion must be confined to the motion to refer, the point of order is well taken.

Delegate Price, Bricklayers: I rise to a point of order on the substitute that is offered on the grounds that this is an appeal from the Executive Council to this American Federation of Labor. Therefore, it is impossible to refer back to the Executive Council an appeal from its own decision, and it must therefore be decided by this convention by a vote on the appeal in question.

President Green: Delegate Price, we want to proceed in accordance with parliamentary law and the rules governing the convention. The convention is now acting upon a report of a committee. The report of the Executive Council to this convention was referred to a committee along with the appeal taken by the Building Trades Department. Now the report of the committee is before the convention.

Rule 13 of the rules and order of business governing the convention provides that the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions. The Chair has no choice in accordance with that rule, except to entertain a motion to refer, when it is duly offered and properly presented.

Delegate Price: Would you permit me, Mr. President, to ask you this question: When this subject matter was referred to the Adjustment Committee, was it not referred on an appeal from the decision of the Executive Council by President McDonough of the Building Trades Department?

President Green: You are right.

Delegate Price: And wasn't it made through an appeal?

President Green: You are right.

Delegate Price: Therefore, I contend, Mr. Chairman, that any appeal taken from an Executive Council's decision is therefore out of order in so far as the

substitute is concerned, and the appeal must be decided by this convention. It is not a committee's report, I contend.

President Green: The appeal will be decided by this convention. However, a motion to refer to the Executive Council has been made as a substitute for the committee's report. The convention must act upon that before it can deal with the report of the committee.

Delegate Price: I do not care to take up the time on the point, Mr. President, but I want to ask this in justice to all sides. Is it right to curtail the presentation of a case by the other side?

President Green: If the convention defeats the motion to refer, then the whole matter is before the convention for discussion.

Vice-President Duffy: I am opposed to the motion to refer, Mr. Chairman. I want a chance to be able to discuss it without being tied.

Delegate Bates, Bricklayers: Mr. President and delegates to the convention—The ruling of the Chair will deny me and the representatives of our International Union the opportunity of fully answering the accusations that have been made by the President of the Building Trades Department. It will also deny the representatives of the three organizations affected the right to present their side of the case to this convention, so that you may, after hearing both sides of the case, determine who was right and who was wrong in the controversy. I appeal to the delegates of this convention, inasmuch as I am denied the right to take the report of the Executive Council and discuss it, to vote down the substitute resolution, so that fair play can prevail, and we will have the right to present our case in an orderly manner.

Delegate Possehl, Engineers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—The subject matter of the substitute was well timed. You heard the heavy artillery of the Building Trades Department, but the trades, or at least myself as a Vice-President of the Building Trades Department and a member of

the Executive Council, should have an opportunity to give you some inside information as to how this transaction was conducted in the Building Trades Executive Council. But if you are just going to hear one side, or at least the heavy artillery, and then a well-timed motion to substitute is presented here, you are not going to give me the opportunity to come before the convention delegates and give you our side of the whole situation.

We have been before the Executive Council, the representatives of the Engineers, as well as the members of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department. They heard our story. We have been before this committee that handled the Executive Council's report. Surely we must have convinced them that we had some facts that were at least valuable enough to bring in the report that they did. So give us a chance here to bring it in before the convention.

I have something to say on the subject matter, and I request the delegates to vote down the substitute.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I want to join with the two previous speakers and call the attention of the delegates here to what concurring in the substitute motion would mean. It would mean that the representatives of the three organizations involved in the controversy were cut off from presenting to you our side of the story. In all fairness and in all justice I ask the delegates to vote down the substitute and give us an opportunity to tell you our side of the story.

Delegate Moreschl, Hodcarriers: Mr. Chairman and members of the convention. Speaking as an officer of the Department, I appeal to you to vote down the substitute as offered. I, like President McDonough and Vice-President McSorley, and Lindelof and Possehl, want an opportunity to give our side of the story to this convention, and then after that opportunity is given to me, I am satisfied to accept your decision. Not to delay the convention any further in the discussion, I appeal to the convention to vote down the substitute and give everybody an op-

portunity of fair play in the proposition. As has been said by previous speakers on either side, let us have fair play to everybody. Give everybody an opportunity to have their say and then let us as human beings and as trade unionists with the good will of the majority adhere to and carry out that decision.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention. As president of one of the affected organizations greatly responsible for the reaffiliation of those three organizations with this Department of the American Federation of Labor, I came to this convention for the sole purpose of co-operation and for no other purpose. When this condition arose within the Building Trades Department we saw fit to take action to the American Federation of Labor and appeal our case. That case was heard by the Executive Council on two different occasions, it was heard by the President of the American Federation of Labor and by the Committee on Adjustment. Now today we come into this convention deprived of the right and the opportunity to lay our case and the facts before the delegates to this convention. I say to you delegates now that if you permit this case to be whitewashed in this manner there will be nothing in the building trades construction industry or in the building trades crafts but chaos. I appeal to you and to your good judgment to give us the right to place our case and facts before you, that you may intelligently decide whether we be the loser or the winner, so that we will have the opportunity of fair play.

I am sure there is no delegate here who wants to deprive us of that opportunity, regardless of the political question that is now involved in the matter and the political maneuvers that are being made in this convention to deprive one third of the membership of the building construction industry of their right to place their case before the delegates of this convention.

I again request you to grant us that right and that privilege that you have granted to the previous speakers of the

Building Trades Department. This is a serious problem, delegates, and it must be definitely settled at this convention. We cannot go back to Washington with this matter hanging over our heads and resting again within the Executive Council, which is quite familiar with the facts in the case. We cannot return there to bring about conciliation. If you are going to return us to Washington with the feeling and the thought that we did not have an opportunity here, I appeal again to your good judgment to vote down this substitute motion that was so timely made here by a member of the committee, who agreed on the committee to present the report as it was presented here today. This matter has got to be definitely settled in this convention. This convention is supreme, and I sincerely hope that we will be granted the same rights, the same privileges, the same consideration as the other crafts were given in this convention.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the author of the motion to refer.

Delegate Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—There was no intention on my part when I introduced my motion to shut off the debate of the other side. It appeared to me that only one side of this controversy desired to speak on the matter. I wanted this convention to have an opportunity to refer it to the Executive Council if they saw fit. I did not wish to prevent this convention from hearing the other side of the matter, and with the consent of my second I ask to withdraw the motion to refer until the other side has been heard with the privilege of reintroducing it at that time. That will give you all an opportunity to be heard and there can be no question of fair play.

President Green: Are there objections?

President Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman, I move you the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there objections to the withdrawal of the motion?

President Hutcheson: Yes, I object. I want the motion voted upon. I move the previous question.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: If this motion to refer to the Executive Council is voted down at the present time, can the same motion be again introduced after the other side has been heard?

President Green: The Chair can't answer that question at this time. The question recurs on the motion to refer. All in favor of the motion to refer say aye.

After the aye and nay vote had been taken President Hutcheson requested a roll call on the question.

President Green: The Chair decides the motion is lost.

The question now recurs on the report of the committee.

Delegate Collieran, Plasterers: I desired to speak on the substitute, but nevertheless I will speak on the report of the committee. I want to call your attention to the debate of yesterday in the Brewery Workers case, and call attention to the fact that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gave a lot of time to that question, had several meetings before any decision was rendered, and I also want to call to your attention in this particular case—as was well said by the maker of the motion for the substitute—that this is a case that has only been going on for three weeks, and I say now that both sides have not been heard by the Executive Council.

We were requested to appear one day last week. We presented a brief and that brief was printed in Friday's proceedings. My only hope at this time is that each and every delegate at this convention read that brief. We did not attend the Executive Council meeting to present our case, only through that brief, expecting that when the brief was presented and read by the Executive Council there would be a possibility of bringing both sides to sit down and thrash out that which one side alleges the other has done.

There are many things that come before the delegates to those conventions which suit the purposes, possibly, of those involved at times; and I was greatly surprised to hear the representatives of the Electricians take a stand against the substitute which would refer it back to the Executive Council. They were satisfied with a decision of the very same kind at a former convention, when a substitute motion was made by the late President Noonan in a case between the Electrical Workers and the Elevator Constructors, and the convention at that time decided to adopt the substitute and refer the matter to the Executive Council for further consideration. You see it suits the purpose at times and at other times it doesn't.

I am not one of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, but I do represent an international organization, and I reserve the right to vote in conventions. I reserve the right to vote in convention on the Executive Council's report, just as we reserved the right in the American Federation of Labor convention to vote on the Executive Council's report.

It has been my experience since attending the Building Trades Department conventions that it is not the first time the Executive Council's report was nonconcurrent in. About four years ago one of the Trades that is now seeking affiliation with the Department raised a question on the per capita tax of the Department at that time. The Executive Council, of which I was a member at that time, agreed with them and brought in a report to the convention. That report was nonconcurrent in by the convention.

Now, if we are to follow the lines laid down for us by the American Federation of Labor in the Building Trades Department—which follow the procedure of the American Federation of Labor—then I don't think we have done anything that is radically wrong in saying that our convention had the right to nonconcur in its Executive Council's report.

I was greatly interested in seeing the affiliation of these three trades. I helped

to advocate their coming back into the Department. I was present when President Green requested us to take them into the Department. After asking several questions as to the thought in mind, that of harmony and co-operation of those in the Department, I said if that was the idea of these three organizations in asking to come in we would welcome them with open arms.

I don't want to take up your time with a repetition of what has occurred since that time. That has been well covered by President McDonough, but delegates here who are officers of international organizations know that conditions creep into your organizations at times which compel you to take a stand against these conditions that would destroy your organizations.

In the Department, prior to June of this year, representatives of these three organizations sat in and named the president of the Department as their spokesman. Day after day, night after night, working out the destiny of those they represent, through the Codes, they were perfectly satisfied at that time to go along and accept the co-operation of the Department. We were glad to have them with us.

When President Green came before our Department and spoke of the solidarity and the harmony that would exist and the united front we could put up as a unit of the building trades, I don't think at that time he had any idea that from June 14 on and up to the time we came into this convention certain activities would be taking place, activities which were not for the best interests of the Department, activities which were entirely selfish.

We of the Building Trades Department who weathered that storm pride ourselves on the fact that we weathered the storm with the few trades that remained in there—and they are small trades, small in numbers, small in voting power, but nevertheless militant enough to get the conditions they came out for. The Codes of the Building Trades will prove that fact.

With the explanation made by President McDonough as to the activities of the Building Trades Department and the mode of procedure under which the Department functions, with precedents already established as to nonconcurrence in the Executive Council's report, we come to this convention and find that the three trades have appealed to the Executive Council. We find ourselves with one meeting in three weeks set aside for that, and before the Adjustment Committee every building trade took the floor and expressed their feelings relative to what they figured a proper way to readmit the three trades, and went into a definite explanation of the action of their Executive Council and their convention.

And now we find ourselves on the floor of the convention defending ourselves after a strenuous five or six years in which we fought the battle of the building trades, we find ourselves in the position of being willing to conciliate, willing to mediate, but, as has been well said, we will have to mediate within 45 days; that both sides shall meet and both sides shall agree; if not, a convention will be called by the American Federation of Labor in Washington, officers elected for the Department and the Department then to be legally seated by the American Federation of Labor.

Never in the history of the American Federation of Labor that I can find has such drastic action been taken without at least referring it back to the Executive Council for another attempt to try to get together to see if we could not iron out our difficulties without, as has been said so well, the gun at our heads. The gun at our heads is easily explained. Possibly it is a term that should not be used. But let us picture it. On the one side you have a delegation of the Building Trades Department who have said to the President of the Federation that they are willing to mediate; on the other hand you have three trades, now supplemented by two more members of the Department, that know that at the end of 45 days they won't have to agree with any suggestion that President McDonough or the Executive Council of the Building Trades

Department might want to make. They won't have to. You have killed all that opportunity, and you put the final touch to it when you said if both sides fail to agree a convention will be called by the American Federation of Labor.

That is the only thing we are pleading for here today. We are willing to sit down for 45 days or 90 days if necessary, with the American Federation of Labor, and are willing at this time—and I say this for myself and some of my colleagues—we are willing to accept some of the suggestions made by President Green; but unless some action is taken to stop the drastic action contemplated the thing is off in the convention. I say that those who have gone down the line year after year, attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor and helping to enact legislation that is of interest to the workers, are entitled to more than 45 days to endeavor to settle these matters.

After all, those ten or twelve trades that are in the Department who have been carrying on for five or six years feel just like President Green said yesterday, and repeated by Walter Citrine, that it comes in the form, as we see it, of tyranny. That 45-day limit with the gun behind it is a sort of tyranny. We are only asking that we be given an opportunity to go back to the Executive Council and President Green and sit down and consider the matter. The report of the committee is that if this is not done at the end of 45 days there is no further consideration.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I move that the rules of this convention be suspended and when adjournment is taken in accordance with the rules of the convention we reconvene at 7:30 o'clock for the purpose of a night session.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Howard: Now just a word. I want to say to the delegates in this convention that the Committee on Resolutions had before it for consideration 155 resolutions and 47 subjects from the report of the Executive Council. The com-

mittee has reported on very few of these matters. This is Wednesday, late in the afternoon. That is the reason for offering the motion for a session this evening.

Vice-President Coefield: As I understood the motion of President Howard, it was that we suspend the rules and adjourn at the regular time and reconvene at 7:30 o'clock. It is now 5:30.

President Green: My understanding of the motion made by Delegate Howard was that when the hour of adjournment arrived we suspend the rules and meet to-night in a night session. Is that right?

Delegate Howard: That is right.

President Green: The Chairman's watch says that it is about two minutes yet. The Chair recognizes Delegate Bugniazet.

Delegate Bugniazet, Electrical Workers: I am only rising to correct the record. I will only keep you a very few seconds. The previous speaker, I think, unintentionally made a misstatement and, in making his misstatement, tried to show that the Electrical Workers were inconsistent. I think when he knows the facts he will see that he is wrong in that statement. There are many delegates in this convention who know the facts in that case.

At a convention of the American Federation of Labor we had a controversy with the Engineers that was handled by the Executive Council. The Council brought in a decision, but that decision was not satisfactory and the delegates agreed with us and referred it back to the Council for the President of the Council to appoint a special subcommittee to hear the case and render a decision back to the Council. That was done by President Gompers and in the interim between the rendering of the decision of the subcommittee to the Council and the holding of the Cincinnati convention, the Executive Council brought in a report throwing aside the committee's decision and rendering their old decision.

When that case was before the Cincinnati convention, President Noonan made a substitute motion for the report of the committee to the Executive Council, in which he placed the decision of the com-

mittee before the convention in place of the decision of the Executive Council, and the convention on roll call vote sustained our position.

Therefore, we are not inconsistent today because it is a similar action that you are trying to refer back to the Executive Council, a case that the Council has decided and is now a question for the convention to decide, not the Council, because their decision would not be final until the next convention met.

As to our withdrawing from the Building Trades Department, President Broach at the Atlantic City conference where they were meeting with the employers on the question of arriving at a proposition

to settle jurisdictional claims, notified the officers of the Building Trades Department that if they allowed the employers to participate in jurisdictional controversies the Electrical Workers would have to withdraw, and we could not go along. It is true he stayed in the conferences with the employers, but kept the Building Trades officers informed of his position and at the Boston convention, when the convention sustained the decision of the Building Trades in going into the agreement he withdrew from the convention. Therefore, our action in both cases was consistent.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived. The convention will adjourn until 7:30 o'clock tonight.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Freng, Merlino, Horn, Kas-ten, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, Ryan (M. F.), George (L. E.), Hyatt, Frizvold, Cohen (S.), McCarthy, Hillman, Doyle (J. J.), O'Brien, (Thos.), Dooney, Clinton, Lucchi, Langer, Freedman, Dunlap, Babcock, Hoffmaster, Greene (M. F.), Goldman (M.), Lawlor, Spector, Case, Brown (Anna), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Smith (V. C.), Hannah, Donlin, Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon (W. D.), McConnell (J.), Appleton (A.), O'Brien (J. F.), Carey (J. C.), Gavlak, Olander, De Veze, Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Swan, McMahon (T. F.), McKeown, Hatch, Fay (Geo. V.), Billet, Frey, Taylor (T. N.), Clinedinst, Mastriani, Meany, Iglesias, Bailey, Thompson, Ohl, O'Brien (P.), Burr, Gresty, Hirschfeldt, Watson, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Wills, Campbell (G. C.), Restine, McInroy, De Witt, Meyers, Woods (S. E.), Watson, Augustine, Ames, England, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Coulter, Friedrich, Pitner, Farrell (C.), Shave, Quinn, Gornito, Ball, Campbell (J. C.), Jackson, Draper, Hooker, Bower, Davison, Wright, Dorsey, Holmes, Wood (R.), Mercer, Dahlager, Franklin, Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins, Glass, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S.), Anderson (R. E.), Duyungan, Bower (A. P.), Davison (J. R.), Wright (J. A.), Holmes (T. W.), Wood (Reuben), Mercer (R. E.), Dahlager (C. M.), Franklin (R. S.), Bunting, Taylor (C.), Gerhart, Dowd, Randolph, Webster, Watson, Nickols, McElligott, Boyd, Yetta, Moore (F. E.).

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENTS

Building Trades—Continued

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman and delegates—This afternoon when I was interrupted I was speaking as a mem-

ber of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on what was before that Council. I got as far as the application and request by President Green of the three organizations to re-affiliate with the Building Trades Department, and I read that part of his letter where I quoted that he not only verbally requested but he wrote each International President. I got that far when the interruption took place.

Might I say that the application was made by President Green to the three International officers. These three International officers, after considering it very carefully, made application. It has been said on some occasions and before the Executive Council that it was on plain letterhead, that it was not on the letterhead of the three organizations. The application was made jointly. It was signed by President Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Brother Bates, Acting President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers organization, and by Brother Tracy, the President of the Electrical Workers. That was accepted by President Green and presented to the executive officers of the Building Trades Department.

Initiation fees were demanded. They were told that they would have to pay initiation fees. Each one of them put up their \$100.00 initiation fee—altogether \$300.00. Receipts were given to the representatives of these organizations for the fees, and afterwards when President Green presented the application and the initiation fees to the Building Trades Department, it was accepted and President McDonough of the Building Trades Department notified each of these International officers soon after that they were now reaffiliated with the Building

Trades Department. Tax on the membership of these organizations, whether it was more or less, I am not saying, but the tax for June was decided on, as they had become part and parcel of the Building Trades Department on the 14th of June, and therefore they would be required to pay half a month's tax. They paid that half month's tax for June, and after that the full month's tax. They paid tax for July and tax for August. At the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, when they were preparing their report for this convention, President Green reported the reaffiliation of these three organizations with the Building Trades Department, and it was a pleasant thing to all of us. At that time we got this statement up in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to this convention, under the caption "Building Trades"—

"That there should be solidarity and co-operation among all organizations of labor is of greatest import to the maintenance and progress of the Organized Labor Movement; it is of supreme concern to the building trades organizations. The cleavage in the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by the withdrawal from affiliation with that department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, caused the American Federation of Labor many anxious moments. It is, therefore, with all the more satisfaction and pleasure that we record herewith that these three organizations are now part of the official family of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Their reaffiliation was brought about on June 14, 1934."

We are all pleased with that. That is the way we believed until we came to San Francisco, and then we found things were different. When the delegates of these three organizations presented their credentials and appeared at the opening session of the convention of the Building Trades Department they were not seated, they were told they were not eligible. Then it became necessary for the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make a different report than this. This report was not correct as we submitted it, and on the first day of

the convention President Green called on me to read the synopsis of the report of the Executive Council and read also a supplemental report on this matter. I do not need to read that to you now.

The Executive Council itself of the Building Trades Department reported the reaffiliation of these organizations. I am not going to read all that part of that report to you. I will read just the last paragraph. It says:

"President Green submitted the application of the three organizations for affiliation with the Department, together with the affiliation fees. The matter was then considered by the Executive Council, which unanimously approved the acceptance of the applications and recommended that the three organizations be entitled to all rights and privileges of affiliated organizations, and all rights and privileges in the conventions of the Department.

"It is indeed a pleasant duty to report to the convention the reaffiliation of these three organizations, which is already being felt in a manner satisfactory to all concerned and has had a tendency to stimulate a cordial feeling in the Building Trades Movement, as well as recognition of the duty and obligations of the building trades workers to one another."

So that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department reported our reaffiliation to the Building Trades Department convention. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reported the reaffiliation of these three organizations, and I find in the first day's proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in this city, that the secretary of the Credentials Committee, Secretary Lyons, after he had reported all these other eighteen or nineteen organizations already affiliated, said this:

"Your committee wishes to state that it has received credentials from three other organizations affiliated with this Department. Your committee did not accept the credentials of these three organizations because the status is clearly outlined in the report of the Executive Council of the Department. When it is carried out we will be happy to accept the credentials of these three organizations."

That part of the report of the Executive Council to the Department I have already

read to you. When it was found that those three organizations would not be represented or allowed to take a seat in the convention, Secretary Morrison got in touch with President Green on his way out from Chicago to San Francisco. I think he got in connection with him somewhere on the other side of Cheyenne. Naturally we wanted President Green to be here, because President Green was the one who consummated the agreement and the understanding. He was the one who had worked on it for weeks and months in order to bring it about, sometimes discouraged and disheartened. Other times it looked as if eventually he would bring it about. President Green replied to that telegram from Cheyenne, Wyoming, on September 26, 1934. as follows:

Cheyenne, Wyo.
September 26, 1934.

Michael McDonough, President,
Building Trades Department,
Hotel Whitcomb, San Francisco.

When Bricklayers, Electrical Workers and Carpenters' International Unions became reaffiliated with Building Trades Department, it was positively and distinctly understood that these organizations would be accorded all the rights and privileges to which organizations affiliated with Building Trades Department are entitled. Executive Board, Building Trades Department, unanimously agreed to this. This means these organizations are entitled without question to representation in convention, Building Trades Department, now in session in San Francisco. Because of this interpretation I place upon the agreement, Executive Board, Building Trades Department, made with me when these three organizations herein named became reaffiliated Building Trades Department, I must direct that the representatives of these organizations be seated in Building Trades Convention immediately.

WILLIAM GREEN

President, American Federation of Labor.

He could not come by aeroplane. He landed here on the last day of the convention of the Building Trades Department. He appeared before the convention. I was there myself. So were the representatives of these three organizations. He made plain to that convention of the Building Trades Department the terms and conditions under which the three organizations were readmitted to the Building Trades Department of the American

Federation of Labor, and he told them in a plain and open and above-board fashion that in dealing with these three organizations as they had done, their action was illegal. Just the same, it made no difference to the convention of the Building Trades Department. They would not change the position they had taken.

Besides that, the call for the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department was sent to the officials of these organizations. As I am general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters I can speak for the Carpenters. I got the call. I also got seven credentials and seven duplicates showing that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was entitled to send delegates. It was mentioned by Brother McDonough when he was on the platform this afternoon that we did not send the duplicates of these credentials to the home office in Washington. No, we did not, for the reason that we have been out of the Building Trades Department for some time and we have not had anybody elected. But our General President has the right and the authority, under the law of our organization, to appoint delegates to conventions where none have been elected. He and I were the only two delegates, because that is specified in our law. Under that law we are delegates to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and we are delegates also to the American Federation of Labor conventions. In between the time of the conventions then we elect the other five delegates, but this time I called upon the General President and told him he would have to appoint the other five delegates. He said he would appoint them and he did. I notified President McDonough that I could not send duplicates to him, but I would supply him here in San Francisco both with the duplicates and the originals as soon as President Hutcheson had given me the names of the delegates. I understood he wanted to get delegates from this part of the country so that it would not cost so much for traveling from the East or the South or the North.

Those little things like not getting the credentials sent to the office are annoy-

ing. Why, I had to notify Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor that our General President had to appoint some of the delegates to this convention, that he would appoint them when he came here, and I would turn in the duplicates to the Credentials Committee. I did that and they were accepted and we have been seated here. Our per capita tax has been paid in the American Federation of Labor and to the Building Trades Department, too.

Another thing that was said here was, how did it happen that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was paying on 200,000 members to the American Federation of Labor and only paying on 150,000 members to the Building Trades Department? That was the first time since we affiliated last June that they ever said a word about the per capita tax that was paid by the Carpenters.

Our organization is a building trades organization. You know that; you told the Amalgamated Woodworkers in 1911 that they must become part and parcel of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. They got out some trim doors, sash and blinds but they did a lot of other work in the shops. They are members of our organization now. They had reed and rattan workers, furniture workers, box makers, wood carvers in their organization; they had polishers and finishers who properly and rightfully belonged to the painters, and we had to take them over by orders of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. We took them over and then we turned them over to the painters so as to straighten that out.

But all these others are not building trades men, and if the President or the Secretary or the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department had taken the matter up with President Hutcheson or myself and said that we must pay per capita tax on all these members, whether they are building trades men or not, we have money enough to pay and we would pay, there is no question about it. But we suffered just as much as the rest of you in these times that we have been going through.

Besides that we had the Ship Carpenters and Joiners in our organization. They were not building trades men, so you can readily realize how it is that we paid only on 170,000 members. And yet, if the Building Trades Department wants us to pay on all those not in the building construction, all right. Only last week before this Executive Council President Hutcheson said, "All right, we will pay." So there is no fault to be found with the Carpenters on that score. As far as the Bricklayers and the Electricians are concerned, they can speak for themselves.

Now we come down to the real reason why the Carpenters, the Bricklayers and the Electrical Workers are not admitted to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor—the three big trades that ought to be in the Building Trades Department. The report of the committee says that there were rumors that this was going to happen, that was going to happen or the other thing was going to happen, we were going to change the law, we were to pass this resolution or that resolution, we would change some of the officers. Let me tell the delegates here that the three organizations, if they were admitted now with the vote they have, would be in the minority. The Building Trades Department with the hold they have got on the organizations that are in there can vote these three large organizations down every time and any time they want to do it. To be plain with you, that is the reason why we have not been admitted to the Building Trades Department. Some changes were going to be made. We were going to make this Department a greater Department than it has been in the past.

Why, Mr. Chairman, I have heard for the last thirty-three years—and this is thirty-three conventions in succession that I have attended representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and in every convention from the time of Sam Gompers down to the present time, I have heard rumors that Sam Gompers was going to be defeated and Jim Duncan was going to be defeated, the Executive Council would be defeated, I have heard that Bill Green

would be defeated, that Matthew Woll would be defeated, and all that sort of thing.

Now, if we are going to go according to rumors as the Building Trades Department has done, if we would do that in this convention of the American Federation of Labor, half of the delegates who are sitting here would not be here now. I say that it is the right of the delegates to a convention, if they want to go into a caucus on anything on a change of a law or on the adoption of some resolution or some plan on the election of officers, I say that is their right and their duty.

That is the sum and substance of the evidence that was before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of which I am a member, and as the appeal has been taken from the decision rendered by the Executive Council, I thought it was only right and proper that some member of the Executive Council should point out to you the position of the Executive Council and why they took the action they did and made the report that they did.

Delegate Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers: Mr. President and delegates, during the course of my remarks I will answer the unwarranted attack made upon our organization at this afternoon's session by President McDonough and other members of the Building Trades Department.

For the benefit of the delegates here I want to recount all the events that have happened since President Green persuaded the representatives of the three organizations to come back into the Department. I want to try to prove to the delegates that we came back into the Department for the purpose of being of assistance to the building trades workers of this country and not to disturb the solidarity of the Department, as has been charged.

At the inception of the hearings on the construction code it evidently was determined by the representatives of the Building Trades Department that if the interests of the building trades workers were to be protected, the trades in and out of the Department must go down and

appear together and stand for what we thought was best for the building trades workers of this country, and make an effort to secure provisions in the Code that would protect the building trades workers. The representatives of these three organizations were invited by the officials of the Building Trades Department to come and participate with them in mapping out a policy to pursue at the Code hearings.

We joined with them in many meetings at their invitation, and at these meetings we were invariably asked why we did not come back into the Department. We assisted them at every hearing and accompanied them on visits to all governmental departments where the interests of the building trades workers were affected.

President Green asked us on several occasions to come back into the Department in the interests of the building trades workers, to make it possible to present a solid front to the employers and if possible to secure provisions in the Code that would be protection to the industry.

On June 14 a letter was sent to the Presidents of the three organizations by President Green, reading as follows:

June 14, 1934.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The development of solidarity and co-operation among building trades organizations is to me a matter of supreme concern. I am positively certain that the highest and best interests of the officers and members of building trades organizations will be promoted through the affiliation of each eligible organization with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a matter of personal conviction that at this important moment, following the adoption of industrial codes, applicable to the building industry, that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America should become affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity, therefore, with these expressed opinions and because of my deep personal interest, I am requesting your organization to make application

for affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In making this request I wish to state that the affiliation of your International Union with the Building Trades Department would mean that your organization would be entitled to all the rights and privileges of an affiliated organization with the Building Trades Department and entitled to representation with all its rights and privileges in Conventions of the Building Trades Department.

I respectfully urge that you respond to this request that you apply for affiliation with the Building Trades Department with the understanding that your organization will be admitted as an affiliated unit with the Building Trades Department without reservations, stipulations or requirements of any character other than those set forth in the Constitution of the Building Trades Department.

I will be very happy, indeed, if you will respond favorably to the request I have herein made, and I assure you that I will be glad to submit your application to the President of the Building Trades Department, and as President of the American Federation of Labor not only urge, but insist, that your application be accepted and your organization admitted into affiliation with the Building Trades Department promptly and without a moment's delay.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

In company with the Electricians and the Carpenters, it was agreed that we would join the Department with the understanding as contained in this letter, and our initiation fee was handed to Frother Green. On that day the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department were meeting in the City of Washington, along with the presidents of several of the other trades composing the Department. President Green went down to where the meeting was being held and presented the application signed by the three organizations, which reads as follows:

Washington, D. C.,
June 14, 1934.

Mr. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In response to your communication of this date, we, in behalf of our separate

international organizations do hereby present to you to be presented to the Building Trades Department the application of affiliation of our respective organizations with that body.

That was signed by the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America and the Acting President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

President Green returned and told us that we were welcome in the Department, that our application for reaffiliation had been received unanimously and that we were then affiliated with the Department with all rights and privileges, and we would be accorded all the rights and privileges of any other organization in the Department at this convention.

On that night in the city of Washington an announcement was going to be made about the setting up of a Planning and Adjustment Board which was provided for in the construction codes as a means of settling jurisdictional disputes between the organizations of the building trades. At the meeting that night, attended by all members of the Planning and Adjustment Board and representatives of employers' associations and officials of the Government, President McDonough, of the Building Trades Department, broadcast the fact that all three trades were again a part of the Building Trades Department. He welcomed us back into the fold, and he was complimented highly by all those present as well as President Green for being able to secure the affiliation of the three organizations at that momentous time.

In due time we received a letter from the Secretary of the Building Trades Department requesting that our organization submit to them our classification of trade. We complied with this request and from month to month we paid them dues and received receipts. Within a week's time after making our application we received a charter duly signed by the officials of the Department setting forth the fact that we were members of the Department. Nothing was said at that time or since that time until this convention that would lead one to believe

that we were not welcome in the Department. We participated in the establishment of the Board of Jurisdictional Awards, the setting up of rules to govern the board, and we participated in meetings held in the headquarters of the Building Trades Department to discuss questions of interest to the organization.

We received in due time notice of the convention, and our organization received six credentials with a notice that these credentials should be properly filled out and returned to headquarters. We did this. We selected our delegates as provided for by our constitution and sent those delegates to the City of San Francisco at considerable expense to our organization. When we arrived in this city our credentials were presented at the office established in the Whitcomb Hotel by the Building Trades Department. Nothing was said at that time about our not being seated in the convention. It has been known to the officers of the Building Trades Department and the President of the International organizations that we were not satisfied with the way the Building Trades Department had been administered and that if we so desired we expected to exercise our rights of franchise in the selection of officers. When we came to the convention our total vote was thirty-four from the three organizations, which was a minority, and as long as the officials of the Building Trades Department knew that we had a minority of the votes no question was raised at any time about our delegates being seated.

But after we arrived in the city we found that other organizations in the Department were not fairly satisfied with the way things were being administered within the Department. That is the first time that we received any notice that we were not welcome. No question was raised about the amount of dues from our organization, and when we appeared in the convention the Credentials Committee withheld reporting upon the credentials of the three organizations.

Now bear this in mind. The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, in their printed report, signed by the Executive Council, had reported to

the convention our readmission to the Department and welcomed us to the Department and when this report was turned over to a committee, we find the committee making the following recommendation that appeared in the second day's proceedings of the convention.

"The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for re-affiliation of these three trades.

"We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and co-operation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and co-operation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and co-operation prevailing.

"We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversation among the delegates, we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

"Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which is so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and, therefore, recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation be denied."

No mention is made by this committee who reported upon the report of the Executive Council, and no question was raised as to law as was raised in the convention this afternoon.

These are the reasons I read to you why the delegates from the three organizations were not seated at the convention. When we appeared at the convention and demanded the right to be heard, when the question was under discussion as to accepting the report of this committee, we were denied even a voice

upon the floor of that convention. Vice-President Duffy has told you about the telegram being sent to President Green and the answer received, and when he arrived in the city and attended the convention we brought to his attention personally the treatment we had received. He proceeded to the convention hall and arrived there soon after the convention opened. The Building Trades Department had made a special order of business for the election of officers at 10:30 o'clock that day. President Green, in the hope of pressing the much discussed question of mediation that we have heard about this afternoon, appeared at the entrance of the convention hall, in the hope that an agreement he had made as President of the American Federation of Labor in reference to the reaffiliation of our organization would be considered by the convention as a bona fide agreement made by the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department. Then a most distressing thing occurred. The President of the American Federation of Labor was kept standing in the anteroom until this election was held, and after the election was held he was brought into the hall and he there made to the delegates present an appeal for justice. I am going to take the time of this convention to read part of his address to that convention. In his discussion he tells about the turmoil and strife created by jurisdictional disputes. Following that up, he says:

"As I say, because of that fact and because of my interest in the Organized Labor Movement, because of my interest in those whom you represent, I pleaded with these organizations to come in. I did so at the request of the officers of the Building Trades Department; I did so at the request of organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department. The request was that, as President of the American Federation of Labor, I use my persuasive powers to bring these organizations into affiliation with the Building Trades Department; and I imagine that many times there were officers of the Building Trades Department and officers of organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department that became impatient and felt, perhaps, that I was not doing my full duty in going to the very limit to bring them into affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

"I was very happy when we succeeded last June. I never attended a meeting in my life when I was so happy as I was at the meeting in the Building Trades Department, when everybody expressed approval of the applications of these organizations for affiliation with the Building Trades Department. It was unanimous. The finest spirit of harmony was in evidence that I ever saw at any conference I ever attended. It was most auspicious; the outlook was fine; harmony had been restored, solidarity had been established and the Building Trades Department was finally placed in a position of influence and increasing popularity.

"Now, because of the part I played in these negotiations, I am speaking to you frankly and earnestly and sincerely, for I feel it very keenly. I was taught all my life, at home and as a member of my own organization, that a contract was binding and sacred, and that when I pledged my plighted word it was as good as my bond. So when I wrote to the presidents of these organizations I really obligated the President of the American Federation of Labor, and I presume in my official capacity, obligated the American Federation of Labor."

President Green then read the letter I have previously read to you. Following up the letter his remarks were as follows:

"There is the compact, there is the bargain! I could not remain silent if these organizations were to be deceived. They came in upon my word and honor that they would be entitled to all the rights and privileges of the organization. I gave my sacred word and honor that that was what it would be. And now imagine how I feel when I am told that this transaction has been repudiated and these organizations denied affiliation with this Building Trades Department!

"Am I to be placed in a position, as President of the American Federation of Labor, of deceiving these men and deceiving you? Why, my friends, that was accepted by the Executive Council, it was accepted by the spokesmen of the Building Trades Department, the officers of the Building Trades Department, and I was assured that these organizations had complied with the law, and that, in full compliance with the law, they would be admitted to membership in the Building Trades Department and their delegates would be seated in this convention. I not only made the compact, I made the agreement, I pledged my sacred word of honor. Now am I to be charged as being deceptive, failing to stand up when my word is challenged?"

Then he goes on to say:

"I know not the basis of your action! I cannot understand it. It is amazing to

me! I feel that you really have no choice in the matter, that when these organizations met the requirements of the law and the usages and the policies of the American Federation of Labor that the Building Trades Department had no choice other than to accept them; because I cannot conceive of the American Federation of Labor, the great parent body, chartering an organization, clothing it with authority to say who shall come in and who shall not, particularly when those who come measure every requirement and meet every test, that would refuse their affiliation. * * *

"You have made a grave mistake. Your action is wrong—I was going to say indefensible. I know it is illegal, it is not in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. I feel I have to tell you that if it is the last word I speak as an officer of this Organized Labor Movement. I feel that these organizations were in your Department from June 14—that is the date when they became affiliated—and they were a part of this Department from then until now. I regard them as a part of this Department because they have met every requirement. They paid their tax, they paid their initiation fee; there is no law they have violated, and, furthermore, I made the agreement, I pledged the honor and the good name of the American Federation of Labor in support of that agreement. We cannot have it stained or blurred, it must stand."

Did the delegates and the officers of the Building Trades Department pay any attention to the plea delivered by the President of the American Federation of Labor? They did not. If they had any desire to mediate or arrive at an understanding such as they talked about so much this afternoon, they had an excellent opportunity to do so after the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed the convention, and even before they held their so-called election of officers.

Now much law has been quoted to you by officials of the Department today, and I am not going to discuss this law because of the fact that the members of the two committees that considered this question in its entirety are more familiar, possibly, with the law than those who advanced the arguments this afternoon. The question before the delegates to this convention is the question of holding two men in positions. That is the question, and I want to say that the lack of leadership in the handling of this matter at least should raise doubt in the minds of the delegates present as to whether they

pay more attention to the interests of the building trades workers of America than they do to maintaining two men within certain positions in the Department.

Attacks have been made on the organization I represent, and we were accused of cheating the American Federation of Labor out of per capita tax. You were informed during the month of March, 1934, we paid to the American Federation of Labor on 35,000 members, in May on 45,000 members, and in June on 65,000 members. That is correct. I want to say that our organization has been very hard hit by this depression. There has been very little work for our membership and it has been very hard for them to secure sufficient employment to pay their dues up to date.

We have in our organization two beneficiary features. We have a record in our headquarters also of every member of our organization, where he is located, and a register number appears after his name upon our records so that he can be identified. We have cash receipts, reports each week from our local unions that show clearly each payment of dues made by these members.

Now, it is a fact well known by all the delegates present here that many of the organizations here did not pay upon their full membership to the American Federation of Labor, during these trying times, but only paid upon the membership in good standing on their own records. To make it possible for the membership to enjoy the privileges of our organization it was necessary that we invoke the rules governing the relief and mortuary funds of our organization, and our members who were not able because of unemployment to pay their dues were permitted to sign a waiver which permitted them to remain members of the organization, to be considered members of the organization, to work with members with paid-up cards, exercising a voice in the Union's selection of officers and taking part in the discussion of questions arising in the organization.

But we paid to the American Federation of Labor on the actual number of

men that were paid up in good standing as provided for by our law. Many of our organizations assessed their membership from five to ten cents and, in many instances, twenty-five cents to pay the dues of their unemployed so that they could again become beneficial members of the organization and enjoy these beneficial features.

In our relief fund we are bound to pay to something over two thousand members of our organization, the actual amount collected from the subordinate organizations to be apportioned to the relief fund. These checks are made monthly and sent to these relief members. We are bound to pay this amount due to an injunction issued against our organization in the Federal courts in Washington, D. C. Therefore, we know actually the exact amounts collected from our members monthly. When we were paying on the 35,000 members of our organization, they were receiving in relief checks approximately \$12.08 per month. In June when we paid upon 65,000 members to the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department, the relief checks to these members monthly were over \$21, which proves conclusively that we were paying on actually the number of members that were in good standing in our organization.

The officials of the Building Trades Department may presume that such is not the case, but the records are on file in our organization and speak for themselves. The relief checks that have been issued to our members bear out these statements. And while these statements are made here the fact remains that we have been fair to the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department as well.

I want to say that we were getting along in Washington outside of the Department—the three organizations involved. We were being received by the Government departments and we were able to look after the interests of our membership and of our organization, but we had an honest desire to get back into the Department so that the Department could contain all building trades organi-

zations and protect, if possible, the interests of the building trades workers during these trying times. We can be of more help to these trades now in the Department than they can be to us, simply because of the fact that the basic trades are on the operations before these other trades arrive. We can go on and conduct our affairs and protect our interests, but we have an honest desire to come into the Department and be helpful, if possible, in protecting the interests of all. Our motives cannot be questioned.

And I want to say that this Building Trades Department, if they look after the interests of the workers in the industries, should certainly give more consideration to solidarity in the Department than they do to disrupting the Department by their own actions, simply because of the fact they want to continue in office some members now holding office within the Department.

President Morrin of the Ironworkers attacked the Bricklayers this afternoon for withdrawing from the Department. I am going to tell the delegates here why we withdrew, and I am also going to bring to the attention of President Morrin that before we did withdraw he begged the former President of this organization to withdraw from the Department. We were members of the Department. We withdrew in 1927 because of the fact that in the city of Baltimore a strike was called against our organization and all trades who were members of the Department were ordered off all jobs where union bricklayers were working, over a jurisdictional dispute with the Plasterers. We appealed to President McSorley of the Department at that time, and we decided that the acts of the Baltimore Building Trades Council were illegal and contrary to the laws of the Department. The case was appealed from the board of the Building Trades Council to the Executive Council and we were defeated, and the President of the Building Trades Department never even defended the decision which he made, which was based upon law.

We did withdraw from the Department, but since we have been out of the De-

partment numerous organizations of ours in the larger sections of this country have been members of the local Building Trades Councils continuously. President Morrin must remember the assistance rendered him by our International Union that made it possible for union ironworkers to be employed upon the Commerce Building in Washington, D. C., when that could not be brought about by the action of the local council. He must also remember the large operation in the State of Tennessee that was straightened out for his membership through the efforts of our organization, for which we received his very hearty thanks. They seemed to have forgotten the fact that we can be helpful in many cases and have desired to be helpful. To hear these men quoting the law this afternoon you would think that they did nothing but comply strictly with the letter of the law in the administration of their own affairs.

Only recently in the city of Washington a jurisdictional dispute occurred between two trades, and the local Building Trades Council decided to leave the matter to the heads of the two trades for settlement. The President of the Building Trades Department ordered the local Building Trades Council to strike the job against our organization and keep hundreds of men off this job for nine weeks, and when they could not accomplish their purpose the President of the Operative Plasterers took our organization into the Federal court and attempted to secure an injunction against us, but I can report to the convention that they were not successful.

Now, Mr. Chairman and delegates, do not be fooled by the pleas of these men that they cannot settle this question by mediation and arbitration within forty-five days. Any question that can be approached in an open mind can be settled in that time, and unless the report of this committee is received in its entirety, if this 45-day clause is taken out, then you can expect a repetition of this fight at the next convention, because dilatory tactics will be applied by the representatives of these trades, and they can say that they have complied with the action of the convention, and they will continue on and we will have no redress.

All we ask is a bona fide agreement, made by the President of the Building Trades Department, their Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor be upheld by this convention, and the blot upon the record of the American Federation of Labor that was placed there by the action of the Building Trades Department convention be removed by the delegates in this convention.

Delegate Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I do not want to take up too much time of the delegates. I will just endeavor to review briefly some of the happenings that took place in connection with this controversy in an effort to make replies to some of the statements that have been made by some of the previous speakers. It has been stated, and it is admitted that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was not affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor from the year 1929. In the interim, however, we had been solicited on many occasions by the representatives of the other building trades organizations and by the officials of the Building Trades Department, by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, to again become affiliated with the Building Trades Department. We were told on numerous occasions that it would be very helpful to the trade union movement in this country if the Building Trades Department could be made a 100 per cent organization. We were also told that we would be very helpful to the other trades. It has been stated on the floor this afternoon that we were disruptionists and we were tearing down the conditions of the other trades. I challenge anyone to prove that statement and show where we tore down the conditions of any other of the building trades of this country.

We did not seek affiliation with the Building Trades Department for the reason that we were getting along very well as we were, and during the interim of our non-affiliation with the Department we had entered into an understanding and agreement with the Bricklayers' International organization and with the Electrical Workers' International organization. I want

to say to you in all sincerity that as far as our organization was concerned we were well satisfied with that arrangement, and I think the other two organizations were equally well satisfied. However, being desirous of being helpful in the movement, on the solicitation of President Green, on his urgency upon us that we, together with the other two organizations, again affiliate with the Building Trades Department, we gave it consideration.

At this time I want to read to you the letter that was addressed to the three organizations by President Green, under date of June 14, 1934. That communication has been referred to, but it has not been read in whole, and if you will bear with me for just a moment I would like to read it for you:

Mr. Wm. L. Hutcheson, President,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners of America,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother Hutcheson:

The development of solidarity and co-operation among building trades organizations is to me a matter of supreme concern. I am positively certain that the highest and best interests of the officers and members of building trades organizations will be promoted through the affiliation of each eligible organization with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a matter of personal conviction that at this important moment following the adoption of industrial codes applicable to the building industry that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America should become affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity, therefore, with these expressed opinions and because of my deep personal interest, I am requesting your organization to make application for affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In making this request I wish to state that the affiliation of your International Union with the Building Trades Department would mean that your organization would be entitled to all the rights and

privileges of an affiliated organization with the Building Trades Department and entitled to representation with all its rights and privileges in conventions of the Building Trades Department.

I respectfully urge that you respond to this request that you apply for affiliation with the Building Trades Department with the understanding that your organization will be admitted as an affiliated unit with the Building Trades Department without reservations, stipulations or requirements of any character other than those set forth in the Constitution of the Building Trades Department.

I will be very happy indeed if you will respond favorably to the request I have herein made and I assure you that I will be glad to submit your application to the President of the Building Trades Department, as President of the American Federation of Labor not only urge but insist that your application be accepted and your organization admitted into affiliation with the Building Trades Department promptly and without a moment's delay.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN.

President, American Federation of Labor.

Following the receipt of that communication the three organizations mentioned jointly signed the following communication:

Washington, D. C.,
June 14, 1934.

Mr. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In response to your communication of this date, we, in behalf of our separate International organizations do hereby present to you to be presented to the Building Trades Department the application of affiliation of our respective organizations with that body.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
U. B. of C. & J. of A.

D. J. TRACY,
I. B. of E. W. of A.

HARRY BATES,
B. M. & P. I. U.

On the same date, we, the representatives of the three organizations received the following communication:

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Washington, D. C.,
June 14, 1934.

Mr. Wm. L. Hutcheson,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners of America,
222 E. Michigan Street,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This communication will acknowledge receipt of your application for reaffiliation which has been acted upon favorably by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, receipt of your remittance of \$100.00 to cover charter fee having been handed to President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) M. J. McDONOUGH,
President Building Trades Department.

It was upon the request of the President of the American Federation of Labor that the three organizations gave favorable consideration to their reaffiliation with the Building Trades Department. Mention has been made by some of the previous speakers in reference to a communication that was sent to all local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America by myself, as President of our organization. That communication was sent, most assuredly, apprising our members of the fact that we were again a part of the Building Trades Department, advising them under the laws of the Building Trades Department as to their manner of affiliating with local Building Trades Councils. Exceptions were taken to the word "desire" as used by me in that communication. Perhaps the delegate who took exception to the use of that word does not understand the procedure of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. We are what we consider a democratic organization, leaving to our members a certain local autonomy, and when we want them to do something we first advise them of the fact and then if they don't do it, we are liable to say, "Well, you are going to do it."

I want to refer briefly for a moment to correspondence that has passed between the Secretary of the American Federation

of Labor and our Brotherhood in reference to affiliation of our local unions with the central body. I would like to ask the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor if he ever made a request on the Brotherhood of Carpenters, making complaint that any local of the organization was not in affiliation with the central body, that he did not get a prompt response and the co-operation of our International organization.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, that is true not only with the Carpenters, but with nearly every other International organization.

Delegate Hutcheson: That is the only one I am speaking of just now. I wish I were authorized to speak for others, but I am not. I have been accused of it, but I plead not guilty. If you will take the trouble to look up the laws of the Building Trades Department you will find that Section 5 of the constitution and by-laws governing the local council reads:

District Councils or conference boards shall be formed where two (2) or more local unions of an affiliated International organization exist under the jurisdiction of this council. The representation to the local council shall come through said district council or conference board, and all business between the council and affiliated organizations shall be done through the said district councils or conference boards of the different organizations.

Now, then, the communication that was taken exception to set forth that where our local unions desire to affiliate with local Building Trades Councils they must affiliate through our district councils. The laws of the Brotherhood provided that where two or more locals exist in one city they must join in forming and maintaining a district council. Our locals were told where they desired to enter into affiliation with a local building trades council that they must do it through their district council. That is exactly what the laws of the Department say should be done.

We received no complaint from the officials of the Building Trades Department that our membership in any locality refused to affiliate. Had we received such a complaint we would have given it the same consideration that the Sec-

retary of the American Federation admits is given to every complaint he presents to us in regard to the non-affiliation of our members with central bodies.

It was stated that the Brotherhood refused to co-operate in regard to the adjustment of disputes. No place can it be shown that a request was received for our members to comply with the decision made by the President of the Department in conformity with the laws of the Department. There is no doubt that we were requested to send a representative, or perhaps tell our members what they should or should not do, in which event we would come back and say that we considered the work ours and were insisting on doing it. Any organization would do that up until a finding was made by the President of the Department, and then if we did not comply they would be perfectly justified in making that complaint and criticism of our actions.

It has been previously stated that we were notified of the call for the convention, that we were sent credentials and notified as to the number of delegates. Mention has also been made of our not paying full per capita tax to the Department as we pay to the American Federation of Labor. These questions have been touched upon and therefore I will not repeat them.

However, I would like to make mention of the exceptions that were taken to the report of the committee on the recommendations and findings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the time limit. Reference has been made to the fact that it was like putting a gun up to one's throat. I don't know why they said throat. Perhaps they know more about the use of guns than I do. I don't know much about them. However, it seems to me that if there should be any justified reference to the use of a gun it would be more applicable to those who are interposing an objection to the admission of the three organizations to the Building Trades Department, because of their actions when they refused not only to seat the representatives of our organizations, but when they refused, upon the request of the

President of the American Federation of Labor, to withhold action until he could arrive in this city. He was en route at the time, and on his request for them to withhold action they refused to do so. Even on the morning of his arrival they refused to withhold the election of their officers in the Department convention until he, President Green, might address them. Did that show a conciliatory mood or method? If they wanted to conciliate and settle this question, why did they rush through the election of their officers after President Green had asked them to withhold action until after he had addressed the convention? It ill becomes them, as I see it at this time, to come here and talk about forty-five days being like putting a gun to them and telling them what they have got to do. If they wanted to conciliate so much they should have shown some of that spirit at the time of the request of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, my friends, I know you have listened with a great degree of patience to what has been said by both sides of this question. I have come to the conclusion that you must by this time have made up your mind as to whether the appeal of the three organizations to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was justified or not. I also feel you have made up your mind as to whether the report of the Executive Council and the report of this committee is right or not. Therefore, I am going to bring my remarks to a close by saying this: I trust you will see the justification of the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and of this committee and vote to sustain same.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates.—It is unfortunate, and I regret that we have to impose upon your time with facts dealing with this subject. There has not been as much criticism of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as there has been of my two associate organizations in this appeal. However, there has been a question raised by the President of the Building Trades Department wherein he questions

the number of members that the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers paid per capita tax upon in that Department.

For your information may I say that the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has made a strenuous and successful effort to organize the electrical workers in all branches of the electrical construction industry, and we have benefited greatly in the past year by a large increase in membership.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor and of the Building Trades Department require us to pay to the Department upon the same number of members as we pay into the American Federation of Labor. That is exactly what we did in this case. We paid into the American Federation of Labor on 130,000 members. We likewise did so in the Department. Now the records in our office speak for themselves, and I can assure you that there was no error and no mistake, that there was no action on our part to increase our membership in the Department or in the American Federation of Labor if we did not feel justified in doing so.

That seems to be the only question they have of the Electrical Workers in this matter. Since assuming the office of President of the Electrical Workers in July, 1933, I have co-operated with the officers and Executive Council of the Building Trades Department. Yes, they invited me to do so; they invited me into their councils and I appreciated that invitation. I took advantage of that invitation; I worked on and co-operated with them in every matter that came before the national Administration on Codes, on jobs and otherwise. I have at all times been in favor of affiliation with all the departments of the American Federation of Labor. Many of the members of the Department know that and recognize that. They undertook from time to time to prevail upon me to re-affiliate with that Department. I told them I would be only too glad to affiliate my organization with that Department; I realized the value it would be to us.

Negotiations were carried on, and during these negotiations I suggested that

the other two organizations be solicited to come into that Department. They said, "we sincerely hope that you will use your influence to prevail upon the Bricklayers and Carpenters to join you in affiliating with the Department." I gave my humble efforts to that end, and will take some credit in selling the idea to the Bricklayers and Carpenters that it would be to their interest and to the interest of the building trades of this country if they re-affiliated with that Department. One day, to my surprise, they said they were both intending to affiliate.

We attended the meeting in President Green's office at which time we made a joint application to the Department. It was one of the happiest days of my life, and I believe it was of President Green's. We made out the application and sent in the admittance fee of \$100 to the Department. We were advised that it was accepted, and accepted gladly by the officials of that Department.

We were elated with the situation. It happened that there was a meeting of the construction industry in Washington at that time, a Planning Board. The news was flashed at that meeting and was broadcast all over the United States that all the building trades were in the Department. There was no thought in my mind of any disruption or any misunderstanding. We did not go there to disrupt. We went in there to help build up the Department and make it what it should be for the building industry. Nobody can question my motive in that. Nobody can say I ever solicited anybody for office, nor did I solicit anybody to change his vote and come over on this side.

We paid our per capita tax. First we got an acknowledgment of our affiliation and paid our per capita tax for the last half of June on 130,000 members. We paid it for July. There was no question. Then we received that acknowledgment. We were using the old charter which we formerly had, which was agreeable to the Secretary and President of the Department, and it was our request that we be permitted to use the old charter because we saw no necessity for changing. Later we were sent credentials for

the convention that convened in this city. We were told we were allowed so many delegates. We have brought that number of delegates to this convention at quite an expense to the Brotherhood, with the full expectation that we would be seated in that convention with full rights and privileges as guaranteed to us by President Green; but, to our surprise, we were not welcome in that convention and, with the Plasterers and Bricklayers, we were moved out of that convention. We were not even given the right to ask a question, we were denied that privilege.

That agreement was consummated in good faith; the three organizations came into this Department in good faith. What are the delegates to this convention going to do? Repudiate an agreement, a sacred document consummated by the President of the American Federation of Labor and approved unanimously by the officials of the Building Trades Department? If you do you will be making one of the saddest mistakes you ever made in your life. You have got to protect the agreement made by your officers.

I will say to you frankly that any organization affiliated with that Department has a right to exercise its franchise in that Department, and while we were in a minority they still feared we might take advantage by putting some new officers in there; they never even gave us a trial, they cast us aside, they said "you shall not pass," and we did not pass. If the political question had not arisen there would have been no question about per capita tax; there would be no question of the Electrical Workers paying on too many members and the Carpenters on not enough members.

I am fully convinced that you have made up your minds as to how you are going to cast your vote, but I say to you now that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is right, proper and just. You cannot have the creature dictate to the creator, and the Building Trades Department is the creature of the American Federation of Labor.

I leave the matter in your hands, to your best judgment. I want to be in

that Department as a representative of one of the building trades organizations. I want to work in co-operation with them. I want to go back to Washington and try to work with them and co-operate with them. When I leave the City of San Francisco I am going to forget what happened here and go back and work for the best interests of the workers of this country. I thank you.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Both sides, as I see it, have presented their respective views on this question, and in order to avoid further repetition I move the previous question.

President Green: Brother Kennedy, will you hold the motion in abeyance just a moment while I go into one phase of the legal question involved in this matter?

Delegate Kennedy: I will do that.

Delegate Coefield, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters: I believe that Brother Kennedy thinks that both sides have presented their case. I want to know if he will also give way to those who wish to speak directly on the question and who are interested.

Delegate Kennedy: The last five speakers on both sides have practically repeated what had already been said in the convention. Nothing that we think would throw any light on the subject has been said by these speakers, and I will renew my motion when the legal aspect of the case is developed by President Green.

Delegate Coefield: I don't believe there is a man in this hall who is more interested in this subject than I am, and I don't think Brother Kennedy presumes to say I cannot throw any light on this question. I don't intend to read a lot of papers, but I do desire to have an opportunity to present to this convention my views. I am a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the present time, and I am not going to speak as an Executive Council member, but as president of an international union that has always been affiliated with the Building Trades Department, and I demand that right.

President Green: If there are no objections I will recognize you now to make your statement, Brother Coesfield. Hearing no objection, it is so ordered. The Chair recognizes Brother Coesfield, President of the Plumbers and Steamfitters' International Union.

Delegate Coesfield: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention: I find myself in rather a peculiar position. I am a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, but I do not intend to take advantage of that position. I am speaking now as the President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, but I want to call to your attention that I have attended all of the hearings and have taken an active part in all of the deliberations before the Executive Council and in the negotiations that took place in this situation.

I do not claim to be able to do any more than most ordinary people do. I have to confess to you that I am just an honest plumber. Bearing that reputation, as not only myself but all the officers and members of my organization do, I can assure you that everything I tell you will be the truth.

There have been a great many things said here, possibly some of which were better left unsaid. There have been some things which have not been said which I desire to call to your attention, and explain to you my views upon some of the things I think bear upon this situation. I have the most friendly feeling for every man in the Building Trades Department, as well as the rest of the men and women in the Labor Movement. I bear no ill will to any of the members, officers, or otherwise, of any of the trades the Building Trades Department is contending with at this time. We have always been good friends and I hope we always will be. What I say will be without malice in this situation.

Now, there have been a great many things said regarding an agreement with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and President Green meeting with the Executive Council, and

I want to say to you here and now that President Green did not meet with the Executive Council. I am saying that to disabuse the minds of the delegates who are not familiar with this situation.

On the 14th day of last June, when President Green appeared with that very unusual application for three organizations written on plain paper, dictated in the office of the American Federation of Labor, two floors above the office of the Building Trades Department, in the same building, when the three officers of these organizations were present with him there was a meeting of general presidents of the Building Trades organization dealing with the Planning and Adjustment Board. There was no meeting of the General Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in session, nor at any other time did President Green, to my knowledge—and I am also informed by officers of the Department that this statement is correct—ever appear before the Executive Council of the Department.

At the meeting where these applications were presented by President Green, and not by the officers of the three organizations in question on their own letterheads, as such things are usually presented, when that was done some officers of the Building Trades Department were present and the Executive Council went into session—those members of the Executive Council that were present—and they decided to accept the application of the three organizations whose application we have been discussing today.

I want to say again to you that, with all the statements regarding agreements, no one has presented an agreement, no one has presented anything except the letter written by President Green. I am not after Green, I want you to understand that; I am for him all the time, but he wrote that letter in which he designated the proceedings as a solemn agreement, but no agreement is in existence, nor can it be produced.

The building trades organizations have been having quite a busy time in Washington since the NRA went into effect. I think about as strenuous a time as any

of the other industries in this country. We found ourselves in the position of three large organizations in the building trades industry being out of the Department. That has been the exact situation. Through the efforts of the officers of the Building Trades Department, the successful and energetic officers of the Building Trades Department, the Building Trades Department was recognized by NRA and by other Government departments as the spokesman for the building trades industry. It is quite true that the Department has requested the officers of these three organizations to meet with us in our meeting and try to put up as solid a front as we could, and some of them did. Some of them attended quite frequently, some of them did not attend quite so frequently. I will say for the Bricklayers that he was there at all meetings; the Electricians was at nearly all the meetings, but no one can say that the Carpenters was present at all of those various important meetings.

We went along through the efforts that were necessary for the building trades workmen in this country, always making progress and always making gain until we upset an Industrial Code that was the most miserable one presented for any industry. The officers of the Building Trades Department, the officers of the international unions in the Building Trades Department, and the officers of two of the organizations that are in question today went so far as to have that Code stopped after it was on the President's desk and signed by Administrator Johnson. We carried that Code to the White House and had an hour and twenty-nine minutes' conference with the President of the United States.

Those are some of the things we were engaged in and some of the things we were successful in.

One of the provisions of that Code provided for a Planning and Adjustment Board, and that is one of the very important parts of this controversy at the present time. The Planning and Adjustment Board consisted of an impartial chairman appointed by the President, ten men representing the employers and ten men

representing the employees, and the Building Trades Department was requested to select the ten men to represent the employees.

We had a meeting in the Building Trades Department offices and the first thing that was done in that matter was to elect William L. Hutcheson, who was not a member of the Department, Daniel Tracy, the President of the Electrical Workers, who was not a member of the Department, and Harry Bates, Acting President of the Bricklayers, who was not a member of the Department. They were elected by acclamation by all of the representatives of the nineteen organizations without them having to be nominated or anything else. Then we immediately proposed to elect the remaining seven from among the organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

I am calling this to your attention as one of the many instances that happened during the last year or two to show you the fair treatment these organizations received from the Building Trades Department while they were not members and contributing in these times when contribution means so much to run the Building Trades Department or any other kind of a business or labor organization.

All through the activities of NRA these three organizations received just exactly the same kind of treatment as the representatives of the Department and the organizations affiliated with the Department. Yes, it is true that from time to time some of us requested those men to become reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor where they rightfully belong, all three being building trades organizations as nearly 100 per cent as anybody else.

Now we have gone over from time to time the ins and outs of these organizations. I don't intend to burden you with that, but I do want to call to your attention some things that happened when organizations went out and when organizations came back again, and in each and every instance when the Brotherhood

of Carpenters left the Building Trades Department several inducements were offered to get them in, and when they were in the Department special inducements had to be offered to them to keep them in the Building Trades Department.

The fourteen votes, the double vote that you have heard so much about, was an arrangement that was given the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to induce them to come back into the Building Trades Department. Now, I would like somebody here to show me where the American Federation of Labor or any of its constituent departments ever did that much for any other organization in the Labor Movement, or where such a condition as that prevailed or was ever offered by anyone.

You have been told how the fourteen votes were used, and they were used immediately. I will not go into the details of that. In the 1927 convention of the American Federation of Labor there is something I want to touch upon that I do not believe has been touched upon by any other speaker.

The Carpenters reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1927 in Los Angeles. They reaffiliated on conditions. The Carpenters left the Building Trades Department in 1921. There was formed in the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, at which the representatives of all the organizations at that time affiliated with the American Federation of Labor took part, and no organization or no general president of any of the national unions connected with the Department took a more active part than did William L. Hutcheson, the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, in the formation of that Board, and everything was done that could be done to satisfy Brother Hutcheson in the formation of that Board, and the establishment of its rules and procedure.

Brother Hutcheson was made a member of the Board. Brother Hutcheson didn't attend the Board very often. His first Vice-President, John Cosgrove, at-

tended. The National Board for Jurisdictional Awards settled disputes in every one of these organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department that were affected, but the Brotherhood of Carpenters steadfastly refused to permit the Board to settle any disputes in which they were interested. In the 1921 convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Colorado, William Bowen, the President of the Bricklayers' International Union, introduced a resolution providing that any organization that did not abide by the decision of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards—which was our own creation—should be expelled from membership and unseated in the Building Trades Department. Our old friend Jim Duncan made an amendment that was a very mild one that would not hurt anyone, but the Carpenters refused to go along and left the Department.

From that time on we were involved in a situation similar to the situation we are in at the present time. A number of the officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor directed their efforts towards destroying that Board because the Carpenters wanted it destroyed. In the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Green pleaded with me to use what little influence I might have with the delegates in that convention to abolish that Board. I could not consent to do that, and I never consented to do anything I thought was wrong, even if I was the only one that remained steadfast. However, sufficient strength was developed in that convention and sufficient efforts were made to abolish the Board that when the noses were counted the Carpenters reaffiliated.

Another thing that happened in that convention was this: A place was made for the President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters on the Council. It could not be done by placing one more member on because that made an irregular Board. The Secretary of the Building Trades Department at that time was a member of my own organization, and under the law was a member of the Executive Council of the Department, as he should be. In

order to put on another member without making it an odd number, it was proposed that the vote of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Council be taken away from him. We conceded to that, and Brother Hutcheson was placed on the Executive Council.

A situation developed in Baltimore that the bricklayer was very much dissatisfied with. He was fighting a decision of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, and the Carpenter, again a new-born member of the Department, was fighting the Bricklayer. I happen to be quite familiar with this because I presided at that meeting because all the officers of the Department were interested parties. The bricklayer lost through the assistance of the carpenter and the bricklayer withdrew from the Department and he hasn't returned as yet.

We went along until 1929 in the Toronto convention, and the President of the Carpenters, or the Carpenters' representative, desired to have a reduction of per capita tax. That has been brought to your attention, but it had not been clearly brought out. You have been told what happened there regarding the per capita tax, but you have not been told that the Carpenters were offered an opportunity by the officers not only of the Building Trades Department but of the other international unions who had the voting strength in the convention to name the President of the Department in order to keep them in. However, the carpenter left and he has been out ever since.

Now, as far as the electricians are concerned I want to say a word or two about the Electrical Workers leaving that Department. The President of the Electrical Workers at that time was not the president who holds that office at this time. The Board of Trade Claims was formed in Atlantic City, and the president of the Electrical Workers at that time, Harry Broach, whom I presume a great many of you know, took an active part in the formation of that Board. Every effort was used to satisfy President Broach. He went through with that

meeting and changed his mind some time between July and October. Then previous to the convention he started to work on some of us not to have it approved in the Building Trades Department. The Building Trades Department did approve of that plan and the Electrical Workers left and they have been out ever since.

Now, nothing has ever been done by the Building Trades Department that could be construed to interfere with the proper, orderly conduct of those organizations while they were out of the Department. They are still seated in Building Trades Councils all over the country and have been during that period of time, except in some instances where the General President took a large body of them out by his order. The Building Trades Department has permitted carpenters, electricians and bricklayers to be affiliated in any Council that they desired to be affiliated with and they received service. Local unions of those organizations wrote letters to the Building Trades Department and received prompt answers and prompt action and prompt support in the many things they had to contend with so far as the Department was able to take care of them.

We have talked about these jurisdictional disputes that have been such a vexatious question to the Labor Movement. We tried two different ways to settle them. We had what looked like a very fine Board at first, and a second that was not quite as good, in my opinion. That may be because I wasn't down there to help form it.

If you will think back a little you will find that a majority of those jurisdictional disputes that agitated President Green and the Executive Council, and the rest of the Labor Movement to some degree, were largely disputes where an organization affiliated with the Building Trades Department was one of the contenders for certain classes of work. The Building Trades Department's hands were tied and they did not take advantage of the fact that these organizations were out of the Department to render numerous decisions against them in favor of

the organizations that were loyal to the Department. Those organizations, during all the period of time while they were out, received as fair treatment as any organization possibly could receive under the circumstances, and certainly everything that they were entitled to.

I do not believe the delegates to this convention thoroughly understand this situation, and I want to go outside of this hall to call your attention to the fact that in the appeal of these brothers to the Executive Council in the meeting before the Executive Council and in the meeting before the Adjustment Board, statements were made by representatives affiliated with the Department that if given an opportunity we would sit down and bring about an adjustment of this situation. And I want to call to your attention that that statement was made by Mike McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department, in his statement here, and by other members of the Department, but not one suggestion of compromise was made by any of the speakers on the other side. That is a public utterance and I contend they ought to show to the delegates of this convention that the Building Trades Department and the organizations affiliated with it are honestly desirous of bringing about a harmonizing solution of this question that has agitated the minds of everybody and has preyed upon your patience as delegates to this convention.

I want to say to you, furthermore, that we are still in that frame of mind. I stated that to the Executive Council, and I asked the Council and pleaded with the Council not to put on the penalty. I stated there, and I stated before the Executive Committee, that if this motion is carried and the supplementary report of the Executive Council is adopted there is no need for the other side to compromise one iota; they are in the saddle as soon as it is carried.

I want to call attention to the different sentiments expressed by both sides. Now, let me tell you something about this big vote. It is not a reasonable thing and it should not be continued with that Department any more than it should

be continued in any other department. There are fifty-four delegates in that Department as it is constituted at the present time, and these three organizations coming into the Department have a total on roll call of twenty votes and, judging from the attitude of three other organizations, they had more votes than we had.

Now, mind you, these gentlemen have got up here and told you of their desire to go along—to use the common term—and to be a part of the Building Trades Department, and have no desire to upset the Department. However, they did solicit organizations in the Building Trades Department to couple their strength with them and they secured three of them. I make that as a statement I will back up any place. I know it to be a positive fact.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to call your attention to some of the legal phases of the situation also. They have been mentioned, but there is one thing that has not been called to your attention. When the appeal was taken to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the supplementary report of the Executive Council was read on this floor and the appeal taken by the Building Trades Department. It was promptly referred to the Adjustment Committee. Notwithstanding the fact that we have a Building Trades Committee, to which the constitution says all the matters affecting the building trades must be referred, it was referred to the Adjustment Committee. The make-up of the Adjustment Committee is as follows: First, one of the members of the Executive Council is the chairman; second, there is the president of one of the three contesting organizations on there; third, there is a member of one of the organizations that works along with them. That does not seem to be a very impartial board to send this question to.

I am not accusing anybody of anything, but I have called your attention to what the set-up is.

I don't want to intrude upon the patience of the delegates, but there was one statement made by Harry Bates

when he said President Green appeared outside during the time the election was being held that I want to refer to. No such action was ever taken by the Building Trades Department.

I hear a remark made from the gallery at this time. That has been the attitude of these gentlemen all through the piece. They have accused everybody but themselves of sharp practice.

When the substitute was made, the first attempt to shut off a speaker was made by the opposition to the side I am trying to represent, and all through the proceedings that kind of attitude has been assumed by them. I don't think that any speaker on the side of the Building Trades Department has dealt with anything that has not been fair, honest and germane to the question before the house.

At the time President Green arrived, or before he arrived at the Building Trades convention, a committee had reported on the President's report, and completed its report. The Committee on Resolutions was reporting at the time President Green arrived at the hall. Just a moment, only just a moment, until the secretary finished the one resolution, was President Green kept waiting. President McDonough: "I note that President Green of the American Federation of Labor has arrived. I will ask Delegate Hynes and Delegate Gillespie to escort him to the platform." The report of the Committee on Resolutions was interrupted as soon as President Green appeared, and President Green was escorted into the hall and given the floor immediately when that report was completed, a matter of only a few moments.

I only mention that to show the attitude of attempting to create the impression among the delegates here by a statement that we were disrespectful to President Green on his appearance before the Building Trades Department convention. I don't believe there was a delegate in that convention that did not hold the President of the American Federation of Labor in the highest respect.

Now, Mr. President, there are a great many other things I would like to talk on, but I don't want to tax the patience of the delegates. I honestly believe that if the limitation could be taken off the report of this Committee on Adjustments it can be made satisfactory to both sides, to the building trades organization and to the American Federation of Labor and this great Labor Movement of ours. However, I am fearful that if it continues to remain as it is and is adopted by this convention it will have a tendency to widen the chasm so that it will be very hard to bridge in the near future.

I want to ask the delegates to be patient with the men of the building trades industry, as we have been in other instances with other organizations, and give us an opportunity to iron out the things that are agitating the members of that Department and the Labor Movement at the present time. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a motion.

I move to amend the report of the committee by striking out the words in the last paragraph of the Executive Council's report, lines 6, 7 and 8, page 318, reading, "within forty-five days from the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor," and substitute therefor the words "at the discretion of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

Delegate Kennedy: My motion is being held in abeyance until the President has spoken.

President Green: That is right. Your motion was held in abeyance pending the submission of remarks by the Chair and by Vice-President Coefield.

Delegate Franklin: I desire to second the amendment offered by Delegate Coefield.

Delegate Coefield: I don't know whether Brother Kennedy raised a point of order or not when he called attention to the fact that this motion is held in abeyance. I want to call your attention to the nature of that motion. The previous question was Brother Kennedy's motion, I understand. The previous motion is in-

tended to shut off debate. You recognized me as a delegate to this convention, Mr. Chairman, to make the remarks I desire to make. There is a limit to the remarks I desire to make, and there is nothing in the law of the Federation or in parliamentary law to prevent me from making a motion as the climax of the talk I desire to make.

Delegate Kennedy: Mr. Chairman, the motion to close debate was held in abeyance until the President of the Federation had delivered a constitutional argument upon this question. The President then recognized the present speaker to address the convention on the merits of the case, not to make a motion. I submit that there is quite a difference between discussing a question on the floor of a convention and making a motion to amend that particular report, and it is my judgment that the only motion before the convention is the motion now held in abeyance, the motion to close debate.

President Green: You place the Chair in a very embarrassing position. The Chair could not, of course, foresee as to what Delegate Coefield would say and do when he was recognized. You very courteously withheld your motion at my request. Then I stated if there was no objection when Brother Coefield took the floor we would hear from him first and then I would speak briefly on the constitutional phase of this matter.

Brother Coefield delivered an address and then offered a motion. The Chair wants to be fair because, after all, the power to decide is with the convention itself. I do not want to do anything in any ruling that I may make that would in any way hamper or limit the convention to freely decide this very important matter. After all, the will of the convention must be supreme. It appears to me that, inasmuch as Delegate Coefield was recognized, the Chair has no choice except to recognize the motion he offered at the close of his address. The question now will occur upon the motion offered by Delegate Coefield.

Delegate Peterson: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of information. One amendment has been voted upon and

defeated. We went back to the original motion. Can amendments now be offered?

President Green: In the opinion of the Chair motions to amend can be offered until debate is closed.

Delegate Ernst: Are we to vote before hearing your address?

President Green: If there are no objections, the Chair will make the explanation now that he was going to make just a moment ago.

Delegate Hutcheson: I would like to have a statement as to whether we are proceeding under parliamentary rules or are we not? One substitute motion was voted down. All parliamentary rules would hold that once a substitute is voted down there can be no more amendments offered until the previous question has been acted on. The last speaker asked for the floor for the purpose of making a statement on the report of the committee. All parliamentary rules prevent making a speech and then making a motion. You can make a motion and then an address, but you cannot make an address and then make a motion.

President Green: Rule 13 provides that the report of the committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and amendments.

Delegate Hutcheson: If this motion is voted down will you recognize further amendments to the original motion?

President Green: The Chair is compelled to recognize amendments until the matter is disposed of.

Delegate Fremming: There was no motion to substitute before the convention, there was only a motion to refer? Is that correct?

President Green: A motion to refer. This has been a very trying and painful experience for me. I have felt very much depressed over this division that has taken place in the Building Trades Department, depressed because I entertain such a high regard for the representatives of all organizations involved and

for the organizations themselves. Furthermore, I have been tremendously disappointed over the outcome of it all. I worked hard and faithfully and earnestly to strengthen and unite the organizations eligible to membership in the Building Trades Department. I conceived that to be a part of my official duties. I cannot believe that any President of the American Federation of Labor would entertain any other point of view. It is his bounden duty and his responsibility to develop solidarity, to consolidate these organizations, to promote co-operation, to strengthen our movement so that the interests of the workers can be properly served.

First of all, let me read from the constitution of the American Federation of Labor as to the objects of the Federation. It says:

"The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

"The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

"The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor."

There is the objective, to develop the local unions, to develop the departments, to develop the National and International unions.

Now the general rules governing the Departments of the American Federation of Labor:

"For the greater development of the Labor Movement, Departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each Department is to manage and finance its own affairs."

In other words, the parent body is clothed with authority and power, and is directed to create departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor and subject to its laws, its customs and its control. In other words, the American Federation of Labor is the creator and the department is the creature, and it is subordinate to the laws and authority of the American Federation of Labor. It says further:

"To be entitled to representation in any Department, Organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor."

That is, organizations eligible to affiliation in a Department must first be in the American Federation of Labor. Then it says:

"The fundamental laws and procedure of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto."

They are required to change their laws so that the laws of the Department will conform to the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

"Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

Now, my friends, we did everything we could to carry out that law, to realize the objective of the American Federation of Labor. The officers of the Building Trades Department appealed to me as President of the American Federation of Labor to prevail upon the officers of these three organizations named who were not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to come in. Some of the officers

of these three organizations asked me to do likewise. I did my best, I appealed, I endeavored to persuade, and as a result of it an understanding was reached which provided for the affiliation of these organizations with the Building Trades Department.

Let me ask in all fairness, what organizations are eligible to affiliate with the Building Trades Department? And are all organizations eligible to affiliation with the Building Trades Departments to be given the privilege to become affiliated when, in the judgment of the officers and members of the respective organizations they desire to affiliate?

I understand quite well there is no law in the American Federation of Labor which compels an organization eligible to affiliation with the Department to become affiliated. We have established a rule of voluntarism so far as that matter is concerned; but I hold, and I know I am standing on solid ground, that when an organization eligible to affiliation with a Department applies for affiliation, complies with the law, meets all financial requirements set down in the law of the Department, the Department has no choice, it must accept that organization into affiliation.

Do you think the creator would create a department and give to that department the power to say that this organization is eligible and can come in and that organization is eligible, but must stay out? That is inconceivable. And we cannot help that some organizations are larger than others. Trade conditions settle that. We cannot interfere with the membership; we are glad to see them big and strong and powerful. I hold, therefore, that a purely building trades organization eligible to membership in the Building Trades Department must be admitted when the organization makes application and complies with the law.

Now, in conformity with that, I exercised my influence, and on June 14 I succeeded in prevailing upon the three organizations named to make application to the Department for affiliation. I do not mean that there had not been discussions

taking place before June 14. It is true that discussions had taken place, but the climax was reached then and these organizations made application.

My good friend Coefield says that no agreement was entered into between myself and the Executive Council or between these organizations and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department. Well, that is the first time I knew that. But there must be some contradiction between his statement and the record, and I will quote from it. In the report of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department to the convention that was held in this city a few days ago is a section under the caption of

"Affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers with the Building Trades Department."

The letter that I sent asking that these organizations be affiliated is printed. And then following my signature, "William Green, President," the Council says that

"President Green submitted the applications of the three organizations for affiliation to the Department, together with the affiliation fees. The matter was then considered by the Executive Council, which unanimously approved the acceptance of the applications and recommended that the three organizations be entitled to all rights and privileges of Affiliated Organizations and all rights and privileges in the convention of the Department. It is indeed a pleasant duty to report to the convention the reaffiliation of these three organizations, which has already been felt in a manner satisfactory to all concerned and has had a tendency to stimulate a cordial feeling in the Building Trades Movement."

The matter was considered by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department and that is the statement of the Executive Council in its report to the convention. But we have corroborating evidence, supplementary evidence, because President McDonough said in a brief address at the Building Trades Department convention, when he responded to my remarks:

"President Green, on behalf of the delegates to this convention, I desire to most emphatically say that we appreciate the

splendid effort you made and the co-operation you gave the officials of this Department in trying to bring amalgamation of all interests in the building industry. When you appeared before the meeting of our Executive Council on June 14 in our offices in Washington we were hopeful that that had been done."

And then again, following that statement President McDonough said: "The Executive Council recommended unanimously, with one absent, that these organizations be brought into the Department."

I read that record and leave it with you. I cannot reconcile the statement made by my good friend Brother Coefield and this record. I maintain that I met with the Council; the Council says I met with it; President McDonough says I met with it, and he says the Council unanimously approved it, and now my good friend Coefield says I didn't meet with them. I don't understand that.

It is rather strange and I cannot for the life of me understand this phase of it. Here is submitted a glowing report by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department to the convention held in this city. Then the Credential Committee reports adversely. I cannot find in the record where any member of the Executive Council that submitted this glowing report stood up and defended the report. It is a most paradoxical situation, because as I interpret the record the Executive Council that submitted a glowing report voted against it when it appeared on the floor of the convention. That, to me, is most contradictory. I should think that some member of the Executive Council, or one, two, three or four of them would have stood up and defended their report. It was a splendid piece of work and everybody praised it.

The only reason offered, so far as I am able to see, that is the only official reason we have as to why they were kept out, are the reasons set forth in the report of the special committee appointed to consider the matter. There are a number of reasons given here by delegates. Some of them are impressive, but those reasons were not given in the report of the committee.

Now, just this other legal phase of it. There is a difference between this action and the action taken as referred to by my good friend Delegate Franklin. In his case there was a question as to the eligibility of his organization to affiliate. It was held that it was not a strictly building trades organization, and I hold that the Building Trades Department has full authority to pass upon that matter. But is there anybody that says the Carpenters, the Electrical Workers and the Bricklayers, any one of them or all of them, are not purely building trades organizations? There is the difference, and it is a vast difference as I see.

Now, my friends, I have tried since I have been in this city to bring about a settlement. I have worked nights and days, when I have not been presiding at this convention, to bring both sides together. I appealed to one side separately and then I appealed to the other side separately, and then we brought them together. I cannot help but think that some progress has been made. I mean by that that there has been a change in attitude, and for that reason I am hopeful even now that if the report of the committee is adopted we can take up negotiations and work out a settlement. At least that is the purpose of the Executive Council, and it is my purpose, for I believe that a settlement reached through negotiations and understanding is the best settlement of all, and within the next thirty days after the adjournment of this convention I feel it will be the duty of the Executive Council and myself to try to establish a basis of accommodation and settle this grievous difficulty that now exists.

I cannot help but make an appeal to the heart and conscience of both sides. There is much involved, so much at stake, the interests of the workers, the standing of Labor before the world, our ability to compose our differences and family relationship. All these things are involved, and if we are sensible men, men governed by heart and conscience and judgment, we will sit around a table and settle this controversy on a fair basis.

Now I have said all I wish to say, and it has been said in the kindest manner. I want to hold the scales of justice fair and deal justly with all. I want to, if I can, bring about a settlement of this grievance, and I pledge that I will do all I can to accomplish that purpose.

Now the question recurs upon the amendment offered by Delegate Coefield.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: There is a number of delegates in this convention representing organizations that are not affiliated with the Building Trades Department, and that are not eligible to affiliation with the Building Trades Department. I am sure that they find themselves in a position where they desire to do the thing that will be most helpful to the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

We are called upon to vote upon a question upon which there has been no expression of opinion. The adoption of this amendment, as I understand it, would simply eliminate the time limit from the committee's report. And I know, speaking for myself, that I would like to have some expression as to whether the adoption of this motion will assist in bringing about a settlement, or whether the reverse would be true. There has been no discussion on the amendment to guide those who have no interest except to do what is best for all parties concerned.

President Green: Are you ready to vote? The question recurs upon the amendment offered by Delegate Coefield.

A viva voce vote was taken.

President Green: The noes appear to have it, the noes have it, and it is so ordered. The amendment is lost. The question now recurs upon the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Hutcheson: I move to have a roll call.

A sufficient number of delegates supported the motion and a roll call was ordered.

Roll Call—Building Trades

YES—Gillmore, Garnett, Horn, Pelkofer, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Mara, Bates (H. C.), Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Price, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight (F. H.), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Warren, Ryan (D.), Risley, Ward, Ornburn, Harrison (G. M.), McMillan, Gilbert, Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strelbel, Bellanca, Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugnizet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Possehl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter, Maloney (W. E.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Dooney, McNamara, Clinton, Conway (J.), Dannenberg, Rickert, Hashkins, Gordon, Adamski, Houck, Dubinsky, Langer, Freedman, Eialis, Feinberg, Dinola, Maloney (J.), Dunlap, Gilooly, Babcock (E. C.), Hoffmaster, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Ernst, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane, Cohn, Tighe, Burt (R. R.), Brown (A. J.), Galnor, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz (L. E.), Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (W.), Peterson (A. H.), Morris (W. T.), Wharton, Robinson, Grow, Alfias, Henning, Haggerty (D. P.), Fljozdal, Finneran, Farnan, Milliman, McCarthy (W.), McInerney, Fouratt, Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Lloyd, Maxwell, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (Wm.), Boylan, Hartnedy, Brennan, Fagan, Weber, Canavan, Weaver, Bagley, Castronova, Kapl, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Daniel, Burns (M. J.), Barry, Duffy (J. M.), McGowan (J.), McAuliffe, Bowen (C. E.), McHugh, De La Rosa, Murphy (D.), Spooner, Barnes, Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (Wm. M.), Strickland, Sparks, Evans (A. A.), Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.), Maloy (T. E.), Kaiser (E. W.), Reznicek, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna, McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), McKeown, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Typographical Union Delegation (366 votes); Hoch, Tiller, Rosqvist, Soderstrom, McAnally, Watt, Lawson, Rogers, Phillips (J. A.), Burr, Nance, Hirschfeldt, McConaughey, Jackson (D. W.), Cushing, Burns (M. J.), Brooks, Doll, Eby, England, Kennedy (J. G.), Farrell, Doyle (J. H.), Bowles, Anderson (G.), Townshend, Campbell (W. W.), Dahlager, Bartee, Stubbee, Johnson (F.), Russell (M. P.), Read (W.), Nathan, Townes, Lowe, Van Ohrmann, Fisher (M.), Murch, Costello, Roll, Di Capio, Stephens (H.), Lum, Gerhart, Tuohy, Turner (R. F.), Bosley, Matlin, Kelly (H.), Johnson (T.), Kidwell, Groner, Lufrano, Lawrence (C. B.), representing 19,399 votes.

NO—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan (P. H.), Crane, Merlino, Franklin (J. A.),

Walter, Davis (J. N.), Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Morrin, McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Ryan (E.), Coulter (C. C.), Desepte, Feeney (F.), Milton, O'Brien (T.), McSorley (W. J.), Moore, (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. J.), Wickman, Close, Wilkerson, Smith (V. F.), O'Keefe, Miller (S. A.), Myles, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Mechan, Kaufman, Coleran, Rooney (J. E.), Redmond, Feeley (J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon (W.), Britton, Jones (G. W.), Gaviak, Mitchell (M. W.), Culen (P. J.), Manlon, Leighty, Typographical delegation (365 votes), McDonough, Gross, Osborne, O'Brien (T. J.), Fritz, Buzzell, Volkers, Early, Turnock, Cook (W. M.), Ault, representing 3,826 votes.

NOT VOTING—Freng, Kasten, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, George, Hyatt, Frisvold, Cohen (Sol), McCarthy (John), Warfield, Doyle (J. J.), Lucchi, Greene (M. F.), Goldman, Lawlor, Spector, Hannah, Mahon (W. D.), McConnell (J. A.), Appleton, O'Brien (J. F.), Carey (J. C.), Furuseth, Larsen, De Veze, Sumner (C. A.), Cashen, Carter (P. M.), Lowry, Hanson, Swan (J. H.), Thomas (P.), Hatch (J. H.), Fay (G. V.), Billet, Frey (J. P.), Taylor (T. N.), Clinedinst, Mastriani, Meany, Iglesias, Bailey (A.), Thompson (M. I.), Taylor (J. A.), Easton (J. B.), Ohl, O'Brien (P.), Gresty, Watson, Macdonald, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (James), Wills, Campbell (Geo. C.), Gross, Restine, McInroy, Mitchell (Humphrey), De Witt, Meyers, Woods, Watson, Augustine, Ames, Ellis, Rice, Graham, Coulter (J. C.), Friedrich, Ringius, Pitner, Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Bale, Campbell (Joe C.), Jackson, Draper, Hooker, Bower, Davison, Marsh, Eggert, Wright, O'Connell, Johnson (C. O.), Matthams, Dorsey, Holmes, Doyle (Frank), Woodmansee, Wood (B. T.), Mercer, Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (Harry), Geraghty, Jenkins, Glass, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (Sam M.), Anderson (Rudolph E.), Duyungan, Moore (Francis X.), Gorman (B. A.), Maisus, Wagner (Chris), Money, Doane, Bunting, Whitson, Dallas, Taylor (Coleman), De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Phillips (Tom), Flores, Wolfe, Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Dowd (C. E.), Bertucci, Randolph, Webster, Watson (Spencer), Dellums, Holland, Hampton, Nickols, Porter, McEligott, Anthony, Dent, Gartrell, Garibaldi, Hull, Boyd, Ryan (James), Mitchell (R. A.), Beardall, Yetta, Higgins, Moore (Fred E.), Walkden, Stokes, Dunn (Wm.), representing 2,080 votes.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted.

Secretary Maloney continued the report of the committee as follows:

Tailors vs. Amalgamated Clothing Workers

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate William Reznicek, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

WHEREAS, At the 1933 Washington (D. C.) Convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Green, submitting a supplementary report of the Executive Council to the Convention, stated:

"In issuing the charter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, it defines and limits the jurisdiction of this organization to the jurisdiction conceded to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by the United Garment Workers of America, in an agreement entered into between both organizations on August 18, 1933, and in an Addenda Agreement entered into on October 5, 1933"; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, addressing himself to the Executive Council on October 5, 1933, stated:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither accept nor retain in its membership teamsters, machinists, engineers, firemen, electrical workers, or any other workers who come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any and all workers herein referred to who may now be members of locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be immediately transferred to the different organizations granted jurisdiction over them by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, President Green, in reply to a question put to him by Gust Soderberg, late Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, stated in part that the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union was not involved because the agreement, as well as the letters, stated that the office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither retain nor accept to membership those who come under the jurisdiction of any other International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers does now have in its membership custom tailors and bushelemen that come under the jurisdiction of the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Journeyman Tailors' Union of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers be directed by this Convention to turn over any and all custom tailors and bushelmen that come under the jurisdiction of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America, and are now members of the Amalgamated, to the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers be directed by this Convention to desist from any further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council. Both parties thereto have agreed to this action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary,
ROY HORN,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
J. B. ETCHISON,
CHARLES L. BAGLEY,
PHILIP MURRAY,
W. D. MAHON,
F. H. FLJOZDAL,
M. F. TIGHE,
GEORGE E. BROWNE,
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,
M. F. GREENE,
D. W. TRACY,
G. E. LEIGHTY,
STEVEN A. MILLER,
W. F. ROBINSON.

Committee on Adjustment.

The report of the committee as a whole was unanimously adopted.

At 11 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m. Thursday, October 11.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

San Francisco, California.

October 11, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Freg, Merlino, Kasten, Harrison, Lucchi, Hannah, Hatch, Fay (Geo.), Billet, Taylor (T. M.), Mastriani, Iglesias, Bailey (A.), O'Brien (P.), Hirschfeldt, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (James), Campbell (Geo. C.), Gross, Restine, McInroy, Mitchell (H.), De Witt, Meyers (Chas.), Woods (G. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames (H.), Englund, Ellis (J. C.), Rice, Graham (F. J.), Pitner, Shave, Quinn, Gornito, Bale, Campbell (J. C.), Jackson (G. B.), Draper, Hoocker, Bower, Davison, Wright (J. A.), Johnson (C.), Dorsey (Geo.), Holmes, Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Kmetz, Lauder (G.), Smith (S. M.), Duyungan, Townes (A. A.), Lowe (C.), Gorman (B. A.), Wagner (C.), Money, De Long, Barnes (G.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Holland, Hampton, Dent, Garibaldi, Hull, Ryan (Jas.), Yetta, Higgins (J. F.), Moore (F. E.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has been requested to propose the substitution of Dave Beck for J. M. Gillespie as a delegate from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the committee recommends that he be seated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, to continue the report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Relief

Under the general caption of Relief, page 114, the Executive Council presents a number of subsections, each of which is to be reported on separately. The first subsection of this report deals with the problem of "They Must Live." Upon this subsection your committee reports as follows:

The President of the United States has stated that no person in America need starve, if the facilities of the Government can prevent it. It is a statement of the conscience of the community now universally accepted. The extent of the relief needs has recently been stated. Fifteen million people are now on Federal aid with a prospect of twenty millions on the relief rolls this winter. Methods by which the Government has sought to meet these relief needs has been set forth with ample statistical evidence in the Council's report to compel consideration. It is a graphic story.

Your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Dependent Children

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 117, your committee recommends adoption of this section of the report, which urges the extension of mothers' pension laws to supplement our emergency needs for dependent children.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Old Age

Upon that subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 117 and 118, your committee presents the following:

America is growing older. Today in the United States there are more old people in proportion to the population than at any other time in our national history. The necessity of a sound program of old-age pensions to deal intelligently with this problem is one upon which the Federation has already expressed an affirmative opinion. It has become a more clearly demonstrated need during the past year to relieve the pressure on jobs and provide a measure of social security.

Your committee recommends the approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sickness

Under that subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 118, deals with the problem of loss of earnings, due to illness and of medical care. Upon that subsection of the report your committee submits that the hazards of illness to wage earners are many and varied. The opportunities for adequate medical care are strictly limited. The need for some assurance of adequate medical care for all in the low income group is clear and should be provided.

Your committee recommends the approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers Without Jobs

Upon this final subsection of the Executive Council's report, under general title of Relief, page 118, your committee submits the following:

Unemployed youth has become one of our most perplexing problems. To turn boys and girls out of school and deny them employment opportunities develops restlessness and irresponsibility. Some better provision for dealing with these people is indispensable. For other workers who are without jobs the wise provision of establishing unemployment insurance was endorsed by the Cincinnati

convention. The necessity for unemployment insurance has been clearly demonstrated by the indiscriminate way in which relief is dispensed. It is reaffirmed as a specific measure.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Administration Program for Economic Security

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, pages 118, 119 and 120, your committee submits that the personnel of the committee created by the executive order of the President on economic security, together with their technical board, is one from which Labor may reasonably expect a forward-looking report. The validity of the experience with the social insurance in Germany and Great Britain will be properly appraised by these experts. The importance above all of laying the foundation for a nationwide system of Labor exchanges for employment, training and counseling will also receive proper consideration. Labor's interest in the outcome of this report and recommendation is paramount.

Your committee recommends the approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relief Principles

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 120, your committee recommends approval of the principles of relief which have been set forth in this section of the Executive Council's report. Relief will be necessary for some time to come, until an adequate program of social security has been developed. In administering that relief social planning is indispensable.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Coal

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 115, your committee presents the following observations and commendations:

A notable achievement of the United Mine Workers in organizing workers in the bituminous fields and in securing codes of fair competition is now a matter of Labor history. The gains both to Labor and the country as a whole as a result of this effective leadership is widely recognized.

In commending this organization for their success, your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Workers

The Executive Council, in reporting upon this general subject, pages 156 to 168, has presented it under several subsections. Your committee has therefore considered these subjects in like fashion and reports in like manner.

Upon the introduction to this general subject and the first subsection entitled Wages, submit the following:

In the pages of the Executive Council's report there is presented a comprehensive picture of the achievements of the Railway Employees' Department in securing a new bill of rights for railway workers in the amendments to the Labor Railway Act. Under the caption of wages of railway workers in the United States, the report is made of the restoration of the 10 per cent wage deduction at the expiration of the Willard agreement.

The conclusion of an agreement between the Railway Employees' Department and Conference Committee of Managers as set forth in the report is a tribute to Railroad Labor leadership.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wages in Canada

Upon that subsection of the Executive Council's report on the general subject of Railroad Workers, pages 158, 159 and 160, your committee reports as follows:

The agreement arrived at after prolonged negotiations, between Canada managements and Labor, is under the circumstances a reasonable compromise and has served the beneficent purpose of bringing the standard railway organizations into a closer co-operation.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Employment

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 160, 161 and 162, your committee presents the following:

Drastic curtailment of employment on the railroads, which reached a low point in 1933, is now showing some improvement. The deferred maintenance and construction work should present wide employment opportunities in the future. In the interest of safety as well as employment this should be done.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation

Upon the foregoing subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 162 and 163, your committee submits the following:

It is a striking fact that the Railway Labor Act was the only Labor legislation passed at the last session of Congress; it is a notable achievement in addition to the unique features of the Act itself.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Six-Hour Day

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 163, your committee submits that the inability to secure favorable Congressional action on the six-hour day is regrettable in view of the condition of the railroad industry; it should be pressed at the next session of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Retirement Act

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 163, 164 and 165, your committee is prompted to observe that this Act marks the beginning of a sound old-age pension scheme for railroad workers. During the four years that the plan will run the necessary data should be secured for a permanent plan.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendments to Railway Labor Act

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 165 and 167, your committee reports as follows:

The amendments to the Railway Labor Act, which seek to repair defects in the law of 1926, constitute virtually a new Act, providing (1) a National Board of Adjustment; (2) outlawing company unions; (3) creating a new National Mediation Board; (4) broadening scope of carriers included.

This is now in operation with one of the Boards already appointed. It is a promising beginning.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Progress of Organization

Upon this final subsection of the Executive Council's report under the broad caption of Railroad Workers, pages 167 and 168, your committee notes that the progress of organization made by the Railway Employees' Department, after clarifying the issue of independent unions, has been extremely encouraging. That these organizing activities and their successes will be largely extended in the future is unquestioned.

We commend the Railway Labor Unions for the progress made as hereinbefore reported and recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Economy Act

Under the general title of Legislation, page 73, the Executive Council has reported upon a number of legislative proposals approved or disapproved by the American Federation of Labor. Of these a number have been referred to this committee, others having been referred to other committees.

In this subsection of the Executive Council's report the Economy Act is reported on. Your committee concurs in the viewpoint expressed by the Executive Council that the attempt of this Act to have wages determined on the basis of cost of living alone is fundamentally unsound and must be repealed.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report and further recommends no effort be spared in our opposition to such unwarrantable and unsound legislation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: In supporting the committee's re-

port I would like to call brief attention to the economic unsoundness of basing wages upon the cost of living. An effort is being made in many quarters to again revive the idea that if the wage earner can have his wages based on the cost of living it will help restore national economy and industrial health.

I have called attention in the past to the reasons why this theory, wages based on the cost of living, is unsound, but even though it takes a few moments, we may be justified in taking notice, so that we will have a better and a clearer understanding of the part that wages play in the economic health of the nation, because if the statistics which the Federal Government collects are accurate, the cause of this depression was due more to the unsound basis of wages carried into effect under the direction of our great financiers, by our large corporations and by similar employers than anything else.

And for the record, so that we may have these statistics and see what part wages played in this depression, let me call your attention to the fact that in 1923 the total value of manufactured products in our country was \$60,000,000,000, that when the census of manufactures was taken in 1925 the value of our manufactured goods had increased \$2,150,000,000. Instead of being \$60,000,000,000 as it was in 1923, it was \$62,150,000,000. Two years later, when the census of manufactures was taken in 1927, we had increased the value of our manufactured goods by a number of hundreds of millions of dollars and when the census was taken for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, the value of our manufactured products was \$10,000,000,000 more than it had been when the census was taken six years previously, in 1923. So we had increased the value of our manufactured goods \$10,000,000,000 within the brief space of six years.

In 1923 the total volume of wages paid to the wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries was \$11,009,000,000. In 1925 when the value of our products had increased \$2,150,000,000, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries was \$279,000,000 less than it had been in 1923. And when we had increased the value of our manufactured

goods by hundreds of millions of dollars, between 1925 and 1927, the total volume of wages in 1927 was \$160,000,000 less than it had been in 1923. In 1929, when the value of what we had produced was \$10,000,000 more, the total volume of wages paid was only \$611,000,000 more than in 1923.

Now we are the largest manufacturing nation in the world, and while we happen to occupy that position we export a smaller proportion of what we produce than any other first, second or third class nation in the world. From the period of the Civil War to the World War our average exports were 7 per cent of all we produced, and that included our agricultural products as well as the manufactured goods, it included our cotton, it included our tobacco. So that during that period the people in the United States were the one market which all of our manufacturers and our farmers had for 93 per cent of all that they produced. Since the World War our exports have diminished, and there is good reason for believing that they will remain a diminishing part of our international transactions for many years to come.

This question of wages has an importance in the United States of greater magnitude, perhaps, than the wages in some other countries. These statistics—and you will get them in the authority known as "National Income"—show that in 1928 the total volume of wages paid in this country to all wage earners, office workers, agricultural workers and so on, was \$649,000,000 less than in the previous year. So that in 1928, in this period when we believed we were riding on the wings of an American prosperity that would never cease, the American wage earners were \$649,000,000 less able to buy the products of American industry than they had been one year before.

It is true that the question of hours of labor bears an important part upon the distribution of the wealth we create each year through our industrial and agricultural activities, but this question of wages is a vital one, and to tolerate for a moment the thought that wages are to be based on the cost of living, that they are

to go up and down as the cost of living goes up and down, is to adopt an economic policy which is pure suicide for our industries, our agriculture and the welfare of our nation. Our collapse, the suffering we have gone through since 1929, has been due to a stupid, a greedy or an unpatriotic and indifferent attitude on the part of the men who direct the finances of our country. It has been due to employers so short sighted that they have failed to realize that this home market of ours was the only one in which they could hope to sell their products and that therefore it was essential to them that wages should be paid to the degree that there would be a market.

Now I am not discussing anything of having a rat farm and feeding the cats and so on. I am calling your attention to a basic economic fact, that the economic, the industrial, the commercial welfare of our country depends more upon that even distribution of the volume of wealth created each year through the form of wages than it does upon anything else which the President or our Congress can possibly do. They can give us everything we ask for in the way of boards of mediation, in the way of legislative efforts to adjust our complaints with employers. If this nation fails to see that wages increase to such an extent that the wage earners can maintain a market which will make for prosperity in our country, all the rest of it is of no practical use to us.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Disputes Act

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 74, your committee regrets to note the failure of the passage of the Labor Disputes Act introduced by Senator Wagner. The passage of the compromise measure should be of some assistance. It is not enough; it should be strengthened.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Pension Act

In this part of the Executive Council's report, pages 75 and 76, attention is called to the enactment of a law providing a retirement system for railroad employes, containing provision for unemployment relief and other purposes. Under this law annuities are to be paid each railway employe having attained the age of sixty-five years and having been in the service for a period of thirty years. Other important provisions are contained in this law. Your committee is deeply impressed with the progress thus made in providing pensions to those of advancing years and of long service in the railway and transportation service. We commend the Executive Council, the Railway Labor organizations and as well those in our national Congress having sponsored and furthered this legislation. Your committee further believes this legislation will prove of exceptional interest, and guidance not only in shaping future amendments to this specific legislation but in determining the form and character of legislation designed for other kinds of work or service and groups of workers embraced.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railway Labor Act

Under this caption, pages 76, 77 and 78, the Executive Council sets forth at length the Labor provisions as rewritten by the last Congress, and especially as they relate to Labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. The importance of this Act has been discussed elsewhere in this report and hence there is no occasion for extended comment under this caption. However, it is well to note that Order No. 1 under the Act is an important statement of Labor's right and therefore is of utmost importance to Labor generally.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: Before reporting on the section of the Executive Council's report under the caption, Unemployment Insurance, the committee desires to state that it has received for its consideration a number of resolutions dealing with the question of unemployment insurance, and instead of reporting on these resolutions at this time we submit merely the report on the Executive Council's report and will submit a report on the resolutions later.

Unemployment Insurance

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 78, your committee reports as follows:

The growth of sentiment in favor of Unemployment Insurance has been exceedingly striking; it has come with the prolonged depression. The role of State action has become clear. While the Federal Government cannot enact a national law it can aid states by Federal subsidies as provided in the Wagner-Lewis bill, which deserves support.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Taylor, Dry Battery Workers' Union No. 19311, Cleveland: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Regarding the question of the report here it states that it is impossible to enact a Federal law on unemployment insurance. If the delegation approves such a stand on the part of the Executive Council it will mean at this session we will not be able to agree on the bill that was introduced in Congress by Mr. Lundeen, and if I am in order I want to propose at this time that we reject this proposal of the Executive Council. As I pointed out before, it will mean rejection of any Federal Act, any endorsement by this convention on the part of the American Federation of Labor of such legislation, and if such legislation is not agreed upon by this convention it

will mean that we will not take a definite stand in behalf of the unemployed of this nation in solving their problems. If it is in order at this time I would recommend that we hold back this particular report until we discuss the various resolutions that have been submitted. If that is possible, then I propose to discuss the matter at that particular time. If it is not, I propose to discuss the problem at this time, and I ask the Chair if it is possible to do this.

President Green: The report of the committee upon that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with unemployment insurance is before the convention. Later on the committee is going to bring in a report on various resolutions dealing with unemployment insurance. I am sure that the resolution which you favor and which you sponsor and which was prepared by the Communist Party of New York will be considered by this convention, but it is impossible to consider the proposal as you have submitted it now. The suggestion is out of order and the question recurs upon the motion to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Taylor: Mr. Chairman, there is just one statement I want to make. I did not ask Brother Green at this time whether I was a member of the Communist Party or not. I think the question of political belief has no place on this floor. I don't think anyone should be accused of being a Communist or of any other political belief at this time.

President Green: I did not say you were a Communist. I said the resolutions were prepared by the Communist headquarters in New York City and sent out for general distribution. The question recurs upon the motion to adopt the committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Crime Legislation

Upon this subsection of the Executive Council's report, pages 79 and 80, your committee submits that the necessity of preventing crime legislation from men-

acing the legitimate functioning of trade unions has been made evident. Timely action by President Green and the Executive Council was most helpful in preventing the enactment of such dangerous and menacing legislation.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Closed Bank Legislation

Under this caption, page 80, the Executive Council reports that the assistance rendered by the RFC to closed banks, whether members of the Federal Reserve System or State banks, by loans rather than by forced selling was supported by Labor.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Seamen's Bill

In this part of the Executive Council's report, page 81, there is set forth the effort made to have a law enacted providing that vessels be required to take as many seamen out of the country as they bring in.

The effort to secure the passage by the Congress of the bill supported by the Seamen's International Union for control of smuggling of immigrants should be renewed at the next session of Congress.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment Relief

In this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 81, attention is directed to unsound practices of administration that developed under the FERA and

to the protest made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor against their continuance. Some of these unsound practices have been remedied, others continued. Labor should press for their complete elimination and to that end your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed

Under this subsection the Executive Council, page 82, reports upon the amendment made to the law guaranteeing bank deposits to \$5,000, and as supported by the American Federation of Labor, and thus to that extent at least renewing the confidence of our people in banks. This was and is sound.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

In this subsection of its report, page 82, the Executive Council directs attention to the fact that no important legislative change was made in our immigration policy during the last session of Congress. It also made clear that the American Federation of Labor would not support any legislation designed to weaken its restrictive features. It also made clear that the United States Department of Labor is to confer with the officers of the American Federation of Labor in order that there may be complete harmony of purpose and concord of action.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Philippine Independence

In this subsection of its report, page 84, the Executive Council makes clear

that Labor has supported the Independence Law which will restrict Filipinos to a quota basis with complete restriction upon the achieving of complete independence.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

House Petition Rule

The new House Petition Rule, as reported on in this subsection of the Executive Council's report, page 84, enables the expediting of Congressional business. Labor supported the adoption of this rule and should support its retention and to that end your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Old Age Security

Under this caption, page 86, the Executive Council calls attention to the fact that twenty states are still lacking old-age security laws. Attention is also directed to the failure of Congress in enacting an old age security law for the District of Columbia. It is to be regretted that our national, as well as so many of our State governments, have failed thus far to respond to this great and humane requirement. We direct every possible effort be made to remedy this grievous situation and recommend approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I am not going to attempt to overturn the committee's report. I am much more practical than that, but I question whether or not this convention ought to approve of those twenty-eight pieces of so-called security legislation that have been passed in twenty-eight states. I

come from one of the states where one of those old age security laws has been passed, and I am going to tell you quite frankly right now that I am not bragging about the kind of security law that was passed in Massachusetts. And I am of the opinion that it is somewhat similar to that passed in the twenty-seven other states. What we actually have instead of old age security legislation is glorified pauperization. We have a rather peculiar system whereby we set up in all of our states two systems. In other words we pick out a large group of people who are in a preferred class, beginning with judges, teachers, policemen, firemen and government employees. I don't know what there is that is sacred about this group of people, but we assess the people as a whole for a pension for this group that I have named. When they reach the age of sixty or sixty-five years some of them, the judges in our city, get \$5,000 a year. Policemen and firemen get half their weekly wage as long as they live. That is paid to a State Retirement Board and the money is mailed to the homes of those people every week.

In our particular State we pay exactly \$2,970,000 of taxpayers' money for these pensions for a preferred class. Let me tell you briefly what this old-age security law means, and this is applied to the common people, those people we talk about so much in this convention. If you reach the age of seventy and you are still alive and you have been a citizen of this country for twenty-five years, if you have not a son or daughter or relative who is able to keep you, if you have less than \$300 equity, if you have never been guilty of a misdemeanor, in other words, if you have never gone past a red light, we will give you a dollar a day if you comply with all the specifications of the board. Then you are to go down to the Welfare and we will make a pauper out of you before we do it. I cannot subscribe to this old age security system. I do not interpret this system of ours nor in several other states as being a system giving security to the old people of the nation. I have no fault to find because there are large groups of people getting these pensions, but I do think this, and I am not going to try to change the

committee's report, but I do think that the Executive Council might well give consideration, without penalizing those millions of people who now have pensions, to the abolition of a preferred pension system in America, beginning in 1936, for instance, with the setting up of an old age pension system, a real system which will give to the painter, the carpenter, the bricklayer and all the workers exactly the same rights under the constitution as is given to others.

I hope the Executive Council will give some consideration to that appeal, and at least I can say that I am quite sure that the Labor Movement in the State I represent is going to give that some consideration.

Vice-President Woll: I am quite sure that the delegate who has just spoken does not mean to imply that the Council in reporting upon this subject impliedly or directly endorses the old age security laws that have been adopted by several states. Certainly the committee reporting upon the Executive Council's report had no such understanding, and the committee in recommending approval of the Council's report does not want to put its stamp of approval upon such an interpretation of the Council's report as the delegate would have this convention believe is to be placed upon it.

I concur heartily in all that he has said, and the Executive Council concurred heartily in all that he has said, that most, if not all of the old age security laws enacted are nothing more or less than a modernized form of almshouse relief.

As a matter of fact the American Federation of Labor through the Executive Council in its recommendation has adopted a standard law on this subject which it has recommended to all of the various State Federations of Labor to enact. What the Council does do in this part of the report is to call attention to the fact that there is no form of legislation in the several states, and the attempt made to have an adequate law on this subject enacted for the District of Columbia by the national Government has utterly failed. The committee urges that

unequivocal efforts be continued to secure proper legislation on this subject. I think it is only fair that the convention understand what the Council had in mind and what your committee is reporting on, and that there is not implied, directly or indirectly, an endorsement of any particular law enacted in any of the states where legislation has been enacted on the subject.

Delegate Schwartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, since reference has been made to various groups of public employees as enjoying a preferred position in regard to old age pensions, I think it is only fair for the information of all those present to make a very brief clarification on the subject. Speaking as I do, not for the teachers, the fire fighters or others mentioned by the preceding speaker, but as a representative of the civil service employees of the nation, I want first to make the simple statement that from every check paid every civil service employee of the Government there is deducted $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to take care of, not a pension, but an annuity that is paid to these Government employees upon retirement.

The basic thought of Government service is not preferment for the individual in that service, but selection from the mass of the people by a competitive examination in order that the Government and the people may be better served. So any thought of preferment based upon favoritism to a certain class of workers is entirely erroneous. We are brought into the Government service by competitive tests in order that the public may be better served. We are kept in that service, not as a favor to ourselves at all, but for the better service of the Government, to which the American Federation of Labor has given repeated attestation by its acts in many, many conventions.

And so being heartily in accord with the action of the committee, I merely want to put into the record this thought that all Government employees are paying very heavily for their retirement allowance. It is true that the Government also puts in a certain amount. The mat-

ter is so involved in actuarial figures that I shall not attempt to outline it in detail. I doubt if anyone can say whether the contribution by the Government is adequate to take care of the fund. I simply wanted to put this into the record as clarifying the position of those who have been referred to as preferred pensioners, who are not pensioners at all.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration Quota for Japan

In this section of the Executive Council's report, page 87, it is made clear that the American Federation of Labor has never hesitated or faltered to make definite its support of the exclusion section of the U. S. Immigration Law and that it intends to continue unequivocally this attitude toward exclusion restrictions applicable to all oriental countries.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Partisan Political Policy

In this section of the Executive Council's report, page 88, attention is directed to the fact that the campaign is now on in every Congressional District and State of the United States. There is also set forth the activities engaged in this campaign by Labor and of the necessity of Labor interesting itself in the pending campaign and coming elections to support our friends and defeat our enemies.

Unquestionably the coming elections will provide the first political test of the New Deal. It will afford also an opportunity for Labor to express its position with reference to both candidates and issues. Labor should press vigorously for the support of its friends and oppose its enemies in accordance with this political policy. Participation by Labor in the affairs of Government is indispensable. It was never more important than today if Labor is to safeguard its gains and secure adherence of its friends to constructive legislation.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to ask, Mr. President, if the adoption of the committee's report at the present time, which embraces concurrence in the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor, would in any way embarrass discussion and debate on any resolution, mainly Resolution No. 22, introduced by our International Union, which has for its purpose the creation of a Labor Party and would therefore be in contradiction to the policy enunciated here.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee: Mr. Chairman, no. The committee in connection with this subject as with others, has kept its report upon the resolution separate from its report on the Executive Council's report so that there might be an opportunity of discussing the resolutions on their merit entirely apart from any action on the part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: That concludes the report of the committee on the report of the Executive Council with one exception, and that exception relates to the German boycott. The reason for the committee not reporting at this time on that subject is due to the fact that the report of the committee on German Boycott has been referred to the committee. The committee considered that matter last night and the report has not yet been prepared and will be ready for presentation at the opening session this afternoon.

We will now go into the report on the resolutions presented.

Wages of Women Workers

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate E. G. Bunting, Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

WHEREAS, We realize that the women of this nation are thrifty and ambitious

by nature and that they have proven since the World War that they are useful in many fields of endeavor outside the home and that they so easily adapt themselves to certain jobs in office and industry that their usefulness is not excelled by men; and

WHEREAS, The women of this nation have been given the opportunity of equal suffrage with men to work outside the home but have not been granted equal suffrage with men in wages; and

WHEREAS, There are approximately 10,000,000 women workers at present in these United States who receive a much smaller wage than would be paid to 10,000,000 men working on the same jobs—which fact greatly reduces the buying power of the masses of this nation; and

WHEREAS, There are a great number of working women who have greater financial obligations than do some men, such as widows with children, wives whose husbands are out of work, daughters who have mother, father, sister or brother to support; and

WHEREAS, We believe that "sweat shop" employers have forced fair employers through unfair competition to set up these lower standards of wages for women, thus forcing the women of this nation into a wild riot of unfair competition with their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers; and

WHEREAS, We believe that raising the standard of wages of 10,000,000 working women would be a great material help in leading us back to prosperity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That immediate action by our national Government be taken to enact a law or laws which will make it impossible for any employer to create and maintain a double standard of wages for men and women doing the same work.

The subject matter of the resolution has been acted upon by many previous conventions. Your committee therefore recommends that the action of previous conventions in demanding equal pay for equal work be reaffirmed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 9, 78 and 188. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Government Ownership of Banking Institutions

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention go on record as favoring Government ownership of our banking institutions so that the people may have a safe place to deposit their money and to get loans at a reasonable rate of interest for the purchase of homes and other legitimate needs.

Banking Reform

Resolution No. 78—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The bankers, by their control of credit and banking, have sought to control industry and to dictate wage and labor policies; and

WHEREAS, They have capitalized the esteem in which they were held by a too trusting public and the influence they possessed—

a. To sell stocks and bonds they knew to be largely worthless;

b. To float highly speculative real estate ventures;

c. To curtail industrial loans so as to have more funds for speculative purposes;

d. To use money of depositors for bolstering stock speculations of their own;

e. To undermine the devotion of public officers to their trust by issuance of stocks to them at less than their real value;

f. To secure unwarranted tax refunds or vast sums in the form of subsidies;

g. To make false entries in books to escape the provisions of the banking laws; and

WHEREAS, Departure from sound banking practices and the sacrifices of productive business for speculative financing caused the failure of many banks and the loss of two billions to depositors, and helped to precipitate as well as to intensify the depression; and

WHEREAS, The bankers used their credit power to force elected Government officials to make undue and unnecessary budget cuts, to lower salaries, instead of levying additional taxes to secure the revenue deemed necessary to balance the budget; and

WHEREAS, These acts and their consequences not only undermine the faith of the general public in private banks and their owners but also raise the vital question whether it is wise to permit such vast power and control over both Government and business to remain in the hands of persons who have so clearly demonstrated their unfitness, their lack of social idealism, their selfishness and greed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the Government to nationalize banking and credit and, pending the enactment of such legislation, to remove all legal disabilities upon Postal Savings Banks to the end that they may function on a basis of equality with both State and National banks.

Nationalization of Banks

Resolution No. 188—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last convention passed Resolution No. 38, "Nationalization of Banks," which has not as yet been placed in effect by this Government; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Washington State Federation of Labor reaffirm this stand of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor and urge the American Federation of Labor to pass a similar resolution at the convention this fall.

Resolutions Nos. 9, 78 and 188 relate to the same general question. The purpose of these resolutions is to provide a greater measure of security for the depositor as well as lower rates of interest. This is a commendable purpose. The present national Administration through the guarantee of deposits and the Home Owners Loan Corporation is seeking to achieve such ends. The direction of our policy of banking reform looking towards the creation of a central bank of credit is in line with the best thinking on this question. We regard the question of Government ownership of less importance than a more rigid control. While we agree with the general intent of the resolutions, for the reasons just given we recommend non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Organizations Establish Funds to Finance Home Building for Members

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The working people and National and International unions are at a great disadvantage when they are under obligations to landlords or companies whom they work for; and

WHEREAS, The fear prevails of having their families set out in the streets in case of any industrial disputes; this fear is the cause of demoralizing the ranks of labor and their sympathizers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, The following program be followed out: Each local be assessed five dollars (\$5) semi-annually; this to go into the building fund for the building or buying only. Each home to consist of one dwelling and one garage. Each home to cost six thousand dollars (\$6,000); this must include the price of a lot. There will be no interest charges above one per cent; this will be for handling the mortgage. Mortgage to be held by the American Federation of Labor. There will be a drawing by the Federation of Labor to see who gets the loans. The winner of each home must keep his or her dues paid to the sub-lodge and the sub-lodge must keep in good standing with the International lodge or the loans will be called; this is to be part of the mortgage. Each party who has a loan must pay all taxes above the rent and forward a duplicate of receipted payment of taxes to the Building Department of the American Federation of Labor. There will be no money borrowed for this building fund. The money that is paid by assessment and the rent will be used to build these homes. The winners of these loans will be drawn by districts; Central Bodies to be the clearing house. The American Federation of Labor will have charge of all drawings. At each drawing the full quota of loans will be drawn; drawings to be held semi-annually.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment Requiring Union Members to Be Registered Voters

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Vernon S. Gornito, Central Labor Union, Norfolk, Virginia.

WHEREAS, We fully realize that the organized labor movement in America will never reach its just place of importance in the nation until our members do more generally exercise the right of franchise; and

WHEREAS, We are cognizant of the fact that a relatively small percentage of union men are qualified and registered voters; and

WHEREAS, We know that with a 100 per cent voting membership we could defeat any and all the enemies of organized labor, and elect to public office only men of outstanding ability known to be progressive and friendly to the interests of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, There are today laws on our statute books harmful to our cause that can only be changed at the polls; and

WHEREAS, Under the existing conditions today the employers of labor and the huge vested money interests control nearly all our elections, and the employes have very little say in who is elected to fill our public offices or in what laws are passed—all because of the apathy of our membership; all because such a small percentage of our members are registered and qualified voters; and

WHEREAS, With approximately 5,000,000 members, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there is no reason why organized labor cannot exercise the controlling influence in any election, if our members will only exercise their constitutional given right; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to make it mandatory that each person carrying a union card in any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be a registered and qualified voter, provided he is eligible to qualify.

Your committee calling attention to the urgent necessity for all wage earners to be registered voters, recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Liquor Import Tax

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The import tax on spirituous liquor is \$5 per gallon; and

WHEREAS, As this exorbitant tax tends to play into the hands of the Whiskey Trust, which apparently controls the available supply; and

WHEREAS, This exorbitant tax reflects on the price that the consumer must pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemn this exorbitant tax as being against the best interests of the consuming public, and that the incoming General Executive Board is hereby directed to use all honorable means to the end that this tax shall be eliminated or materially reduced,

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to study the subject matter of the resolution, and take such steps as are justified.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 22, 120 and 201. The resolutions are as follows:

Labor Party

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to elect its friends and defeat its enemies in the two major political parties in America; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this policy the workers comprising our American Federation of Labor are compelled to listen to the bunk propounded by the politicians of both major political parties; and

WHEREAS, Past experience has shown the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to be sound and as having often helped to elect to office men not in sympathy with the principles of trade unionism, thereby setting back the clock of progress and bringing about confusion and chaos within the ranks of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor here assembled approve the formation of a Labor party in America.

Political Affiliations

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, It is a basic theory of the organized labor movement in the United States, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International unions to make no compromise on the principle that every member of the trade union movement shall in no case be denied his rights and privileges guaranteed under the constitution of the union to which he belongs, or that of the American Federation of Labor, because of any political or religious belief, or racial or other national origin; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record without reservations as being in favor of and actively supporting this basic principle that no member of any union shall be persecuted, discriminated against, suspended or expelled because of his affiliation with any political party, religious or racial organization.

Labor Party

Resolution No. 201—By Delegate Paul Porter, Radio Factory Workers' Union, Federal Labor Union No. 18609.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been handicapped in securing legislation necessary to the improvement of the working and living conditions of American labor by the fact that there exists no national independent political party of Labor and that we have therefore had to seek support from representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties; and

WHEREAS, These two parties, irrespective of the fact that there may be individuals within them friendly to Labor, are supported by and are primarily responsible to those large corporations which wage a relentless fight against union recognition and all other aims of the industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, Lacking a party of our own the condition arises at every election where some Labor men support the Republican party while other Labor men support the Democratic party, thus cancelling their votes and preventing the solidarity of Labor; and

WHEREAS, When 500,000 textile workers in September, 1934, struck against intolerable conditions, the Governors of nine States in which the strike occurred, namely, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, mobilized approximately 40,000 National Guardsmen to intimidate the strikers and to prevent their victory; and

WHEREAS, Every one of these Governors who mobilized the troops was elected on the Democratic ticket, and professes allegiance to the New Deal; and

WHEREAS, This incident is a typical illustration of the fact that until Labor elects labor men to office, directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, the forces of Government will be employed to defeat Labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of a Labor Party, and take steps to create one within the near future.

As Resolutions Nos. 22, 120 and 201 deal with the same general question, your

committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the declaration of previous conventions on the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee further recommends that the convention reaffirm the declaration of previous conventions announcing the principle of no discrimination because of origin, race, color, religious or political affiliation. Inasmuch as the members of the Communist Party have endeavored to bore within the trade union movement and establish so-called cells within local unions for the purpose of destroying the trade union movement by making it a part of the Communist political party so that the purposes and the method of applying the objectives of the Communist Party could be put into operation in the industrial field, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Taylor, Dry Battery Workers No. 19311, Cleveland. —

President Green: Just a moment. The Chair will interrupt the report of the committee just now. We will hold the motion offered to adopt the committee's report in abeyance for just a little while. Later on we will take up the report of the committee at the point where it was interrupted and it will be open for discussion and action.

I am sure that all the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention understand quite well why the regular proceedings are interrupted for the moment. I announced on several occasions that we would be privileged to hear an address delivered by Director Harold Butler of the International Labor Office. We fixed 11 o'clock this morning as the hour when we would hear this address. Director Butler is here now and we are going to be privileged to hear him.

I know I but echo your sentiments and feeling when I say that we are pleased beyond measure over the visit of Director Butler to our convention. We anticipate with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction

the opportunity of listening to his interesting, educational and inspiring address. As I explained a day or two ago, Director Butler comes to us in response to our invitation. He made the trip from Geneva, Switzerland, to San Francisco for the purpose of bringing to us his message. We are indeed happy because he is here. For more than fifteen years he has served with distinction and honor as Director of the International Labor Office. His name is known in all countries throughout the world because of this honored and responsible position which he occupies.

It might be appropriate for me to explain that when the International Labor Office was formed the distinguished President of the American Federation of Labor, our late beloved Samuel Gompers, presided at the conference. The Director of the International Labor Office, who is here with us now, Director Butler, was the secretary of that conference. That, I am sure, is most pleasing information, because it shows the direct relationship that existed in those early days between Director Butler and Mr. Gompers. The position is one of responsibility, and Director Butler is peculiarly fitted and trained by experience to serve in that responsible position. He served with Director Thomas who was elected to serve, until he died a short time ago, perhaps a year or two ago. They were associated in their work together in the International Labor Office.

For more than fifteen years Director Butler has been directly connected closely with the work of the International Labor Office. He is a distinguished scholar, an economist, a philosopher, a man we will be pleased to hear this morning.

I think, before I formally present Director Butler, I should state the fact that the United States, our own Government, is now a part of the International Labor Office. It has taken its place, along with fifty-eight or sixty other nations, as a part of the International Labor Office. At the last conference, held a short time ago, the honored President of the United Mine Workers of America, President John L. Lewis, attended the conference as the

official observer appointed by the President of the United States to serve in that capacity. In that capacity he extended in behalf of the American Federation of Labor an invitation to Director Butler to be here today. At the next conference the United States will be officially represented at the International Labor Office by directly chosen representatives.

Now I think perhaps I have covered it just a little more than I should, but I know you will bear with me, because you want to have this picture before you. I esteem it a very great privilege and an honor to present to you Director Harold Butler of the International Labor Office.

MR. HAROLD BUTLER

(Director, International Labor Office)

Mr. President and Delegates: I am glad to say that this is not the first time I have visited the United States, by any means, but it is the first time that I have attended a convention of the American Federation of Labor. When your invitation was extended to me I felt that I would accept it under any circumstances, not merely because I had some friends already here, but because I felt that that was an opportunity which a six-thousand-mile journey overseas should not prevent me from taking advantage of.

I also know that American hospitality is proverbial throughout the world, and I have already experienced some of it in my time. I should like to say, if I may, that the hospitality of the American Federation of Labor is a very good sample of American hospitality. And I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and your colleagues, for the generous and kindly reception which you have given me here.

The invitation to address this convention conveyed by Mr. John Lewis speaking on your behalf and that of your Executive Council was extended to me on the very day when the Government of the United States announced its willingness to accept membership of the International Labor Office and when, by the unanimous vote of the delegates representing the Government's employers and workers of some forty-five nations, an invitation to membership was immediately extended.

That was for me a doubly historic occasion. I could not help casting my mind back more than fifteen years to the morning when Samuel Gompers was elected to the chair of the committee appointed by the Peace Conference to report on Labor questions. I remembered well how the great leader of the American Trade

Union Movement skilfully guided the discussions which resulted in the Labor Charter to which the International Labor Office owes its existence and under which it functions today. It was fitting that he should have held that position. He had systematically fought for the right of Labor claimed by your convention in 1914 to assist in "restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and laying the foundations of a lasting peace." This very thought is embodied in the Preamble to our Constitution, which declares that "There can be no lasting peace without social justice."

Gompers' leadership largely contributed to the result achieved. It is true that he was not satisfied with it in every respect. He would have liked more than it was possible at that time to get; but as he said himself, "The American Labor Movement carried the foremost banner of freedom and human progress into that great discussion, and it succeeded in planting the banner at a position far more advanced than seemed possible at the outset."

Gompers was one of the foremost architects of the International Labor Office, and in the office there is a room dedicated and furnished in his memory by the American Federation of Labor. In that room his portrait looks down on the sessions of the workers' group whose meeting place it is. The link with him and with you has never been broken, and now we rejoice in the prospect of enjoying the close and effective participation of the American Trade Union Movement in our work. Just before leaving Geneva ten days ago, I was handed this resolution from the workers' group representing trade unionism in sixteen countries.

"The workers' group of the governing body of the International Labor Office requests the director to convey their fraternal greeting to the members of the American Federation of Labor, and their joy in being able shortly to count them among their members in the fight for progress and social justice."

As I said, the link that is now strengthened has never been broken. Contact has never been lost. Many of your leaders have visited Geneva. Men like Mr. John Frey, Mr. Spencer Miller, Mr. Clark, Mr. Burke, Mr. Millman and Mr. John Lewis have brought back word of our activities and have reported on them before your conventions. In particular, I should not like to pass on without paying my tribute to Mr. Hugh Frayne, who attended last year's conference as the first observer of the American Federation of Labor, and who is now no longer with you.

I want to give you a short outline of what the International Labor Office is and what it has done.

First of all I want to make it abundantly clear that it is not a political body.

It does not serve or seek any political aims or objects. It stands entirely aloof from the international rivalries and antagonisms which bulk so largely in foreign politics.

Nor is it a European body. Though our headquarters are in Europe, its scope is world-wide and in recent years the extra European countries have been exercising increasing weight or influence.

The objectives of the International Labor Office are social and economic. Its principal motive is to maintain and improve standards of Labor and living, by helping to insure the social security of the worker, by affording him protection against the social risks—unemployment, accident, sickness, old age, and by upholding minimum standards which will prevent commercial competition—national and international—being fought out at the expense of the worker.

Many of these objects can only be achieved through the action of governments in execution of laws duly passed by parliamentary assemblies. In the struggle against unemployment, in guaranteeing of compensation against accident, in assisting the aged, the community has a responsibility towards each of its citizens, which can only be discharged by legislative measures. In most industrial communities the state has taken action along these lines. When it comes to setting up international standards which governments bind themselves to observe, the state alone can guarantee their observance. Hence the International Labor Office is in the first place an association of governments.

But it is not an association of governments alone. In industrial affairs governments cannot do everything—nor is it desirable that they should. Industrial questions are the primary concern of the partners of industry—the employers and the workers. Questions affecting wages, hours and conditions of labor cannot be settled without negotiation between the accredited representatives of Capital and Labor through the process of collective bargaining. Hence the International Labor Office includes Capital and Labor as well as governments. It is a three-party organization. At all our meetings the chosen representatives of organized employers and Organized Labor sit alongside the representatives of governments with the same freedom of speech and the same right to vote. They are not tied down by any official instructions. They can speak as they like and vote as they like on every issue that comes under discussion. The International Labor Conference is not a formal, lifeless gathering of government officials and diplomats, but a live and active industrial congress reflecting the moods and opinions of every branch of industrial life.

What then are the principles which guide this international parliament of industry, and how does it work? It has two governing aims laid down in the preamble to its constitution. The first is removal of conditions of labor "involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people" in the world. The second is the removal of the competitive advantage derived by those who "fail to adopt humane conditions of labor." To attain these ends the conference works out "draft conventions" or labor treaties. To be adopted by the conference they require a two-thirds majority; but they do not become binding in any country until they have formally been ratified by its government—that is to say—until its legislature and its executive have proved them and have declared themselves ready to accept the obligations they entail. Every country is free to make its own final decision, to accept or to reject any draft convention. The International Labor Organization is based on the principle of voluntarism. Moreover in the case of Federal states there is a special provision which allows them to treat a draft convention simply as a recommendation in cases where the power to enforce its provisions belongs to the states and not to the Federal power. Canada and Australia have adopted this procedure in reference to conventions which cannot be dealt with Federally. There is also another important provision of the constitution under which no country can be called upon to lower its existing standards. In point of fact I know of no case in which a country has lowered its standards by accepting a draft convention, though there are hundreds of cases in which standards have been raised.

Up to the present time 44 of those labor treaties have been adopted and no less than 633 formal ratifications have been recorded, while there are a great number of cases in which countries have gone far towards conforming with labor treaties without being able to accept them in every particular. These treaties touch almost every phase of industrial life. They deal with child labor, with the protection of women in industry, with hours of work in manufacturing and mining industries, with conditions on board ship, with safety and industrial diseases, with unemployment and with all branches of social insurance. They constitute a real International Labor Code. Perhaps I can give you the best idea of its scope and effect by picturing the position of a worker, whose country has put the major draft conventions into operation.

First of all, he cannot be employed until he is 14 years old, in industry or commerce. While under the age of 16 he may not work at night in any industry, and in most industries not till he is 18. His hours of work in any industrial occupation may not as a rule exceed 48 per week and he will be entitled to one day's rest

in seven. If he meets with an accident or is stricken by any of the principal industrial diseases, he will have compensation guaranteed to him by law, and he will have the protection of a government controlled fund against sickness, old age or invalidity. Finally, if he is unemployed a government employment service will help him to find a job, and if he cannot do so, he and his family will be preserved from destitution by a state scheme of insurance or relief.

From these few examples you will see that the International Labor Code is a reality. It has meant a permanent improvement in the conditions of labor in many European countries. More than that, it has brought about a marked advance in the conditions of great eastern countries like India and Japan, where products are now beginning to compete in the world's markets. They are already carrying out a number of draft conventions, which means that they are progressing towards western standards.

I should like to emphasize, however, that the standards set by the International Labor Code are minimum standards. It fixes no maximum levels and prevents none being fixed. It operates on the same principle as the codes in this country. It does not replace collective bargaining, but lays down general limits. Just as under the NRA any industry may go beyond the minimum standards of hours and wages, so may any country that chooses go beyond the standards set by the International Labor Code. In fact, it may well be called a code of fair international competition, and it is coming more and more to be so regarded.

One other point I should like to make. The standards already set are not fixed for all time. They are subject to change and revision. In the last few years three conventions have been improved by revision. Now we are engaged in revising the standard laid down for hours of labor. Fifteen years ago it was set at 48 hours per week. The great technical changes which have been made in industry have caused great and widespread displacement of labor. In every country there is an army of unemployed. As President Roosevelt said the other day, it is impossible to contemplate these armies becoming permanent standing armies. The world has got to solve the unemployment problem. It will not be easily solved, but the conviction is gaining ground that it cannot be solved without a reduction of hours. The question of an international 40-hour week was first raised by the International Labor Office in 1932. So far we have not succeeded in securing agreement, but the question is set down for further consideration at next year's conference. When that debate takes place, the influence of the United States, the only country in the world that has yet introduced shorter

hours and has first-hand experience, will be very powerful and will give a strong impulse towards a shorter working week being adopted internationally. The United States has set the example, and the presence of American delegates at Geneva will help the rest of the world to follow it.

But I don't want you to think that the International Labor Office is just a machine for International Labor legislation. It is much more than that. It is confronted with the great economic and social problems of our time. It is clear that the world as a whole is passing into a new age, which requires a new adjustment of its economic forces. Things are not going to right themselves automatically. Not only the United States but every industrial country is trying to work out a new economic balance. It is becoming more and more evident that the welfare and happiness of the great mass of individuals cannot be secured without some measure of forethought and well conceived action on the part of the community. Here in the United States you have a very important committee considering the problem of economic security under the able chairmanship of the Secretary of Labor. The whole NRA program is a great concerted effort to readjust the economic life of the American people to the new conditions of the post-war age. You are tackling the fundamental problem of our age boldly and directly. But every nation has to solve the same problem. Its setting may vary with local conditions, but in essence it is the same everywhere. In the last analysis it is an international problem, a world problem. It involves the whole question of trade between nations, of fair competition between nations, of the exchange of goods and services between nations, of the international adjustment of currency values. It involves not only an effort by each nation to attain a new economic balance internally, but also a co-operative effort between nations to set the world's economic house in order. That cannot be done in a day or in a year. There is no short-cut to international recovery. During the past year some real progress has been made. The world as a whole is better off than it was eighteen months ago. But a great deal of reconstruction remains to be done before a return to prosperity is achieved. It can only be worked out on democratic lines, by free discussion, by the conflict of ideas and interests leading to open covenants openly arrived at. That is the American way as it is the British way. It is the way in which the International Labor Office is making its contribution towards working out a new economic and social order. The whole of our discussions are founded in the belief that the right way will be found through the prevailing of ideas of right and justice, not through methods of violence. The spirit of our constitution is utterly opposed to

arbitrary and oppressive action, whether from the right or from the left. It is for that reason, because it is shaped in conformity with American ideals of co-operation and of free discussion, that we warmly welcome the help that the United States more than any other country can give, and that we look to the powerful support of the American Federation of Labor as embodying the concepts of liberty and justice which have inspired the Labor Movement of this country. We would say to you in the words of St. Paul "Come over and help us."

President Green: The address which Director Butler delivered this morning will be accepted by us as a distinct contribution to our understanding of the aims and purposes and work of the International Labor Office. We deeply appreciate the address which he delivered this morning. All of us, I am confident, now understand more clearly than ever before the real work, the real purpose, the real objective of the International Labor Office. Now, since our own Government has accepted membership, it is hoped, expected, and believed that real representatives of the American Federation of Labor will attend the annual meetings of the International Labor Office, will convey to those in attendance at these meetings the economic, social and industrial viewpoint of our great Organized Labor Movement, and through participation in this International Labor Office contribute as best we can toward a righteous solution of our international problems.

I thank Director Butler in your behalf and for you for his visit to this convention, and for the instructive, educational, and inspiring address he has delivered. I may say to him that his address will be incorporated in the permanent proceedings of this convention and of the American Federation of Labor.

Now I am going to take the liberty of presenting to you, just introducing to you, the charming wife of Director Butler, who came with him. I know you appreciate her presence. It was mighty fine of her to come all this distance with her husband to meet and visit with us. She is here on the platform, and I want to present her to you—Mrs. Butler.

(As Mrs. Butler acknowledged the introduction, the delegates arose and applauded.)

President Green: We want each of you to know that you are among real friends, that you are our guests, and we sincerely hope that you will take back with you to your home a most pleasant memory of your visit.

Now we will take up the work of the convention. The report of the Committee on Resolutions is before the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Resumed)

Delegate Ernst: May I say that I believe the Committee on Resolutions did not deal fairly with Resolution No. 22, introduced by our international organization, because of the fact that it is joined with resolutions that have absolutely to do with Communism. And in the report of the committee there are certain remarks about other resolutions than No. 22, and to these remarks of the committee I, for one, fully subscribe. For that reason I think it is eminently unfair to put us at a disadvantage in having to discuss matters that are foreign to the proposition as submitted by us.

Resolution No. 22, introduced by our International Union, and passed in our recent convention in Minneapolis, simply states a belief that the present method of rewarding your friends and defeating your enemies is not adequate to cope with the situation.

We have ample proof to the effect that people who have been considered friends before election, immediately after election or at the first opportunity when some question of fundamental importance presents itself, will be found on the side of enemies of Labor, although in most cases they were elected by virtue of the support of Labor.

There are two fundamental weaknesses I see in the motto, "Defeat your enemies and reward your friends." First of all, you do not provide for any measure of punishment for those that have disregarded that motto, and in spite of the fact that Labor may recommend certain people for election and certain people for defeat, we find very often that Labor poli-

ticians form their own opinion and proceed to defeat friends of Labor because they are desirous of electing their own friends.

Naturally a politician looks for a job, and anyone who gives him a job or perpetuates him in a job is his friend. And you have the spectacle of individual office holders who have been appointed to office by virtue of being part of Labor, taking sides with the avowed and well defined enemies of Labor for the purpose of perpetuating themselves in office. Not only can that be found on the part of individual office holders, but we find that whole organizations are sponsoring the election of certain individuals that have been rejected by Labor because of their bad record, just because such individuals have at some time or other favored some legislation of interest to that particular organization.

We have had this year in San Francisco little difficulties on our waterfront. A group of people who had organized to achieve certain aims and purposes which are in accordance with the International Longshoremen's Association and maritime workers tried to have recognition of their union and collective bargaining brought about through legal methods. We find that the Teamsters' Union, very correctly and very promptly, refused to haul any goods to the docks and the warehouses that had been unloaded by scab longshoremen. And we find that after a certain period of time, after these goods had accumulated in the warehouses, the Governor of the State called out troops for the purpose of opening up the port. He used the militia to protect the hauling of goods unloaded by scab longshoremen to various warehouses.

The convention of our organization took place in Minneapolis in August, and when we reached Minneapolis there, too, we found militia in the streets because of labor trouble, and again it happened that the teamsters were involved. The boys in Minneapolis formed a new union and stood solidly against an Industrial Association that was as malicious as the Industrial Association in San Francisco.

In the State of Minnesota the Governor is elected by the Farmer-Labor Party.

He knows what Labor wants and he is sympathetic with Labor. As a consequence, the militia in Minneapolis did not protect the scabs, but they insisted the goods be hauled by teamsters who had signed an agreement that they would subscribe to the so-called Haas-Dunnigan proposal, which was signed by Labor.

Now here you have the difference between the actions of two Governors with regard to troops. One uses his troops to break a strike and the other, elected by Labor, protects the workers by the use of troops to better their conditions. That was one of the reasons why our convention in Minneapolis drew up the resolution asking Labor to come to the conclusion that it is necessary to strengthen the political arm as well as the economic arm.

The political power ought not to be scattered by trying to elect the friends of Labor, but have a party of its own that will determine finally who the friends of Labor are and who the enemies of Labor are, and this body shall have the power to weed out from its ranks everybody who fails to abide by the decision of this party.

Suppose after a non-partisan committee has brought in its report and some certain individuals think they are bigger than the party and for reasons of their own form clubs for the opponent to the choice of the committee, nothing happens to them after the political campaign is over and they are in good standing with Labor. If you have a party of your own you have to be with Labor's choice or you have to be outside the ranks of Labor.

It has been said, or it will be said, I take it, that to advocate an independent political party is perilous, but I believe if we want to counteract the pernicious activities of the Communists we have got to have a party of our own which will be the political expression of our thoughts. It is bound to come, just as sure as the sun sets and rises. If we are satisfied that with the growth of our movement we will need a more forceful method of expressing our desires on the political field, this is as good a time as any other

to form that party. It was heresy a short time ago to talk of industrial organization; today you are grappling with that problem and I think you should grapple with the question of a political party.

I want to know if there is any chance of separating the resolutions and giving our resolution a chance to be discussed on its merits. If it is linked with resolutions that may be interpreted as having Communistic tendencies it will not have a chance. I believe there is quite a sentiment in this convention, and in all councils of Labor throughout the country there is a well defined sentiment in favor of a Labor Party. I would like to have this sentiment given a chance on the floor of this convention.

There is a Socialist Party in the country, but a whole lot of us do not like Socialism. There is another party, the Communist Party, and everyone who is honestly in favor of the American Federation of Labor is opposed to that party. Consequently there is ample room for an independent Labor Party along the lines of the tenets and principles of the American Federation of Labor, and I submit that Resolution No. 22 offers just the thing we have been asking for.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. President and Delegates—I am usually quite content to listen to other voices, but the subject matter contained in Resolution 22 relates to a subject that raises an issue concerning which I have long felt considerable concern. I am therefore going to ask your indulgence for an opportunity to express my personal convictions.

The press dispatches of yesterday and of today have cast a very ominous flare across the international sky. The political assassin is still plying his trade. We are not in a position to point the finger of scorn at any other nation in that respect. We have had three Presidents of the United States murdered and two others were made the targets of bullets which failed to reach their mark.

There is an issue raised in this resolution tending to point to the question of

whether or not the hour has struck for an introspection, with the possibility of doing something to clean our house of some of the elements which are contained therein.

I want to ask you this question: What was the reason of the sudden outburst of Communistic activity in this country during the last year? Where did it obtain its impetus? I am going to tell you what my conviction is in that respect. It is the result of Russian recognition, in my mind the most fatuous, the most indefensible and the most asinine blunder that any Government, Republican or Democrat, has been guilty of in a half century of time.

Now I suppose some super-sensitive soul may say, "He is attacking the Administration." I am attacking Republicans as well as Democrats for that monumental stupidity. I will show you the bearing this issue has on the question we have under consideration at the present time.

I want to look at it from two standpoints. First I want to call attention to the social eclat with which the Act was sanctified, and then discuss the economic bearing. I don't often read the society columns of the Washington press, but I happened to come upon the report of that episode, and it still lingers in my mind. They tell us that the Russian ambassadorial quarters had long been vacant, that the ambitious spider had been weaving her delicate tapestry across the window panes, and the dust had accumulated, but when Russian recognition hove into view the renovating touch was applied. New tapestries were hung and curtains in the color of a bright flaming red were suspended.

How perfectly in accord with the doctrine which treats of the eternal fitness of things! And when the proper evening rolled around Washington society poured in and the champagne flowed. It was a gala affair. As Lord Byron said in his description of the "Night Before Waterloo,"

"And bright the lamps shone o'er fair
women and brave men,
A thousand hearts beat happily,
When music arose with its voluptuous
swell,
Eyes looked love to eyes which spake
again,
And all went merry as a marriage
bell."

The society reporter pointed out another thing. She said the champagne continued to flow until the witching hour of midnight, "when churchyards yawn and hell breathes forth contagion upon this world." And then there was a note of consternation sounded. The supply of champagne had run out! But, lo and behold! some individual with a marvelous gift of perspicacity had arranged for such an emergency and a goodly supply of Russian vodka was brought in—good old Russian vodka, which they tell us would induce a canary bird to fight a tomcat victoriously in less than fifteen seconds.

So much for the social sanctification with which Russian recognition was dedicated.

What was promised if the United States would be willingly beguiled into that situation? First they told us there would be a chance of \$200,000,000 of trade balance in favor of the United States in a short time. The singing of the morning stars does not sound a more musical note than balance of trade statistics to certain groups in our country known as the worshippers of the golden calf.

Then we were promised the payment of \$500,000,000 of Russian debts. Again it was promised there would be a cessation of Communistic activities in the United States, that there would be a rift in the international cloud through which we would see the dawn of a new day and that Washington and Moscow would lead the vanguard of civilization to the inspiring strains of John Philip Sousa's "Hands Across the Sea."

Now what has happened? What is the fruitage of that understanding? As to the balance of trade of \$200,000,000 in favor of the United States, according to the last Treasury reports it had reached the magnificent sum of \$6,000,000, not enough

money to furnish bird seed for the Blue Eagle to last twenty-four hours. As to the adjustment of the long time Russian debt of \$500,000,000, after the pact was signed and sealed Russia let it be known that what she intended was to pay the debt if Uncle Sam would lend her the money and take Russian securities therefor.

The last report was that Secretary of State Cordell Hull had thrown up his hands in infinite disgust—and I want to pay tribute to Cordell Hull as one of the most finely poised gentlemen in Washington connected with the Government at the present time. Whatever the result, it is recorded that President Roosevelt is so thoroughly disgusted with the situation that he has seen to it that the erection of the million-dollar ambassadorial quarters that was to be erected by the United States somewhere in Russia had been indefinitely postponed. These are some of the results.

We have a Governmental retinue over there for the purpose of carrying out the terms of this compact of sixty-three employees with a salary cost to the Government of \$114,376 per annum. What about the Communist promise, the suppression of that brand of Communistic apostleship? From the very day the compact was signed the floodgates were lifted and the tide poured in, until we have had more Communistic demonstrations in the past year than we had any time during the previous decade.

There are certain elements which nature never intended for successful amalgamation, such as oil and water, sunshine and shadow, and liberty under law—which is the cherished concept of Organized Labor—and that governmental revolution which is the object of the Communist dream.

For what purpose are the apostles of Communism trying to obtain a more substantial foothold in the ranks of Organized Labor? Upon a recent hot day of midsummer, when the searing prairie winds were sweeping over the land like a Sahara Desert simoon, and perspiring humanity was soliloquizing with Hamlet, "To be or not to be," I heard a newsboy

calling the "Daily Worker." I got a copy, and upon opening it, the first thing I discovered was an elaborate, double-headed editorial featuring President Green and all the members of the Executive Council as the pliant tools of Capitalism. It mattered not to this poisoned pen-pusher that all these men, most of them born in humble circumstances, had devoted their lives to the uplift of the workers. The intent was to turn the minds of the people against those men.

Then I turned over another page of that paper and I found where Communism was seeking to establish a school in New York City for the education and training of children in the fundamental precepts of Communistic philosophy. Think of it! Raising a school of that kind in this country by the representatives of Russia, where they burlesque the birth of Christ at Christmas time!

He who, although born in a manger, and knew before those 30 silent years had elapsed, that He was on a journey which would lead Him directly to Calvary, yet did not hesitate to step aside to discover flowers in little children's eyes, and see grace in the leper stumbling to him in buoyant hope and glad surprise, and who would take up little children and say, "Suffer them to come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." In Russia they have made the happy Christmas time a subject of burlesque, while your children are radiant with the glow of the Christ spirit.

I want to call your attention to a press dispatch from Sacramento, June 9, 1934, in which Albert Halliday, Communistic organizer said, "We have nothing to hide, we are merely carrying out the details of a prescribed program by the Internationale up upsetting the existing capitalist system and substituting control similar to that of Soviet Russia." The American Federation of Labor, if it expects to hold its high place before the tribunal of intelligent public opinion, must declare itself and take its stand before the world that Organized Labor has nothing in common with Communism, for the very reason that Communism cannot comprehend, by the very nature of its member-

ship, by the type of philosophy which they carry, or appreciate or absorb the fundamentals of American institutions.

In an hour like this, in weighing what we have brought about and accomplished and achieved, while the forward look is always inspiring, sometimes it is well for us to take a glance backward, and I ask your indulgence for a moment to go back a little more than a century.

When the Pilgrims landed upon the Atlantic shores and all that confronted them was the prodigious forests, Red Men lurking between the trees, they leveled the forest, they turned the furrow, and they reaped the harvest. Today we are standing on the farthestmost line of the western continent. Looking backward we see a continent of 120,000,000 people. Let us not forget Bunker Hill and Bennington and Lexington and Gettysburg and Vicksburg and San Juan Hill, the Valley of the Marne and Flanders Field. Let us remember that when the last war broke out 650,000 Americans with union cards in their pockets started out and gave to the country the last full measure of devotion.

In Des Moines, Iowa, the Rollins Hosiery Company had a strike. After 800 people struck for better wages and conditions, the local Communists immediately flapped their somber wings and settled down upon the scene. The strikers phoned the police department and asked them to get the Communists. The police came and the Communists departed.

In June of the current year, the musicians held their national convention in Cleveland. We found it necessary there to demand a showdown of the Communists from New York. Under President Weber, the issue was squarely presented and the ballots cast constituted a direct repudiation of Communism.

Fellow delegates, every time you enter that door you look into the face of Samuel Gompers, and he, through the medium of portraiture, has been looking down at you. Samuel Gompers, who came to this country as a poor boy, who dreamed his dreams of industrial emancipation of the

workers, who surrounded himself with a few devoted followers, later counted his followers by millions. He was the confidant of Presidents and the notables of other countries. He finished his work and when he realized that he had entered the Valley of the Shadows, and while his visions were fading away into the pure white light that never shines on land or sea, said, "God bless the people of America, may they grow better day by day."

Oh, if those lips could speak, if they could be touched by the old time fire, what would his message to this convention be? It is my opinion he would say, with the directness of a beam of light, "Communism is a creed that is inimical to the perpetuity of American institutions. It is subversive to law and to order and to government. It is an overshadowing menace to the welfare of all that you hold dear." Therefore, declare to the world that for the destruction of Communism and Fascism, and all other "isms" that are inimical to the welfare of our country, he would say that our resources shall be everlastingly pledged.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to make a motion, if I am in order, and I would like to preface it by saying that we have the highest regard for the previous speaker because we know him well, but it is very evident that our Resolution No. 22, which was introduced in good faith, in being coupled up with the other resolutions has not been given an opportunity to be discussed. There is a large number of delegates on this floor who desire to give expression to their feelings at this time and they are not being given that opportunity because Resolution No. 22 is bundled up with other resolutions.

I move that Resolution No. 22 be segregated and discussed on its merits.

Secretary Frey: Resolution No. 22 and Resolution No. 201 call for an identical purpose, the creation of a Labor Party. The two resolutions cannot be separated unless the convention desires to act upon the same question twice.

Delegate Hesketh: Notwithstanding the statement, the discussion has fallen upon the other resolutions.

The motion to separate the resolutions was lost.

President Green: The motion now recurs upon the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Koveleskie, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: We desire to be recorded as voting against the report of the committee.

Delegate Hesketh submitted the following protest: The delegates of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Association hereby protest and desire to have our protest recorded—that our Resolution No. 22 was proposed in all good faith and purpose, and we protest its being coupled up and bunched with other resolutions, and was not given a fair discussion.

This was signed by Robert H. Hesketh, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Maurice C. Cohn.

Delegate Friedrich, Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, desired to be recorded as voting against the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolutions Nos. 22 and 201.

The committee continued the report as follows:

Urging Education to Avert War

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The danger of a new world war, more devastating than any before, is daily growing; and

WHEREAS, The workers of all countries have nothing to gain and everything to lose from any war; and

WHEREAS, All wars are made for the interest of the ruling classes who are making huge profits by the manufacture and sale of ammunition and other war materials; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take the necessary steps to educate the American worker to the danger of coming wars, and use every means at our disposal to prevent them.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the previous declaration adopted, relative to war and profit in war materials.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Barring All Commuting of Workers from Countries Bordering the United States for Purposes of Employment

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The greatest problem confronting the people of the United States at the present time is the question of unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The present depression, attended with widespread unemployment, has resulted in great hardships upon the American people, which prompted the last session of Congress to pass emergency legislation designed to correct these conditions; and

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have declared, through their Congress, that an emergency exists and that it is the purpose of the Government to correct this emergency; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of our fellow citizens and others legally domiciled in this country are being deprived of the opportunity of employment because of the privilege extended to the commuters from foreign countries bordering on the United States to come to this country daily for employment; and

WHEREAS, It is the first duty of our Government to look after our own people in preference to others; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual session, respectfully petition the United States Congress for the immediate passage of a law that will bar all commuting for purposes of employment or seeking employment, and that this privilege of employment in the United States be extended only to those who have signified their intentions of making a permanent entry into the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Survey on Affiliation of Local Unions With Central Bodies

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has by law provided for the establishment of Central Bodies in every city in the United States and Canada where there are seven or more local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are, at the present time, some 800 of such Central Bodies, which are regarded as valuable agencies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor looks to these Central Bodies in a large degree to make effective its program and policies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that all Local Unions, affiliated with International or National Unions which are a part of the American Federation of Labor, should attach themselves to the nearest Central Body in their jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to make a survey of all Local Unions that are a part of the American Federation of Labor to determine whether or not they are in affiliation with their Central Bodies and that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor make a report to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor giving to such convention the following information:

The number of Local Unions affiliated;

The number of Local Unions not affiliated with their proper Central Bodies;

The number of Local Unions affiliated with International Unions that are not properly affiliated with their Central Bodies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as soon as this information is compiled the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call the facts therein to the attention of those International Unions whose Local Unions are not affiliated, with a request that they urge upon them to do so, to the end that the report made to the Convention by the Secretary next year will show to the delegates of that Convention just what Local Unions, and what International or National Unions,

are not participating in the support and management of Central Bodies in their jurisdiction, in accord with the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The affiliation of Local Unions with Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor is voluntary, and must remain so if these bodies are to retain the vigor and initiative required. It is advisable that International Unions should be interested in the affiliation of their Local Unions with Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor. Your committee is of the opinion that to publish broadcast a report of affiliation and non-affiliation would serve no good purpose, and therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

Delegate Posschl: This resolution has already been referred to another committee, Mr. Weber's committee.

Chairman Woll: The report the committee has says, "Referred to the Committee on Resolutions."

Delegate Blirbright: The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies had two resolutions on similar subjects and their report is ready to present to the convention.

Secretary Frey: Apparently there is a question of jurisdiction with the Typographical Union.

Delegate Howard: In behalf of the printer I accept that as a typographical error.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: I want to make this announcement before we adjourn. Inquiries have been made from a number of delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention as to whether the convention will meet tomorrow for the purpose of transacting business. My attention has been called to the fact that tomorrow is Columbus Day, and is observed in some states and in some cities as a holiday. My reply has been to all inquiries that the convention will continue to work tomorrow even though it is a holiday unless the convention order

otherwise. That is the ruling of the Chair. We will meet tomorrow in regular session for the purpose of continuing the work of this convention, unless the convention by formal action directs otherwise.

Delegate Tighe: I move that this convention endorse the ruling of the presiding officer.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Van Zandt, will speak to us this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. I will ask Delegate Bab-

cock, Delegate Beck and Delegate McDonough to act as a reception committee to escort Commander Van Zandt to the hall this afternoon.

Delegate Koveleski: There has been circulated around this convention a circular asking the delegates who are going home by way of Los Angeles to make the Mayflower Hotel Labor's headquarters. Please stay away from that hotel. They will not do business with us nor employ union help.

At 12:45 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Frang, Merlino, Horn, Kasten, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, Hillman, Bellanca, Dooney, Lucchi, Langer, Brown (Anna), Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (W.), Peterson (A. H.), Morris (W. T.), McCarthy (W.), McInerney, Hoffman, Smith (V. F.), Burns (M. J.), Hannah, Donlin (J. H.), Cullen, Lowry (R. E.), Swan, McMahon, Gorman (F. J.), Hatch, Fay (Geo. V.), Gross, Taylor (T. N.), McAnally, Clinedinst (L. E.), Mastriani, Meany (Geo.), Phillips, Iglesias, Bailey (A.), O'Brien (P.), Gresty, Hirschfeldt, MacDonald (J. C.), Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Ristine (J. E.), McInroy, Mitchell (H.), De Witt, Meyers, Woods (G. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames, England, Ellis, Rice, Graham (F. J.), Coulter, Buzzell, Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Bale, Campbell (J. C.), Jackson (G. B.), Draper, Hoocher (L.), Bower (A. P.), Johnson (C. O.), Holmes (T. W.), Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Franklin (R. S.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Townes (A.), Lowe (C. E.), Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Doane (L.), Whitson (R.), De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Flores (M. V.), Wolfe, Tuohy (J.), Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Watson (S.), Holland, Hampton, Dent (J. H.), Gartrell, Matlin, Garibaldi, Hull, Ryan (Jas.), Mitchell (R. A.), Yetta, Higgins, Moore (F. E.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Madsen, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials reports that Gus Swanson has been substituted for Joseph A. McInerney, delegate for the International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers, Brother McInerney having been compelled to leave the city, and we recommend that he be seated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Resolutions for a further report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

German Boycott

In this section of the Executive Council's report, pages 173 to 177, there is presented a resume of actions taken by President Green and the Executive Council on the subject of furthering a boycott against the German-made goods and German service authorized by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor and declared in the interest of the workers of Germany and elsewhere to the right of free and independent trade union organizations and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish people.

Upon this section of the Executive Council's report your committee presents the following observations and recommendations:

The Washington convention of the American Federation of Labor gave extended consideration to the plight both of workers in Germany and other countries and the persecution of the Jewish people. In conformity with the convention action taken, President Green addressed a letter to all the International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and Local and Federal Unions, reciting the nature of the discriminations which have been practiced and urging a boycott to record the unalterable protest of American Labor to this procedure.

Then, too, reference is made to the appointment of a committee of three entrusted with the furthering of this boycott, which committee has presented its report to this convention and which in turn has been referred to this committee.

Your committee has given the report of the Executive Council and the report of the Special Committee utmost attention and consideration.

These reports confirm without any possibility of contradiction that since the advent of Hitler and Nazism, the condition of German workers has become intolerable; that wages have been reduced, hours lengthened, prices and taxation increased, and that the last vestiges of the once powerful trade union and co-operative movement in Germany have been wiped out by the ruthless cruelty of the Nazi regime. Trade union workers and officials, as well as their families, are still being persecuted, incarcerated, thrown into concentration camps and robbed of any chance to make a livelihood. The press, the theatre and the universities have been forced to serve nothing but the aims of the Nazi party, and all true religion is considered by the present rulers of Germany as inimical to their power. Measures against Catholic organizations continue in their severity. The Protestant Church has been put under a dictator against the wishes of the clergy. The Jews continue to be hounded

and abused in a most inhuman manner. The committee notes particularly the courageous German churchman, Cardinal Faulhaber, of Munich, who took upon himself grave consequence in declaring publicly, "The methods of persecution in our country are a shame and a disgrace to us." Besides, the continued growth of Fascism and Nazism is constantly increasing the danger of a new war, and is causing increased armaments throughout the world.

The committee further cites figures proving the effect of the boycott, and recapitulates concisely and clearly the numerous reasons for its continuation. There is no doubt in the minds of your committee that the boycott applied against German goods and services by the organized workers of the world has proven to be a most effective weapon in weakening the Nazi regime.

We therefore recommend that the boycott, as approved a year ago, continue, and that it be enforced even with greater vigor.

Your committee further recommends that the American Federation of Labor records itself as favoring a full measure of support to all victims of Fascism and particularly to refugees from Fascist countries, and to those brave heroes of Labor, who, in spite of the tremendous risks involved, continue to hold the thread of Labor solidarity, and Labor organizations within the Fascist countries. It urges, therefore, the fullest support of the American Federation of Labor for the "Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe," which is now being organized by interested and affiliated national and international unions, with the understanding, however, that in so co-operating this proposed and approved "Chest" will at all times conform to and be guided with the wishes and requirements of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and without involving any responsibility upon the American Federation of Labor itself.

Your committee recommends approval of the reports referred to, as well as of the recommendations herein above set forth.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: The Chair desires to impose upon your patience and time for just a moment in order to give expression not only to my personal but to my official feeling regarding this very important matter dealt with by the Resolutions Committee. I am in hearty accord with the report of the committee, as I think every officer and delegate in the convention really is. We cannot be true to Labor and true to ourselves if we remain complacent and serene when our fellow workers in other lands are deprived of the opportunity to enjoy liberty, a free right to organize and to administer their own trade unions in accordance with democratic principles and democratic ideals.

I feel that we perhaps can more greatly appreciate the priceless heritage of liberty and of freedom in our own land, when, by contrast, we learn the suffering and the persecution that has been inflicted upon the German trade unionists and the Jewish people in Germany.

The American Federation of Labor knows no race, no creed, no nationality. We are endeavoring not only to blend into a national brotherhood, but to render such service as we can in blending the workers of the entire world into an international brotherhood. And when working people, those who belong to us and to whom we belong are persecuted in any land, immediately we respond with sympathy and protest against such treatment being accorded our fellow workers. And so today again, in this great American Federation of Labor, in this great congress of Labor, we protest with all the power we possess against the treatment which has been accorded our fellow trade unionists in Germany and the Jewish people as well. We shall continue to protest, we shall appeal to the hearts and the conscience of mankind. We shall endeavor to make as effective as possible the boycott which we have espoused until tyrannical government in Germany and in Italy are wiped out.

My heart rebels against the treatment these people have been accorded. I was

touched so deeply the other day by the recital of it all, the persecution, the merciless persecution inflicted upon the working people of Germany and Austria, when our good friend, Brother Citrine, delivered his most wonderful address. I was deeply moved because of that story he told, because of his recital of those tragic events.

And then I thought of that so-called blood-letting experience through which many German people passed only a few weeks ago, and it seemed to me that after all, civilization must be changing, for I cannot reconcile modern civilization with the persecution and murder that has gone on in Germany.

I want to say publicly here and now that so far as it lies within my power, I shall do everything I can to make this boycott effective until liberty and freedom have been restored to the working people of Germany and the Jewish people are allowed to live in peace.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 2 by revising the "whereas" to read as follows:

"WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased more rapidly than wages, with the result that the workers' families find themselves worse off today than they did twelve months ago; therefore be it".

The amended resolution reads:

Advocating Increase in Maximum of Relief per Family

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased more rapidly than wages, with the result that the workers' families find themselves today worse off than they did twelve months ago; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled request of the Honorable H. L. Hopkins, Administrator of the FERA, also all State Administrators, to take immediate action to have the maximum of relief per family raised to meet the requirements made necessary by the above mentioned increase in the cost of living.

Your committee is in general sympathy with the purpose of this resolution but calls attention to the confusion in the language of the "whereas" and recommends that it be revised. With the revision as above indicated, we recommend concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Legislation to Abolish Private Employment Agencies

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act has been enacted into law as an emergency measure and to relieve widespread unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are now yet unemployed and have no means of support and in many instances are forced to borrow money from loan sharks in order to buy information as to where a job may be procured in the private employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are now functioning in competition with city, State and Federal free employment agencies, victimizing the poorest of the poor, especially in the catering industry, thereby hindering the progress of recovery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That every effort be made that the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor sponsor legislation to abolish private employment agencies as an emergency measure to aid recovery.

Your committee cannot recommend concurrence with the resolution but believes that there should be much more strict regulation of private employment agencies. The committee, therefore recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to prepare legislative measures which will prevent existing unfair practices carried on by private employment agencies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Registration of Aliens

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Paul O'Brien, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present laws and conditions the Government of the United States is unable to cope with the growing evil of illegal entry of foreigners, including the riff-raff of half the world; and

WHEREAS, These undesirable aliens displace American working men and women, contributing in large measure to the unemployment situation and the menace of impending revolution; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States is yearly confronted with increasing difficulties in the maintenance of the inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" under the reign of terror by, of and for the smuggler, the dope peddler, the gangster, the grafter, the highwayman, the murderer and the kidnaper; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the seventeenth biennial convention of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor do, and hereby does, give its unqualified indorsement to the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a universal registration law, providing for the registration and identification of every person, male and female, that shall now be, or hereafter become, either temporary or permanent residents of the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wyoming delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor be, and they are hereby, instructed to present to that body this resolution, and to endeavor by all honorable means to secure its adoption.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 26, 30 and 63. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposed Formation of American Federation of Labor Department of Food Industry Workers

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of training or intelligence on their part, but for the reason that they are working at cross-purposes, thus creating conflicting interests which, with the complete lack of co-ordination, causes organization work to suffer; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the uniting of various workers employed in the food industry in what could be termed a Food Department is really one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing millions who are now employed in those industries, who are in the main in an unorganized state; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, by instruction of this Convention, call a conference of representatives of the various International and National Unions concerned, for the purpose of bringing about the establishment of such a Department.

Advocating Formation of American Federation of Labor Needle Trades Department

Resolution No. 30.—By David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The needle trades unions have, in the past two years, shown remarkable growth and expansion; and

WHEREAS, A Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor, along the lines of the other industrial departments already functioning within the Federation, would, in our belief, be of material aid to all the garment and clothing workers' Unions; and

WHEREAS, Such a Department would help to co-ordinate the strength of these unions and to present, whenever the occasion arises, a solid line-up in defense of work standards throughout the needle trades industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, approve the formation of such a Needle Trades Department and instruct the Executive Council to take concrete steps in that direction.

Needle Trades Department

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of organized labor in its efforts to obtain better conditions and improved standards can be materially strengthened by the unions operating in kindred industries acting in concert in such matters affecting labor as may be common to all of those industries; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, recognizing the benefits that may be derived by the workers through the co-operation of such unions in related fields whenever problems touching all of them require consideration and adjustment, has established within and as part of the Federation a number of National Departments designed to promote such co-operation within such industries; and

WHEREAS, The workers engaged in the apparel industries have problems the solution of which could be facilitated if a federation of needle trade unions could be established along lines that have been followed in the creation of the existing National Departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their good offices in inviting the representatives of the various needle trade unions to confer with a view of setting up in the American Federation of Labor a Needle Trades Department, with such rights and powers as may be agreed upon as a result of such conferences and negotiations.

As Resolutions Nos. 26, 30 and 63 deal with the same question your committee recommends that these three resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call conferences of the organizations interested for the purpose of giving consideration to the creation of such departments.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating American Federation of Labor Affiliation with International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg, Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at one time was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions; and

WHEREAS, Whatever the reason for its withdrawal from that body may have been, shortly after the World War, these reasons are not, in our belief, valid now; and

WHEREAS, The international trade union movement, weakened by the practical destruction of the trade unions in Germany, Austria, Italy and other lands, would become immensely strengthened by the affiliation of the American trade unions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, instruct the Executive Council to take steps for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the situation of international trade unionism as it functions today in European countries, and that the Executive Council be further requested to make a report upon the subject to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will now interrupt the proceedings of the convention briefly in order to hear our guest speaker this afternoon. You will recall that I announced that Commander James E. VanZant, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, would be here this afternoon and would be prepared to deliver an address to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. Commander VanZant is nationally known as a forward looking, progressive leader of a great number of the veterans of foreign wars. He is profound in his economic thinking; he occupies a strong position in our economic, industrial and political life. We are glad to present him to you. He came all the way from Washington for the express purpose of meeting you and greeting you, and bringing you his message.

I present to you Commander James C. VanZant of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

COMMANDER JAMES C. VAN ZANT

(Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States)

Mr. Green, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled:

I want you to know how grateful I am, as Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, to have the privilege of bringing to your fine organization the greetings of America's overseas fighting men. I believe I should preface any remarks that I may make today by telling you that it has been my privilege to belong to the ranks of Organized Labor. When just sixteen years of age, I began as a moulder apprentice. However, before it was possible for me to finish the necessary four-year apprenticeship, the World War came upon us and, as a youngster, imbued with that patriotism of real Americans, I joined the ranks of Uncle Sam's Navy, which branch I served with throughout the World War. Ever since that time I have felt the keenest interest and watched as closely as possible the growth and development of Organized Labor in this country.

On Friday, October 5, just about a week ago, we concluded the Thirty-fifth Annual Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at Louisville, Kentucky. It was by far the largest and most enthusiastic annual meeting we have ever had. As you no doubt know, our organization is composed entirely of men who have had service in time of actual war on foreign soil, or in hostile waters. We feel there is a real relationship between the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and the American Federation of Labor. You who have joined together with a common sense program for the protection and development of the economic welfare of the workers in this country are certainly of the same type of man and woman that makes up our organization.

From this great cross-section of American life, represented by the American Federation of Labor, must come the majority of those who serve in time of war, and in that same cross-section we find those of our nation's citizens who suffered most not only in time of war but also in time of economic depression. Realizing this to be a fact, is there any wonder that we have such a common meeting ground in the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Federation of Labor?

We are happy to have as one of our foremost principles the fact that our organization will not permit, under any circumstances, units to participate in any labor disputes. The correctness of our position relative to interference with the right of orderly protest on the part of organized workers may be easily realized when I tell you that during all of the labor disputes in the last 35 years no unit of our organization has ever participated. We point with pride to this fact because we believe it is indicative of the understanding which the overseas veteran has for the problem of Organized Labor, and I want to assure you that our course in the future will be as definite as it has been in the past.

You who represent millions of American working men and women are here to council and chart a course for them. Whatever course you pick will be one which may offer to this nation a faster road out of the horrors of the depression we have been passing through. The American people who do not belong to the American Federation of Labor, but who are members of our organization, are confident that great groups like yourselves must offer to the country the guide posts to future security.

I feel that I would be remiss in bringing you greetings today if I did not call to your attention the fact that during the second session of the Seventy-third Congress representatives of Organized Labor and representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars worked arm in arm for the passage of proper legislation to protect not only the veterans but also to restore the economic security of the Federal employees. To Mr. Green, your President, and to E. Claude Babcock, President of the American Federation of Government Employees, as well as Congressman William Connery, Chairman of the Labor Committee, House of Representatives, I want to extend our warmest appreciation, and I want you to know that when the bell tolls for the opening of the next Congress we will be side by side with these same fine gentlemen who were so instrumental in the success of the legislative fight during the last Congress. I feel further that you should know in a brief way some of the things the Veterans of Foreign Wars are striving to obtain in this country.

First, I would like to call your attention to the fact that we are asking for a uniform pension system based upon the length and type of service of the veteran to be pensioned. We want to see and we know you want to see the man who wallowed in the mud of France, and was wounded or gassed, given a different type of consideration than the person who served for thirty or forty days at some college in a Student Army Training Corps. At the present time they are on an equal footing as far as their disability is concerned. We want to reward the man who had real service under actual war conditions on a different basis than the chap I have just mentioned. The development of a uniform pension system which is based upon length and type of service will offer to this nation a solution for the veterans' problem, not only for the present time, and for the men engaged in the last war, but a system which will care for America's veterans at any time they are compelled to go into a conflict. We are confident that it will greatly reduce the cost in the administration of veterans' laws, and we are absolutely sure that it will offer to the men whom the country wishes rewarded fair and decent consideration. We have heard much about "chiselers" and, as you are anxious to remove them from the ranks of Organized Labor, so we are anxious to correct any

injustice by the establishment of a uniform pension system. With the correction of our pension system, we know it will be removed from politics and the disabled man treated as a national hero rather than a political football.

We are also going to fight militantly for a better control of the manufacture of munitions in this country. Recent developments in Washington certainly demonstrate to all of us that it is high time all organizations joined hands to protect the credit of our country in the handling of munitions. In conjunction with this control of munitions, we shall work vigorously for legislation which will draft capital and industry as well as manpower in the event of another war. We do not believe that men on the deck of a battleship in submarine infested waters or in the mud of the trenches should be there to help develop in this country hundreds of millions who use human lives to amass tremendous fortunes.

One other factor in our proposed program is a question which should be of great concern to the American Federation of Labor. You will remember that just after the war the railroads, the ship builders and the war contractors all had their pay adjusted. All of them were given great grants of money to pay for losses or services rendered as a result of the war. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States asked that our pay be adjusted in the same way, but the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Andrew Mellon, said that we were not old enough to handle money, and consequently, we were paid with a certificate which will be due in 1945. The rate of our adjustment was \$1.00 per day for domestic service and \$1.25 per day for overseas service. A couple of years ago the Congress allowed the veterans to borrow 50 per cent of the face value. High interest rates are rapidly eating up the remainder and unless the balance of the adjusted service certificates, so wrongly called "bonus," is paid in cash, millions of the boys who earned the certificate by wallowing in the mud of a battlefield will get nothing in 1945.

While considering pensions, we believe it proper to mention the great need in this nation for the protection of our aged and dependent people. The horror of the poorhouse must be driven from the land. Our specific part in that program is the development of a mothers, widows and orphans' pension for overseas veterans' dependents. A grateful nation must accept the national responsibility as they called for national service, the obligation is definite and the care of these people must be handled by the Federal Government. During recent years we find a great growth in the interest of the public in the pension question for aged and dependent citizens. The last Congress accepted a Railroad Pension plan. Again I repeat the awful horror of destitution in

old age must go and we stand ready and willing to work with you for this objective.

The final thought I wish to leave with the American Federation of Labor is this—that we representing the two million men that served overseas in the World War, the men who were in the jungles and swamps of the Philippine Islands, have thrown down the gauntlet to those groups of individuals who seek to overthrow our Government by force and violence.

This nation has no place for any "ism" excepting patriotism and Americanism. Communism and all other allied beliefs must go somewhere else to spread their hideous propaganda which would destroy the very principles for which our membership has freely and willingly shed its blood. Teachers in our Public Schools must accept their responsibility in order that these subversive groups may not gain a foothold among the children of this nation. We believe it is the duty of every organization and every citizen to militantly and forcefully attack these subversive movements and remove them from our national life. We have listened to the siren song of the dreamer who would change the economic order long enough. The time has come when the Constitution of the United States must be followed to the very letter. We must bring order into the economic thought of the nation if the nation is to remain great. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is pledged to do this very thing and we intend to carry on, straight down the middle of the road, building America in a finer and bigger way.

Might I say while I am talking of Communism that I wish to compliment the members of the American Federation of Labor for accepting as they did this morning the report of their committee, stamping out of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor Communism or any other kind of "ism" except patriotism and Americanism.

These are the things which we overseas men are asking the Congress to consider. We believe that we are conservative and fair in our requests. While we are considering the program of our respective organizations, it is our duty also to consider the factors in the life of our nation that will of necessity be forced to join together before we are well on the road to recovery. It is my opinion that there are three great groups that must find their way to a common ground of national thought before any permanent restoration will take place. These are the Farmers, Labor and the Soldiers or service men. From these three great groups come almost all of the productive endeavor of our national life. The Farmer must prosper to make it possible for Labor to prosper. The ranks of the Farmers and Labor are filled to overflowing with veterans. Not only on the battle ground of a war-torn na-

tion but on the front line of productive effort you will find him. He is your kind of man, he is our kind of man. No political influence, no amount of pleading can change that great fact.

And so we go on—Farmers, Labor and Soldiers, all fighting for the same objective, all meeting the same problems and all confident of the future of our nation.

In closing, I want you members of the American Federation of Labor to realize that the overseas men of this country have learned a lesson from their service. They know better than perhaps anyone else the real worth of this country. They know the country's future will be protected by the continued growth of such groups as the American Federation of Labor and I, as Commander-in-Chief, wish to you every success and offer you our sincere co-operation.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the address of Commander VanZant. We thank him for his visit and for his address delivered to this convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, continued the report as follows:

Declaring for Executive State Fund Workmen's Compensation Legislation

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Workers employed in hazardous occupations and workers who have passed the age of forty are discriminated in employment opportunities wholly as a result of the refusal of insurance companies to provide insurance protection for employers who have workers in hazardous occupations or who employ workers forty years or older; and

WHEREAS, Many of these casualty insurance companies have been unwilling or unable to pay to injured workers the moneys due to them as a result of the weak financial condition of these insurance companies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly directed the attention of the officers and members of the trade union movement to the fact that the only safe and proper form of casualty insurance which will provide real protection to workers engaged in industries is exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we again direct the attention of the officers and members of the trade union movement to the absolute and imperative need of securing the en-

actment in each State of the exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the officers of each State Federation of Labor, each Central Labor and other delegate body, as well as to the officers and members of all labor bodies and their friends to work for the enactment of exclusive State Fund workmen's compensation laws; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to initiate a vigorous militant campaign to co-operate with and assist the officers of the State Federations of Labor to secure the enactment of this necessary legislation.

In 1914 the convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the principles including the exclusive State fund which were a part of the Workmen's Compensation Law of Ohio. Since then conventions of the American Federation of Labor have declared the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law, with its exclusive State fund feature, to be the model law for which all other states should strive. The resolution calls for the extension of the exclusive State fund principle, and is therefore in harmony with the previous declaration of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee recommends the reaffirmation of these previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor, and in connection with this recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to take up the time of the convention on this matter, but knowing some of the situations that exist in various states, I say to this convention that this in my judgment is really one of the most important resolutions before this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

While we are striving to secure various types of social legislation, including unemployment insurance, old-age pension, life compensation paid for occupational disease, we find ourselves in the position that we are losing the benefits that were originally called for in the various schedules of the compensation laws in the

various states. We are losing these benefits through the instrumentality of the courts and of some public officials in various states of this Union.

I would like to briefly call to your attention how these schedules are being systematically reduced through court decisions, and if carried on much longer will destroy and virtually wipe out the benefits contemplated under workmen's compensation laws.

In the State of Pennsylvania we have a fairly decent workmen's compensation law. We do not have the exclusive State fund. We have a State fund that competes with the other insurance carriers, as well as with those employers who carry their own risks, and as a result of this, my friends, we found in the last session of the Pennsylvania Legislature a determined effort upon the part of the Manufacturers Association, led by the infamous Joe Grundy of that State, endeavoring through legislation to reduce the compensation payment. The Labor Movement of Pennsylvania was successful in defeating the effort of Grundy to emasculate the compensation law.

Shortly after the sessions adjourned Mr. Grundy, as the head of the Manufacturers Insurance Association, which carries liability insurance for its members, went into a non-union plant in the city of Lancaster and they found a workman who had been injured. The case was taken up by the employers' attorneys. For this particular individual the Workmen's Compensation Board granted him full compensation, notwithstanding that he was only working two days per week.

Right here I want to say that in Pennsylvania the wages are computed on the basis of five and a half days per week, whether the individual works that number of days or not. The manufacturers and the insurance carriers were endeavoring to beat down that principle. The Workmen's Compensation Board sustained the five and a half day computation.

It was then appealed by this individual through the attorneys for the Association to the County Court. The County

Court sustained the full benefit awarded to this man, and then the manufacturers had Mr. Romey file an appeal with the Superior Court of Pennsylvania asking the Superior Court to set aside the decision of the lower court and only give Romey, the appellant, about \$2.50 per week as against the full amount awarded.

My friends, the case went up to the Superior Court and the record of that court shows that the appellant injured workman was not even represented by counsel. The Superior Court reversed the lower court. They set aside the computation of wages, and they virtually destroyed the Workmen's Compensation law of the State of Pennsylvania.

We got knowledge of the case through our attorneys going over the records of the Superior Court. The Labor Movement got together. We engaged counsel and took our counsel that had been working for the organization, and we finally induced this man Romey to permit us to handle his case before the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania. The Supreme Court granted authority to appeal from the Superior Court—which is necessary—and after considerable argument and the filing of briefs the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania reversed the Superior Court for the first time in many years, and they restored the benefits provided for in the law itself. As a result of that decision several millions of dollars of back compensation have been paid to the injured workers of Pennsylvania, because the Labor Movement of that State was instrumental in having the decision of the Superior Court set aside.

Now, my friends, we find in Pennsylvania that the need for exclusive State insurance matters in connection with compensation is more vital and necessary today than ever in the history of compensation matters within the United States, or within that State, for these reasons: we find that where we have a State fund the private insurance carriers only select the best risks and they allocate all the doubtful business to the state insurance fund, and we even find where some insurance carriers carry the risk for manufacturers or for mining, but an

injured workmen or the widow of a workman killed are never sure of their compensation granted, and with the effort made to have occupational disease included under the compensable features of compensation laws, there is all the more need and necessity of exclusive State funds for carrying on liability under Workmen's Compensation laws.

And, my friends, it occurs to me here this afternoon that if there is one job that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated units must do, and do immediately, is to take care of the various means that are being utilized to slowly and systematically wipe out real benefits under compensation laws. It is not so much a matter of legislation as it is of protecting our rights in the courts and elsewhere, where these policies are now being pursued to destroy this splendid type of legislation, and while great efforts are being made to bring about the enactment of additional legislation in the social insurance field, we ought not to forget or neglect the laws that we now have on the statute books.

It is my judgment that the resolve of the resolution merits the immediate action of the Executive Council of the Federation to the end that through the co-operation of the parent body, the various internationals affected, the State federations, and the central bodies, a gigantic campaign must be outlined for the purpose of not only protecting the present schedules obtaining in these various pieces of legislation, but to improve those schedules in the interests of the people that we represent.

Thank you very much.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: The delegates will recall that at the Washington, D. C., convention last year I reported the activities of the American Mutual Insurance Company whereby they had one case in Massachusetts where a doctor by the name of Cortland, after giving approximately 140 men belonging to the Molders' Union a so-called physical examination, this Doctor Cortland decreed that 42 of the 140 men were suffering from silicosis. Immediately after those men were notified by

their employer that their services were no longer required. In every instance those men had reached the age of 45, 50, and in some instances 60 years of age.

I immediately contacted President Green and the president of the Molders, and I am happy to be able to make this report to this convention, that after a bitter fight lasting for some seven months, that action of the American Mutual Insurance Company proved to be a rather expensive blunder, because the State Federation of Labor, through the help of President Green and the President of the Molders' Union, collected \$17,750 from that company and put those men all back to work, and by the way, those 42 men are living yet. There is not one of them dead.

I mention this because tomorrow very likely you are going to discuss occupational diseases and whether or not they shall come within the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act. I just want to say that they do come within the scope of the Act in Massachusetts. In other words, it has been ruled by the courts that any occupational disease is considered an injury within the meaning of the Act; but that doesn't mean a thing. That is just a lot of pretty words, because the Act is operated by a group of human vultures who have been bleeding and feeding off the injured workers as long as any man here has been attending those conventions.

You can resolute all you want to to include occupational diseases in the Workmen's Compensation Act, but until you take the private insurance companies out of those workmen's compensation acts, the question of whether or not occupational diseases are compensated is not even important.

In a practical way the delegates here can see that the workers may be suffering from silicosis, anthracosis, or pneumococcosis, or a lot of other ones that I cannot even pronounce—can't you see that here you have on one side the worker with usually the business agent of his local union to represent him. On the other side you have a group of the

slickest and cleverest and shrewdest lawyers and doctors that God ever put breath into. I want you to consider yourselves just what is the chance of the worker, and then make up your minds that the only way to give the worker any degree of protection is to drive those insurance boys out of the workmen's compensation acts in the forty-eight states of the Union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sheep Shearers vs. Wool Growers Associations

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years past the various western State Wool Growers Associations, and individual members of these associations, have pursued the policy of employing non-union sheep shearers to shear their sheep, which has resulted in reducing the amounts paid for shearing sheep to a point where sheep shearers cannot earn a living wage; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that should the various western Wool Growers Associations and individual members of those associations fail or refuse to recognize the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America No. 1, and fail or refuse to pay the union scale as fixed by that union, or refuse to employ union sheep shearers and union contractors exclusively for the shearing of their sheep—

That in such event the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated bodies, will, beginning on February 1, 1935, and continuing thereafter, put into effect a holiday on the consumption of lamb and mutton until such time as the various western Wool Growers Associations, and individual members thereof, shall recognize and comply with the demands of the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America No. 1, and that during the term of such holiday no member of organized labor, or his family, shall purchase or consume any lamb or mutton.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that the Executive Council do all within their power to assist the sheep shearers in building up the membership and effectiveness of that organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Advocating Federal Legislation to
Promote Housing Program**

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate John A. Phillips, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing conditions for families of average income or less in the United States are in general below any acceptable standard of decency, amenity or safety, and are incompatible with the needs of workers and consumers and with the wealth and resources of this nation; and

WHEREAS, One of the most critical issues confronting us today is the need of raising per capita consuming power of the products of American Labor; and

WHEREAS, About 75 per cent of the building trades workers in this country are entirely without employment, and with little visible chance of receiving future employment through the old private profit agencies; and

WHEREAS, Only the Federal, State and City governments can better physical housing conditions, provide employment for building trades workers and revive the dormant capital goods industry of this country, by financing large-scale, planned housing developments on a non-profit basis, designed, constructed and administered in direct collaboration with bona fide groups of workers and consumers; and

WHEREAS, The President, in his message to Congress of June 8 outlining a long-time program of social security, planning of physical resources and housing, said "we are working toward the ultimate objective of making it possible for American families to live as Americans should"; and

WHEREAS, The tentative efforts of the Federal Government to initiate modern, planned, low-cost housing construction via "disinterested" agencies have so far been limited, compromised, and obstructed by the organized opposition of the real estate and allied interests; and

WHEREAS, The only force which can put teeth in the Administration's promises and initiate a real national housing movement, in spite of the organized opposition, is the irresistible force of an active, unified, informed demand on the part of all workers and consumers; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor, being the only effective representative of both workers and consumers, must be prepared to lead the housing movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall petition the President of the United States to prepare legislation and take all necessary steps at once for the unification of all Govern-

mental agencies dealing with any form of shelter, and the establishment of a permanent Department of Housing and Public Welfare, under a new Cabinet officer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an immediate budget appropriation of not less than \$500,000,000 be allocated for this purpose, as part of a planned, long-time program to rebuild America; and that for effectiveness, the annual appropriation should be sharply increased; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the financing costs of this program shall be kept down to a minimum, interest charges on Government funds to be no higher than the price paid by the Government plus a small administration charge, and that, where necessary in order to provide housing within reach of low-wage earners, interest charges shall be cut out below the cost of money to the Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That bona fide groups of workers and consumers shall be recognized as "responsible public bodies" capable of acting as trustees for Government housing funds and of collaborating directly with Federal or State authorities in the provision of housing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor representation on every State or Municipal housing authority, local housing committee or other housing agency; and that the various State Federations and Central Labor Unions shall make it their business to see that this is done, and also to investigate and publicize the stand on housing of all candidates for office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the first housing appropriations be so allocated that they will provide at least one demonstration of modern planned housing in every industrial center, small or large, in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That company owned housing and the feudal conditions existing in mill villages must be abolished, and immediate steps taken to end this form of industrial slavery; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there should be created at this Convention a National Labor Housing Board, with an appropriation for a permanent research department, as a check on governmental housing activities. This board shall undertake immediately to investigate such matters as:

(a) Conditions in company towns; (b) Relation between minimum wages, codes, social insurance legislation and necessary housing measures; (c) Housing standards below which no new construction shall be allowed to fall; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the essential relation between a housing program and other measures to promote social and

economic security be kept actively in mind both by the Federal authorities and by Labor. Social insurance funds should be earmarked for investment in low-cost public utility housing. Unemployment insurance and minimum wage legislation should be carefully geared to housing legislation, so that every worker may be assured reasonable security in the tenure of a decent dwelling; and be it further

RESOLVED, The Federal funds earmarked for low-cost housing and the provision of employment in the building trades must not be spent for high-priced land; suitable legislation for the condemnation and appropriation of land needed for low-cost housing, at a price compatible with that purpose, should be enacted as soon as possible; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Government-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions. This precludes any "work-relief" scheme on housing construction.

Your committee while unanimous in favor of an adequate Housing Program cannot recommend approval of the resolution as it covers so many subjects. The question of an adequate Housing Program has been considered by the Executive Council and will continue to be. Your committee therefore recommends in lieu of the resolution that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to have a practical and far-reaching Housing Program put into effect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Your committee had referred to it fourteen resolutions dealing with the form of organization in the American Federation of Labor. The resolutions are as follows:

Industrial Organization

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate E. G. Bunting, Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The General Electric Federal Labor Union No. 18529 being the largest Labor union in the City of Fort Wayne and also in the State of Indiana, and therefore entitled to be heard on any question affecting the working man or woman; and

WHEREAS, The time is near when delegates from the Fort Wayne Federation of Labor to the national Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at

San Francisco, California, will be elected; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That these delegates be instructed to request necessary changes in present by-laws of the American Federation of Labor to permit greater flexibility and to conform more to present day industrial organization; and be it therefore further

RESOLVED, That questions of jurisdiction shall be settled according to the particular "Code of Fair Competition" under which the man or woman is working rather than any particular craft or profession.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate John A. Phillips, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industry today is organizing along industrial lines; and

WHEREAS, Codes under the NRA are being written for industrial sections, and

WHEREAS, Both employers and the Government recognize that the industrial set-up is most in keeping with the modern tempo of industrial organization; and

WHEREAS, Due to increasing mechanization, craft divisions are being broken up and workers are losing craft consciousness and accepting industrial consciousness in its place; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has shown its recognition of these facts by chartering Federal Industrial Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record as advocating the industrial vertical form of labor organization as being the only form capable of coping with industry as it is at present organized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instructs its delegate to the next American Federation of Labor Convention to work and vote for this type of organization.

Proposing Formation of International Industrial Union of Automobile Workers

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Edward Stubbee, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18463.

WHEREAS, Thousands of unorganized workers in the automobile industry, beset by the danger of company unionism and the continued attack on their living standards joined the American Federation of Labor to fight for their rights and improvement in their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Many of our local unions are declining in membership, large numbers of members having dropped out, with a loss of confidence in the National Council; and

WHEREAS, The company unions, are growing in power and are increasing their attack on our workers' unions, and are adopting new forms in order to trick the worker into accepting them; and

WHEREAS, New wage cuts are being introduced and discrimination continues against the union men; and

WHEREAS, There is a widespread desire on the part of the membership in the Federal automobile locals for the immediate formation of an International Industrial Union; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the immediate formation of one industrial union in the automobile and parts and accessories industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call a National Constitutional Convention of all Federal locals in the automobile industry not later than December 1, 1934, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, to complete the formation of said Industrial Union.

Request That International Unions Relinquish Jurisdiction Over Workers in the Automobile Industry

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The work in the auto industry is of such nature that the employees in said industry specialize in the various trades involved, and inasmuch as all trades are affected and as segregation of each trade would mean a division of our membership to such an extent that it would prove detrimental to the unionization of the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Buick Federal Labor Union No. 18512, Flint, Michigan, go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to ask all International trade unions to relinquish jurisdiction claims over the entire automobile industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The organizing campaign of the American trade union movement is making widespread progress; and

WHEREAS, During the past year there has been confusion in some instances as to the appropriate organization with which wage earners should affiliate; and

WHEREAS, This confusion has materially interfered with the organizing campaign of the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction granted to a National or International Union in the charter it receives from the American Federation of Labor is a contract entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the International Union which defines and guarantees its jurisdiction; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue instructions to all general and local organizers of the American Federation of Labor, to all State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Councils, informing them that under the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor wage earners cannot be organized except into the respective National or International Unions whose jurisdiction has been established by the charters which have been issued by the American Federation of Labor, or in Federal Labor Unions whose membership shall not include those over whom jurisdiction has been given in the charters which have been issued to National or International Unions.

Industrial Unionism

Resolution No. 75—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In the upsurge of union organization within the last year, the craft structure of many unions in the American Federation of Labor not only weakens labor by jurisdictional disputes, but also proves an obstacle in the way of effective organization, especially of the large-scale mass production industries, such as auto, steel, rubber, etc.; and

WHEREAS, It seems clear that the most effective way in which the great masses of the workers in the basic industries can be organized is on the basis of industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council has already taken some steps towards a more industrial form of organization in the form of Federal Labor Unions, joint councils of craft unions, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The reorganization of the unions in the American Federation of Labor has now become a vital and urgent necessity if unionism is to make progress in organizing the industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, 1. That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record in favor of industrial unionism as the most appropriate and effective form of organization of the trade union movement today; and

2. That in order to carry this policy into effect, the American Federation of Labor convention instruct the Executive Council immediately to call a conference of international union executive boards to consider ways and means of transferring the craft unions in the American Federation of Labor into industrial unions; and

3. That the further organization of the workers in the large-scale mass production industries shall take place along the industrial lines in industrial unions specially chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The growth of American industry, with its organization for mass production, requires that effective organization of the workers employed in those industries be based on industrial, as distinguished from craft, lines, to the same extent and in the same manner that the employers in those industries are organized; and

WHEREAS, The tendency of industry, including such industries as have in the past been capable of organization along craft lines, is towards the elimination of skill, thereby removing the basis upon which many of the existing craft unions have been built; and

WHEREAS, The power of labor to bargain collectively is continually impaired by jurisdictional disputes and friction which have the effect of dissipating the energies of the workers and their leaders and of creating adverse public sentiment where such disputes interfere with the completion of projects; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to devise ways and means of bringing about the formation of industrial unions in all of the large, mass production industries, and to encourage the amalgamation of existing unions operating in kindred industries, with a view of increasing their effectiveness in their struggles for better conditions.

Proposing National Union of Automobile Workers

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John Bartee, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has set up Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, For the first time in the history of the Labor movement certain industries have become in a large degree organized; and

WHEREAS, It is impractical to dismember these unions into crafts because of the complications involved; and

WHEREAS, It is the desire and firm belief of the Automobile Workers that only in a more firmly knit unit of Federal unions throughout the automotive industry can results be accomplished; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered by the delegates of this Convention to authorize to be formed and cause to be in effect a Union comprising all Federal unions formed or to be formed in the automotive industry and known, as the Federated Automotive Workers of America, or some like name; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this union shall be as the several Federal Labor unions now are, a direct part of the American Federation of Labor, but officered and directed by men selected from the automotive ranks with the advice and assistance of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers, organizers, clerical, legal, statistical, fact-finding and other necessary directing forces be paid directly from the funds of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these unions be coordinated, that definite basic wage rates be set for each class of work throughout the industry, that workers above the average in ability shall receive graduated scales according to their ability and that uniform hours of work, rates for overtime, and policies throughout the automobile, automotive parts and accessory industries for the benefit of the organized workers of these industries be established; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these Federal Unions have jurisdiction over every craft or class of workers engaged in the manufacture of parts of and including the finished automobile, with these exceptions: Where lumber workers, steel workers, rubber workers, knitting workers and allied lines make a product, it would not come under automotive parts until delivered for manufacture into parts used in an automobile or its accessories; and be it further

RESOLVED, That craft unions unless they have signed agreements within the automobile industry prior to the date of assembling of this Convention relinquish all claims to workers within the industry

and relinquish their organizing efforts, which if carried on will disintegrate a vital unit of workers in the American Federation of Labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention here assembled take a definite clear-cut course of action, that hindrances and differences be eliminated for the future welfare of the American Federation of Labor and its members.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, During the past year the workers of many industries comprising both skilled and unskilled labor have desired to organize under the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of many charters for such organizations have been held up due to the jurisdictional claim of the craft organizations; and

WHEREAS, During the period necessary to adjust such jurisdictional claims, the interest of the prospective members is diminished to such an extent that in many industries company or independent unions have been formed; and

WHEREAS, The increasing number of company and independent unions definitely show the jurisdictional claims have proved to be a hindrance to organizational work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be permitted and be immediately instructed to issue charters to industrial organizations where jurisdictional claim might be involved, and to make adjustment of such claims after such organizations have been chartered.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Karl Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, Industry is highly concentrated, dominated by monopoly capital, with machinery and mass production developed to a high degree, skill is being more and more eliminated, and many different crafts are employed in one or more plants by one company; and

WHEREAS, Craft unionism in practice has brought constant jurisdictional disputes and the division of workers in many different unions with separate agreements—in many cases expiring at different times—resulting in the crafts working against each other during strikes; and

WHEREAS, Such a form of trade union organization can no longer be justified, since it divides and weakens the workers and serves only to strengthen the employers and labor officials who look upon the unions as dues-collecting institutions to serve their personal interests; and

WHEREAS, Employers, especially since the passage of the NRA, are combined into strong industrial associations, chambers of commerce, etc., and are acting together for their mutual interest more consciously than ever before, to secure larger profits and take greater advantage of wage earners; and

WHEREAS, The conflicting interests of organized labor and organized employers are leading to wider and more decisive struggles; and

WHEREAS, The policy pursued by most of the chief officials of our unions—conciliation, arbitration, and compromise with the employers—is ruinous to the interests of workers and effective union organizations, and leaves them at the mercy of the employers, who drive down their conditions more and more; and

WHEREAS, Even where industrial unions are formed, unless they are led by incorruptible elements directly responsible to the membership, they can be utilized by corrupt officials and employers in the same manner as is being done in the craft unions, as for example in the United Mine Workers of America, which, although it has an industrial union basis, has through its officials agreed more than once to an efficiency union program; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of genuine industrial unions, to be arrived at through the reorganization of the membership in the departmentalized industrial unions, and by the merging of the various craft unions in each industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the industrial unions so formed shall be based on a program which rejects co-operation with employers and the faults and dangerous theories of identity of interests of employers and employees—the theory of identity of interests of capital and labor, the theory that is mainly responsible for existing corruption in the organized labor movement.

Trade Union Solidarity

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Wm. Van Ohrmann, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local No. 17960.

WHEREAS, One year of the NRA is now seen to have been a year of attack on conditions of wage workers, a year in which direct wage cuts of something like 45 per cent, and in so-called durable

goods industries reaching to 60 per cent, with a rise of food and clothing prices of some 27 per cent since March, 1933 (according to official figures); and

WHEREAS, The profits of many big corporations have increased something like 450 per cent in the same period; and

WHEREAS; Our officials have shown their inability or their unwillingness to really protect the interests of the membership against such sweeping attacks on their living standards. Many of these officials undoubtedly have acted so as to justify the statement made in Washington early last year by General Johnson to the representatives of the big industrialists, when he said, referring to outstanding leaders of the organized labor movement, that "Their interests are your interests"; and

WHEREAS, Some 40,000,000 wage earners and their dependents are, more than any other section of the population, entitled to a decent living from the wealth of this country, since it was the toll of the wage earning population that brought this wealth into being; and

WHEREAS, Wage workers can gain better conditions only by solidarity and determined struggle, as the whole history of the organized labor movement shows; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the organization of all wage workers and the immediate preparation of the membership for a united effort to gain from the employers higher wages in the face of rising living costs—to the end that we may raise the living and working standards of all American labor—and secure the necessary and rapid shortening of hours to provide employment for additional hundreds of thousands of workers now unemployed.

Jurisdiction Rights of Affiliated International and National Organizations

Resolution No. 166—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and W. E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor has been primarily one of International and National organization, representing trade unions and whose jurisdiction has been confined to certain trade groups; and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the National Recovery Act, the above policy of the American Federation of Labor has seemingly been forgotten, to the end that

industrial unionism is advocated and through the medium of Federal unions the principles of industrial unionism has somewhat been carried on; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America feel that their jurisdiction is being encroached upon, and that the policy of the American Federation of Labor has not been followed, nor has the jurisdiction of our International been preserved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor here assembled, San Francisco, October, 1934, go on record as definitely re-establishing and reaffirming the principles of trade unionism and the protection of the rights of trade jurisdiction of this and other International and National organizations.

Industrial Unions

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Industrial production is being concentrated into ever larger units, with centralized financial control; and

WHEREAS, This changing industrial technique and mass production tends to obliterate craft lines and to make the individual worker a mere cog in the machine; and

WHEREAS, The craft form of organization divides the workers, creates jurisdictional disputes and petty jealousies and distracts the attention of the workers from the larger issue of the class struggle; and

WHEREAS, Craft unionism in industry hinders the development of unity of thought and action among the workers, making them craft conscious rather than class conscious; and

WHEREAS, Strikes are often lost because one craft remains at work performing vital services while others are on strike; and

WHEREAS, Industrial workers organized on craft lines find it difficult to present a united front to the attacks of the capitalistic class; and

WHEREAS, The surest weapon of the working class is their unified economic strength as manifested by industrial unionism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it shall be the immediate policy of the American Federation of Labor to supersede the present craft form of organization by industrial organization—that is, to organize all workers in each particular industry, regardless of craft affiliation, into one body.

National Councils of American Federation of Labor Local Unions

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers' Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, approximately 2,000 Federal labor unions have been organized, including in their membership hundreds of thousands of skilled and semi-skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, These Federal labor unions embrace practically every industry in the country; in many instances some industries are fairly well organized through Federal labor unions; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that there is a need of further co-ordination between the various Federal labor unions in any given industry, and between all of the Federal labor unions throughout the country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a department shall be created in the American Federation of Labor whose functions shall be devoted exclusively to co-ordinating the activities of these Federal labor unions, to carry on an intensive program of education in the principles of the organized labor movement, and to assist and advise such newly formed organizations; be it further

RESOLVED, That to increase the value of industrial organizations, that National Councils, such as have been formed in the rubber and automobile industries, be formed in all industries when there has been a sufficient number of organizations chartered in any one industry to make this practical. These national councils to be co-ordinated with the other labor departments in more effectively watching the present industrial Associations as per accompanying diagrams:

PROPOSED LABOR SET-UP—	PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SET-UP—
PLANT Local	PLANT Management
CITY Central Labor Union	CITY Chamber of Commerce
STATE Federation of Labor	STATE Board of Trade
INDUSTRY National Council	INDUSTRY Manufacturers' Association
AMERICAN Federation of Labor	UNITED STATES Chamber of Commerce

In lieu of Resolutions Nos. 8, 13, 39, 56, 63, 75, 81, 94, 135, 156, 159, 166, 170 and 179 dealing with form of organization, the following is presented:

In connection with these Resolutions your committee has given extended and most profound consideration to one of the most important problems with which our American Trade Union Movement is confronted. These Resolutions deal with a question that affects the interest of many of the organizations affiliated with and holding charters issued by the American Federation of Labor. It is because of its importance and far-reaching effect that your committee has devoted so much time and consideration to the problem.

The evidence presented in the hearings before the committee conclusively indicates that to deal effectively with the question of organization and with the fundamental questions involved there should be a clear and definite policy outlined by this convention that will adequately meet the new and growing condition with which our American Labor Movement is confronted.

During recent years there have developed new methods. This has brought about a change in the nature of the work performed by millions of workers in industries which it has been most difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions. The systems of mass production are comparatively new and are under the control of great corporations and aggregations of capital which have resisted all efforts at organization. The provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act protecting the right of employees to organize and select representatives of their own choice without interference on the part of employers, or their agents, has had the effect of freeing the flood of organization sentiment existing in the breasts of millions of workers who have been prevented by employer opposition from satisfying their desire for organization.

The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon

craft lines and afford every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable.

However, it is also realized that in many of the industries in which thousands of workers are employed a new condition exists requiring organization upon a different basis to be most effective.

To meet this new condition the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation.

That the Executive Council shall at the earliest practical date inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry.

That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions.

Delegate Frey: The chairman reminds me that this is a unanimous report on the part of the committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention. I merely propose to speak briefly a word or two in support of the report of the committee, and rather by way of explanation. The report of the committee deals with a question which admittedly is of fundamental importance to the structure of the American Federation of Labor and which has to do

with its future security and the destiny of Organized Labor in America. The members of the Committee on Resolutions have labored most assiduously for a number of days in many sessions of long hours, attempting to find some solution as between the conflicting viewpoints and the obviously sincere desires of many delegates of this convention and many organizations herein represented.

I feel that the members of the committee and the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are to be congratulated upon the nature of the report which is spread before you this afternoon for your consideration. What does it mean? It means the outlining of a definite policy upon the part of the American Federation of Labor for the organization and the bringing into the fold of trade unionism in America of the teeming millions of workers here in America's base industries and its miscellaneous trades.

It is obvious to all that for various reasons, in certain of our mass production industries and our miscellaneous industries, the degree of success which we had hoped for has not been attained in the organization work within those industries. Peculiar conditions exist in certain of those industries having to do with developments in modern industry and having to do with the psychology of workers employed in great numbers in those industries. There has been a reluctance upon the part of certain organizations, and a natural reluctance, to concede that the skilled craftsmen of their trade in certain industries would desire to be assimilated into the large plan or industry form of organization. There has been a natural desire upon the part of the other organizations having primary convictions as to the necessity of the industrial form, in the base industries, to get away from the delay which has taken place in certain of these industries.

Last year, or perhaps during the present year of 1934 in January a conclave of the executive officers of the various affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor was assembled by the

Executive Council in Washington and an attempt was made to draft a formula that would perhaps fit the requirements of our mass production industries in the way of organization. That formula, for various reasons, has not worked out as well as some of the delegates in the convention believe that it should, and in consequence there was introduced into this convention a number of resolutions urging a more definite declaration of policy upon the part of the American Federation of Labor.

These resolutions have been considered in the bosom of the Committee on Resolutions for days past, and as a result the Committee on Resolutions representative of every form and every type of organization in the American Federation of Labor, comes to you with this definite, prepared paper setting forth their willingness to conform thereto, and recommend it to the consideration of the convention.

I express to each member of the committee my appreciation of the sincere devotion with which they have applied themselves to this problem, and I feel that in sending this document to the convention the American Federation of Labor is enunciating a policy that will draw dividends in the future, in the form of scores of hundreds of thousands of men in these mass production industries coming into the American Federation of Labor and helping the American Labor Movement toward the attainment of its ideals and its objectives.

May I say that this document is not an attempt on the part of anyone, it is not the desire of the Committee on Resolutions to impair or to interfere in any manner in the legitimate work or the form and structure of any existing trade union of the craft form in the American Federation of Labor. It is rather a policy designed and intended, if adopted, to organize the unorganized in our mass production and miscellaneous industries. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is given specific instructions to issue national or international charters in three base industries. The Executive Council is given discretionary powers to be used in the future

upon its own motion and upon its own authorization to issue additional charters of a national or international nature in industry where such action is necessary, in the judgment of the Executive Council, to effectuate the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

In addition, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, the Executive Council is provided with an authority that constitutes a check and a safeguard upon the actions and the policies and the force of such duly formed national or international unions for a provisional or temporary period.

The Council is given authority to exercise this discretionary judgment in the selection, for a temporary period, of its officers, the administration of its business affairs and the declaration of the policies of these organizations. Why? Because it is almost too much to expect, and experience in the past has demonstrated that fact, that in newly formed organizations in industries where men have just joined a trade union or a labor organization, there could be immediately found in such industries and in such organizations, men of sufficient experience, sufficient business ability, sufficient training, sufficient foresight and sufficient judgment to take over and conduct the executive work and the financial affairs of a great national or international union. Experience alone is a great teacher, and many of the organizations now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have had experience with such problems to the degree that in some instances where men have been organized the organizations have been lost and rent asunder, due to the inexperience or mistakes or errors of incapable trade union officers.

And so the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, charged under this resolution with the task of organizing America's basic industries, is given a proper authority, a proper authorization to take over and, if necessary, conduct the affairs of the newly formed organization for such a period as may be necessary in the judgment of the Council to properly safeguard the integrity of these newly formed unions.

With this brief summary of the matter, with my commendation, representing my organization as I do, of this final part of these resolutions, with the thanks and appreciation to the members of the committee who have labored so assiduously on the subject matter of this report to the convention, I hope it will receive the unanimous support of all the delegates in the convention.

I thank you.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: First, I want to ask a question of information. I would like to ask the committee or the President of the American Federation of Labor to define for me what is meant in the scope of the term "automotive industry," as referred to in the recommendation of the committee.

President Green: The Chair will ask some member of the committee, Delegate Lewis, to make a reply to that question.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: President Wharton and gentlemen—That question was asked in the sessions of the committee. There was no attempt upon the part of the members of the committee to give a definite answer to the question, because the members of the committee did not feel equal to the task of undertaking to define the proper jurisdiction of an international or national union in the automotive industry. We are aware that there is a line of cleavage as between the automobile industry and the so-called accessory or parts industry. We are unable to say as a committee where the line of demarcation upon jurisdiction should be, or if there should be a line of demarcation as between the several parts of the automotive industry.

However, under the policy recommended by the committee, the Executive Council now, as heretofore, will be clothed with the authority to decide the question of jurisdiction. The Executive Council has had that authority prior to that time when questions of jurisdiction arose as between chartered organizations, and in the issuance of a charter to the automotive industry, the Executive Council, as usual, will exercise its judgment as to those lines of jurisdiction.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I would like to ask another question as to that, for I got a very indefinite answer to my first question. I would like to ask if it is the intention upon the adoption of this recommendation that the provision of Section 11, found on page 17 of the Constitution, will be observed. That section reads:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

Delegate Lewis: As one member of the committee I see no conflict between the adoption of the report of the committee and the section of the constitution you have just read. No matter what jurisdiction may be claimed by a national or international union under the section of the constitution just quoted by you, it still remains that before that question is settled the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have to exercise their judgment and render a finding. The same will be true as affecting an application for any new charter. There is no change of policy, no violation of the law.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I would like to ask another question of information. My organization happens to be very vitally concerned in the proposed plan unless the rights of existing organizations within reason are recognized.

For instance, there are a number of what might be termed subdivisions of the automotive industry. I have in mind particularly that portion of the industry that goes into the rebuilding and repair work, garage workers, auto mechanics. My organization spent several hundred thousand dollars in organizing that part of the automotive industry, separate and distinct from the manufacturing plants. Is there any intention, by any method of interpretation of the language as conveyed to this convention in the recommendation of the committee to interfere

in any manner with our jurisdiction over that portion of the automotive industry?

Delegate Lewis: President Wharton, in so far as my memory serves me, I don't recall that the committee in any manner discussed the possible extension of an automobile organization into the garage industry. I don't think there is any likelihood of a charter of that kind being issued, although my knowledge of the automobile industry is comparatively limited. I am still compelled to rely on the judgment and discretion of the Executive Council, of which you are a member, and I am sure the Executive Council would not undertake to issue a charter there without giving you every opportunity to present the claims of your organization. I would feel especially secure in the matter if I thought, perhaps, we were going to increase the number on the Executive Council, and then we would have even more brains to apply to that program.

Delegate Wharton: I am not receiving exactly the character of answers that I had expected, in view of the statement that has been made by the committee, that the most careful consideration was given to this subject matter.

In the first place, I asked that we might have an expression from the President of the American Federation of Labor or the chairman or the secretary of the committee, who I assumed were in position to say something to this convention with some degree of definiteness as to what is contemplated in this proposal.

Delegate Lewis: I did not mean to intrude my views on the gentlemen, excepting that the chairman and the secretary both asked me if I would make the reply. I am sorry if my reply did not suit Delegate Wharton. I am perfectly willing for the chairman and secretary of the committee to make any answer they see fit in the premises.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, I had thought it well to have Delegate John L. Lewis answer some of these questions because it so happens that he and I occupied the

extreme ends of the battle that was waged in six days of the committee meetings.

Let me read the language of the committee's report:

"To meet this new condition, the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation."

Automobile repairs, automobile reconditioning, automobile accessories—the men engaged in these occupations are not engaged in mass production, and they are omitted from the report for that reason. The report deals only with what are generally accepted as the mass industries, the plants where a large number of workmen who are not craftsmen in the accepted sense of the word are employed on articles produced under mass methods, and the report is specific in calling those industries mass production industries. So the report does not refer to anything in industry which does not come strictly under the classification of mass production. Does that answer your question, Delegate Wharton?

Delegate Wharton: That is more definite and more understandable from my viewpoint, and what I had to say about Brother Lewis' remarks in replying to my queries was not intended in any way in a personal sense. My Organization is vitally affected by this particular question, because as I have said before, we have spent a great deal of time and money in an effort to organize this particular class of people.

We did enter into an understanding with a number of other organizations at the Detroit convention to attempt to organize the workers on mass production in the automotive manufacturing industry. But since that time there have been developments which have left me in very serious doubt as to what is meant by an industry. Our government has appointed and selected a large number of experts who have been working

particularly during the last fifteen or eighteen months, in an attempt to define industry. They first started out by issuing codes for industries. They ran into difficulties and they had to revise hundreds of codes, and now they are talking about consolidating codes, so that we may have fifteen or eighteen or fifty or five hundred of what they term basic codes, what is manufactured in one industry or subdivision of the industry immediately runs into all kinds of ramifications involving numerous other industries. These experts have gotten out charts covering a number of those industries and then they correlate these various charts to connect up with a large number of similar industries, and as a consequence I think if we are going to protect the interests of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and at the same time do something of a constructive character in meeting changed conditions in industry, certainly great care should be given to any question that affects these organizations as they now exist.

If the explanation of the Secretary of the committee represents and is the understanding of this convention in voting upon this question, there will be no disposition on my part to oppose.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates to the convention: There is no disposition on my part to impose upon the delegates in this convention by unnecessarily consuming your time in the discussion of a question that appears to have the support of a vast majority of the delegates in this assembly. This is one of the most important, if not the very most important question to come before the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I consider that it is of such importance that it deserves consideration, even though the report of the committee has the support of the delegates in the convention.

The report of the committee recognizes that the first great purpose of the American Federation of Labor is and should be to organize the unorganized industrial workers. It recognizes, if you please, that

the ultimate in organization has not been reached in the minds of at least some of the delegates in this convention, and it means that with the change of the times we have reached the point where we realize that we should mold the policies of the American Federation of Labor to meet the desires of those who are to be served, rather than to attempt to continue a policy of molding the minds of millions of human beings to suit our desires.

As a representative of what is as strictly a craft union as is represented in this convention, I desire to say to you that our first desire as an organization is to see the unorganized workers organized and to see that they are organized under the banner and with the ethics of the American Federation of Labor. Our first purpose, as those who have devoted a good part of our lives to an effort to improve the conditions of the working people know, is and should be to extend to those who have not received the benefits of organization the benefits that we have received.

Our second purpose should be to eliminate from the field of competition, if you please, the unorganized workers of this country, because we realize that there can be no equitable basis of competition between the organized and the unorganized.

A third purpose is that we desire to be protected from what is the natural inclination of the unorganized workers, and we also desire to be protected from a condition that may develop if these millions of workers were organized under some banner other than the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

I am sure it has occurred to the delegates in this convention that particularly during the last year and a half there has been keen competition for the control of the unorganized workers, and it may be said that this competition has been engaged in by four different elements. First, there has been the employer, particularly in the mass production industries, who has been bidding for the control of the

unorganized workers through the instrument that we know as the company controlled union.

Secondly, there has been an attempt on the part of the so-called independent union to secure control and bring under its banner the unorganized workers in the mass production and other industries.

Then there have been the efforts of national and international unions to organize along craft lines, and I am confident there is not a delegate in this convention familiar with the conditions who is satisfied with the degree of success that we have attained.

Last, and certainly the most dangerous to American ideals and institutions, there has been the continuous and aggressive attempt of the Communist movement in this country to secure control of the unorganized workers under their banner. I submit to you that if that does not constitute a menace of sufficient importance to demand the most serious consideration in connection with organization policies, then I am the most deceived delegate who has attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor for more than a decade.

In connection with the report of the Committee on Resolutions I think it is important to point out to the delegates representing national and international unions that not one of them is required to give up anything that they have. There is nothing in this resolution or in the policies outlined which even suggests that national or international unions should give up any portion of their membership. The most that could happen is that in the organization of the mass production industries some organization which might allege that it has jurisdiction over a certain work that is now being performed by a group of workers might, if they were organized, be subject to the jurisdiction of that organization. I submit to you that even if that is important, it is more important that the unorganized workers of this country should be organized, that they should be taught the fundamentals of the trade union movement, and that out of their

experience should come the form of organization that will ultimately best protect their interests and the interests of those now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have discussed this question with delegates who represent trade and craft unions. I have discussed it with the representatives of men and women who desire organization. I believe I have discussed this question with delegates who represent every color of thought upon the subject of organization that could be found in this convention, and I find that if I am to accept the information that is given to me, which appears to be authoritative, the greatest obstacle to organization in the mass production industries is, first, the fear that after these workers are organized from the outside they will be divided into various organizations and thereby their economic strength will be destroyed. They appear to believe, rightly or wrongly, that for their protection it is necessary that they should be members of the same organization, so that an injustice to one becomes an injustice to all, that a matter which affects the interest of one is a matter which will affect the interests of all. I say to you that there is reason and logic to support that belief.

The second obstacle is that some of these workers fear that in the drawing of strict jurisdictional lines, the opportunity for continuous employment will be affected, because of the nature of their work they may be considered composite mechanics. One day they may be engaged upon work that would come rightfully under the jurisdiction of one organization and, in order to be continuously employed, at other times they are engaged upon work that would rightfully be considered under the jurisdiction of another organization.

I find that those two fears are the obstacles that are interfering with and preventing the organization of those employed in the mass production industry, and I believe it is the duty of the organization of the American Federation of Labor to remove those obstacles.

I believe that this will be one of the most important steps that has been taken by the American Federation of Labor during recent years, and I seriously doubt if a question has ever been before the convention of the American Federation of Labor that has inspired greater interest or has received more consideration upon the part of a larger number of delegates. I trust that for the moral effect, if nothing else, that this convention will unanimously support the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I am not opposing the report of the committee, because I think that in so far as it pertains to the organizing of the unorganized it is very commendable. I would like to have a little information and have it incorporated in the records of this convention. Most of these industries have buildings and employed in these industries in most instances is a group or staff of building trades men, maintained there and kept as a maintenance crew to keep the buildings in repair.

Is it the intention of this report of this committee that in the organization of any group of workmen there would be included in that charter jurisdiction employees in the capacity that I have referred to?

Chairman Woll: I would say no, that they would not be included. May I refer to part of the committee's report, which reads:

"The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction."

That is a clear-cut statement and guarantee of the rights of jurisdiction of existing organizations, and it is necessarily upon that pronouncement that the Executive Council will consider the granting of charters as indicated later on in the report. And my answer to you would be that this section of the report clearly protects the rights of the building trades as well as others.

It goes further and says: "Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of the workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable."

I want to confirm statements made by previous speakers that the subject deals more with the unorganized, and perhaps unorganizable, than it deals with questions of craft or industrial organizations, horizontal or vertical. In that regard it does not change the policy of the American Federation of Labor, but it does realize that there is a situation existing that requires immediate, distinctive and effective work in the organizing in one form or another.

While it directs the issuance of charters in these three industries, it states that the jurisdiction is to be defined by the Executive Council, and no committee is to render a decision upon it. The directions are given that when such charters are issued such organizations shall be for a provisional period, indefinite in time, and as long as the Council may determine, direct the policy, direct and administer the business, and even designate the financial and administrative officers of such newly organized unions.

I, too, want to pay a compliment to other members of this committee, particularly to President Lewis, for the compliment he has paid the balance of the committee, and for his wise judgment in the provisions made for the safeguards thrown around the existing organizations.

It has been the desire of each and every member not to change the structure of the American Labor Movement, but rather to expand its opportunities in dealing with immediate and pressing considerations of safeguarding the rights and interests of each and every affiliated organization, whether on craft or industrial lines, or whatever they may style themselves. Of course, it is difficult to determine what is an industry, as well as it is difficult to define what is a craft. Shall the determining factor be the employing interest? Shall it be the com-

modity produced? Shall it be commodities in competition with one another, although produced by different processes.

All these are perplexing problems and can only be dealt with as each one is presented for immediate and direct action. The same procedure is recommended in this report as is prescribed in the Constitution, and has always heretofore been followed by the Executive Council.

I feel that the report is well designed to meet existing situations, with full and ample protection and safety and security of organizations now within the American Federation of Labor, not only as to the members they have within their respective organizations, but so far as the question of jurisdiction has been dealt with in previous conventions.

Delegate Franklin, Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders: I think the Chairman of the committee has practically covered the point I had in mind when I arose a moment ago to ask for the floor. I don't want to consume the time of the convention except to point out one or two things I thought were essential for a clear and definite understanding of the rights of the crafts who are employed in many of the smaller shops and factories of the country. In view of the many statements made by previous speakers with reference to the scope of the report of the committee, that it was not intended to cover the small shops, that I think has been brought out very clearly by the chairman of the committee. That is what I wanted clear in the record.

Some of us who represent men employed in all kinds of industries in which the people we represent are employed, and they are distinctly craftsmen, well defined, and it is very easy to determine the class of work they are engaged in, and the jurisdiction of the organization of which they are members.

That has been one of our greatest difficulties, not so much because of our general understanding, but because of the activities of individuals going in and assuming to organize men and place them in Federal Unions and other unions. That has been a violation of the understanding

had in the Washington declaration, a violation of the craft unions' jurisdictional rights. There can be no excuse for men going out and organizing men that have a clear and distinct jurisdiction and recognized as a distinct craft, and placing them into some kind of mass organization in an individual plant. It is not a mass production plant; we are not opposed to that; we are in full accord with the policy set forth in this resolution, just so long as the principle set forth in that report is adhered to.

With that understanding, that the rights of the craft unions are to be fully protected in all of the plants, particularly outside of the generally recognized mass production plants, we favor the report of the committee.

We are in accord with seeing every man under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor organized. We are just as much interested in that accomplishment as any other representative in this convention, but we are just as zealous in protecting the right that belongs to us, a distinctly craft union. Mr. Chairman, with that understanding, we are in full accord with the report of the committee which we have subscribed to.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: That is the understanding with which we signed that report, and we are going to have as many interpretations of these resolutions as there were conflicting viewpoints on the committee. As a matter of fact, the resolution means what it says; it means that the Executive Council will interpret what it means when it acts upon the resolution. That is the agreement of the committee. The resolution means what it says; it means the court and tribunal to determine its definition will be the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We might as well keep that thing clear in our minds in voting on this proposition.

I am authorized now by the chairman of the committee and the secretary sitting here at my right to say that they agree with the interpretation that the resolution means what it says, and that the tribunal to interpret it in case of need is the Execu-

tive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and all favorite reservations and private opinions will go to that tribunal for that interpretation.

Delegate Moreschi, Building Laborers: I am not rising to oppose the committee's report. I am rising for a purpose that shall be clearly understood. The report deals with the cement plants, where the industry is so closely allied with construction, and where many of the trades which I represent have been, time after time, in conflict in these plants. It should be understood that before any charter is granted in these plants that all organizations interested shall be given proper representation in the preservation of their jurisdictional rights.

Delegate Stubbee, Automobile Workers: We asked for a convention to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, November 1, 1934, for the reason that Cleveland is slipping back, due to the fact that the craft unions are trying to break us up. Our Local is 100 per cent organized, and it is 100 per cent with the American Federation of Labor, and all of Cleveland is looking toward our Federal Union because we are the only 100 per cent union in that city. It has been said repeatedly on the floor of the Metal Trades that different crafts are trying to take our boys into their unions. We know there are very few mechanics in these shops, because the boys are all known as machine hands; and the painters, well, about anybody could do this painting, putting some gray paint on a chassis. The painters insisted that they should come under the painters' union. Those boys would probably starve to death if they had to get a job on the outside.

Having conditions in Cleveland, we would like to have a convention called as early as possible in order to keep the various Labor Unions together. Other towns have sent in letters asking for this convention. We had an automobile convention in Detroit several months ago and we got things started. President Green was at the convention for two days and I think he knows what we want. I would like to have this committee have

a convention in Cleveland for the auto workers as soon as possible.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, just a few minutes. You may think that perhaps I am mixing in something here that I ought to keep out of, but I want to call attention to certain things. There is no fundamental distinction that I can see between the elevator workers who make an elevator, install it and make it run, and the automobile worker who begins at the beginning and follows step by step in the making of an automobile until he can run it.

You are dealing here with new industries, with the development of new callings. The men in New York, struggling for certain things, under the system of organization have an opportunity of getting the financial and other support of the Union, and the real strength of the Craft Union lies in that fact. As these new organizations are contemplated, the worker in an automobile shop can go out from that to another. It will be on the same line. The real difficulty and the real danger to the movement is in what is called the vertical union, the organization of men in one single establishment without any affiliation or support except from themselves.

There is another thing that we want to consider, and that is the company union. Unless the Labor Movement is willing to make the necessary arrangement to organize new industries into unions suitable to them somebody else will do it, and that somebody else will be the employer.

The report of the committee here is remarkable for its broadmindedness, for its progress and for its conservation of that which can and should be conserved. Nothing is of greater importance to civilization than the different crafts men have gone in to master. It has taken eons and eons of time to develop these crafts, and it has taken centuries to establish them in the different parts of the world. The thing that they have done and that they are doing for the progress of civilization cannot be done by anybody else. But that does not mean that new things will not come into the world

and that men will have to learn to make them. It is not the work that one does in one hour or another hour that counts here, it is the work that accomplishes a specific purpose. As a certain tool is made, or certain appliances are made many men work upon them, and sometimes several crafts work upon them. So there is a new appliance here, the automobile. There are new appliances in all directions in which it is necessary to have a large number of people employed systematically in order to make the work successful. And for the Labor Movement to oppose in any way the kind of organization necessary for these men who manufacture these new appliances would be nothing short of suicidal for the Labor Movement.

I think you should vote for this resolution. It will bring thousands and thousands of men into the Labor Movement. Men come into the Labor Movement to learn and understand the tremendous revolution that is now before Labor. It is because there were religious organizations based upon discontent that we have religious freedom today. So it must be with the workers in industry who are dissatisfied with their lot and look for better things. They are coming together and there must be leaders, and conscientious leaders in the struggle for that industrial democracy which the world must reach if the white race is to continue to live.

Anything almost that can be done in a mass can be done by machinery. Machinery is the modern slave. Machinery is responsible for twenty per cent of the unemployment, and it is necessary that all the workers that can be brought into the organizations and can be taught the fundamentals of the rights of themselves and humanity should so be brought in, and to me it is a joy to listen to this report.

Let us not forget that each man and woman in this world is helpless by himself. If we should commit the damnable crime of robbing them of their self determination and freedom we are nothing better than a new tyranny taking the place of the old. The cornerstone of the American Federation of Labor is volun-

tary association. Let us respect it, let us teach every man and woman in the Labor Movement to remember it and to practice it and to maintain it.

I have heard many times in the Labor Movement the term "these are my men." A delegate or a labor council or a man who is sent out to organize says, "you are my men." Who the devil is he? That is the way the master talked for centuries of the slaves. It was the same thing for centuries with the serfs, tied to the soil and he belonged to the land owner. And along comes the industrial employer and says, "He belongs to me, he is my man, my employee. You mustn't talk to him, you mustn't interfere with him, he is mine."

Is he? If he is, then the whole of civilization is a lie, our religion is a lie, our American system of government is a lie. Let the American Federation of Labor always remember that fundamentally this is a voluntary association that is pledged to respect the rights of every man affiliated and to work by conciliation and not force.

Delegate Gainor: A question of information. Is there no way of bringing this debate to a close? I am quite convinced that the convention is prepared to vote upon it, that the delegates have their minds made up and with the amount of work we have before us it means that some of it will have to be scrapped.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I recall with no little pride the position that the Detroit Federation of Labor took in this matter when we were interviewed by the representative of the American Federation of Labor on the question of organizing the men in the automobile industry. In 1927, when the president of the Federation sent his representatives to Detroit, we suggested at that time that because of our experiences in endeavoring to organize the men in the auto industry we felt it would be impossible to make any substantial headway unless they were organized in industrial units rather than in craft units. A conference on that subject was held in the office of the American Federation

of Labor at Washington with the Executive Council, after which the Council recommended to the American Federation of Labor the program under which the automobile workers are now being organized.

And when I say "now being organized" I mean just that, because for the first time in the history of the industry the American Federation of Labor has been able to make substantial progress in bringing to the men in the automobile industry the services of the American Federation of Labor.

In 1912, or thereabouts, there was an organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor known as the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union, and with the advent of mass production in the auto industry they set about to organize automobile workers in their union. They changed the name of their union to Automobile, Carriage and Wagon Workers, and they were promptly sat upon by international unions who claimed jurisdiction in the automobile industry and they were unseated from this organization. They no longer are in existence, and for twenty-five years the international unions who at that time claimed jurisdiction have had ample opportunity to organize the men in the auto industry, but until President Green sent the representative of the American Federation of Labor into the City of Detroit to organize these men into Federal labor unions little or no progress had been made.

This report recommends to the Executive Council the establishment of an international charter for automobile workers. That is the one thing that will bring hope to the men in the automobile industry in our locality, and I know the same is true in the industry in other localities.

Over a hundred locals have been established. I don't know what the total membership is, but it must be in the neighborhood of 100,000 and from day to day these men are being told by local representatives of other international unions, by the Communists, by independent organizations and by the employers that

there is no purpose to be served, no end to be gained by joining these Federal unions, because in a short time they will be dismembered, and they will be assigned to other unions.

This report of the committee will settle that question for all time. It will give heart to the men in the auto industry because they will have the opportunity to determine their own future within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. That is the one thing that will make possible the building of a permanent organization in that industry, and I want to say to my friends here who are somewhat fearful that such an organization might take in a few building trades mechanics, that I don't begrudge you that fear, but more important than that is the organization of the industry itself, because every time a new structure is to be erected in one of these basic industries you have to contend with the forces in America that have successfully fought the efforts of Organized Labor in their own factories.

In the auto industry instructions are given that when printing is to be done it must be done in a non-union shop, and when it comes to an erection of a new building there is inserted in the contract the so-called open shop clause that says to the carpenters, the painters and other crafts that expect to work on the job, "you cannot work on this job unless you violate your obligation." Once this fight is over, once the fight is won for the American Federation of Labor the question of whether the printing is to be done by union men or the building erected by union men will be settled for all time. This is more important, to get the maintenance men that you have never been able to get anyhow.

Delegate Madsen: I move the previous question.

President Green: Is there a sufficient number to demand that the previous question be now put? The Chair is of the opinion that there is a genuine demand that the question be now put. The question recurs on the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote, upon which the delegates arose and applauded in an enthusiastic manner.

Resolution No. 165

Your committee reports that Resolution No. 165 is withdrawn by the introducers because a satisfactory adjustment of this jurisdictional dispute has been reached during the convention, and in lieu of the resolution, which the committee recommends, will be withdrawn, this agreement will be substituted in its place.

San Francisco, California,
October 5, 1934.

Mr. J. A. Franklin, President,
Boilermakers' International Union,
Whitcomb Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Sir and Brother—

It is hereby agreed and understood that all workers coming within the jurisdiction of the Boilermakers' International Union, and who may now hold membership in the Oil Workers' International Union, will be turned over to the said Boilermakers' International, upon request of said International.

It is further agreed and understood that the jurisdictional rights of the Boilermakers' International shall be observed, and to again admonish representatives and Local Unions to this effect and, with the understanding that in the event, in the future, an eligible member of the Boilermakers' International Union should find his way into one of the Oil Workers' Local Unions, upon learning of same, that he be immediately transferred to the said Boilermakers' International together with the initiation fee paid.

Fraternally yours,

International Association of Oil Field,
Gas Well and Refinery Workers of
America.

By H. C. FREMMING, President,
J. L. COULTER, Sec'y-Treas.

Approved:

J. A. FRANKLIN, President.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the committee's recommendation that leave to withdraw the resolution be granted and that this agreement be made part of the record.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 10, 20, 32, 38, 57, 76, 91, 101, 124, 126 and 186, dealing with the

question of social insurance, were reported upon in a group, as follows:

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention go on record as favoring the creation of a National Unemployment Insurance Law to pay unemployed a sum not less than \$12 a week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a tax be placed on any additional labor saving machinery that may be installed, to pay for this unemployment insurance.

Old Age Pensions—Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, Many men and women whose work, brains and action have helped in building the great food industry, with its billions of dollars of wealth, are now old and poor and are depending for support upon charitable institutions, municipal poorhouses, and soup kitchens, despite the fact that they by their toil contributed to the building of all modern industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to bring about the enactment by the Congress of the United States of America of old age pensions and out-of-work insurance to take the place of existing charities and doles.

Advocating Federal Unemployment Insurance Law

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Louis E. Langer, Z. L. Freedman, Morris Bialis, Israel Feinberg and Giacomo Dinola, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record in favor of unemployment insurance for all workers as an instrumentality of major relief for periodic and chronic unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The need for such legislation today is greater than ever in view

of the undiminished number of millions of unemployed in industry in every section of the country; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled, in the City of San Francisco, continue unremittently its drive for the passage of a compulsory Federal unemployment insurance law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the administration of the insurance funds created by this law be left to each and every industry, and that the workers in each industry have a paramount voice in its administration.

Old Age Pensions

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Edward Stubbe, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18463.

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced despite the stagger plan of the NRA, the CCC camps and the PWA programs and there are still substantially 12,000,000 jobless men and women in our country who can only be provided for when adequate unemployment and social insurance laws are enacted; and

WHEREAS, Untold thousands of old men and women after a lifetime of hard work and struggle are forced to spend their last years in poverty and want; and

WHEREAS, This deplorable condition must in the nature of our economic and social system become worse instead of better; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Lewis unemployment insurance bill is pitifully inadequate to cope with this condition; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an adequate unemployment insurance law, wherein all unemployed men and women shall receive not less than ten dollars (\$10) per week during period of unemployment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the enactment of an old age insurance plan for all men and women of sixty (60) years of age and over, who shall have no other income, such persons to be paid the sum of ten dollars (\$10) per week for as long as they shall live.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The general sentiment in the American Federation of Labor unions

is in favor of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill as is evident from the endorsement of this bill by over 2,000 American Federation of Labor locals, four International unions, 30 Central Labor Bodies, four State Federations of Labor, and innumerable fraternal organizations to which American Federation of Labor members belong; and

WHEREAS, This pressure of the workers forced the introduction into Congress of the Workers' Bill, known as H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced despite the stagger plan of the NRA, the CCC camps, and the Public Works program, and there are still substantially 16,000,000 jobless men and women in this country, and this number is still growing by tens of thousands, as evidenced in the City of Flint; and

WHEREAS, This large number of unemployed and destitute people is, through no fault of their own, and the welfare of these people can only be safeguarded by enactment of the Bill, H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, The leading officials of the American Federation of Labor, aware of the sentiment of the rank and file, are nevertheless backing the Wagner Bill which will not provide for the millions now unemployed, and this is a scheme designed by the employers and the government to sidetrack a real unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), is the only bill which will force a system of unemployment insurance for every unemployed worker out of the funds of the Government and the employers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Local Union No. 18512 go on record as endorsing the bill, and pledging to put pressure on Congress for its enactment into law and that a national drive for endorsement of the bill in every Local shall immediately be started to bring greater mass pressure for adoption of this measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the bill's enactment into law that the American Federation of Labor demand adequate relief for the unemployed from State and city authorities.

Social Legislation

Resolution No. 76—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The richest country in the world finds itself unable to cope adequately with the industrial problems produced

by our technological civilization—notably unemployment, old age, sickness and injury; and

WHEREAS, Even the most powerful unions of skilled workers, despite their herculean efforts to protect their members against these industrial hazards, find their treasuries depleted and themselves impotent to cope with these problems; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief in the need for the establishment of government unemployment insurance for the benefit of workers, including teachers and other public employees, expense not to fall on the workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate a campaign for Federal Social Legislation including unemployment, old age, sickness, injury, and maternity insurance.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In its report to the Cincinnati Convention in 1932 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in urging the adoption of unemployment insurance, did not deem it advisable to take a stand as between unemployment reserves and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, Discussions and studies since 1932 have clarified the issue and established the fact that company reserves, even if administered by the State, cannot meet the problems of the unemployed, since such a plan is in the nature of savings rather than insurance, while industries such as the building trades, textile industry, clothing industry, et cetera, which are constantly confronted with unemployment, cannot possibly build up funds for the workers in those industries; and

WHEREAS, It has become evident that any system which would compel wage earners to depend upon their own employers for unemployment benefits will result in the creation of another company welfare scheme, which will tend to establish another company union device and prevent the effective organization of true trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, It is this realization of what it will do against unionism that has caused hostile employers' organizations in several States to sponsor nefarious bills aimed to set up privately controlled systems of unemployment reserves; and

WHEREAS, It is the State Federations of Labor which are responsible for the enactment of Labor's legislative program in their respective States, and many of

the State Federations after studying the facts have definitely declared themselves in unalterable opposition to unemployment reserves; and

WHEREAS, The members of Organized Labor look to the American Federation of Labor for a definite decision which shall eliminate the misunderstandings and misrepresentations resulting from the decision of the 1932 convention at Cincinnati, which voted to await further consideration of the basic choice between unemployment reserves and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The history of the past decade has shown clearly that the recurrent rise and fall of business activity creates in periods of dullness extreme unemployment and human distress, which in time accentuate the depression of trade and industry; and

WHEREAS, The individual worker at the present time cannot set aside from meager and uncertain earnings any sufficient reserves for his own protection; and

WHEREAS, Public necessity and social justice demand that industry rather than public welfare should assume the responsibility for maintaining the employees periodically thrown out of work; and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy and dangers of maladministration of individual company reserves are plainly obvious upon any consideration of the recent experiences of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby declare itself as unalterably opposed to any plan of unemployment insurance, State or Federal, which is based on the principle of separate company reserves, and demands that only such plans be considered as include one pooled fund for the State or Nation as a whole, to which all employers in the State or Nation should contribute, and to which workers in all industries should look for compensation; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare itself vigorously in favor of a system of compulsory unemployment insurance for the Nation and the respective States on the basis of pooled funds for each as a whole.

Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Vallejo Central Labor Council in regular session has endorsed all the provisions of the Lundeen Bill, known as H. R. 7598 (73d Congress, second session), and commonly known by

the title "The Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Act"; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention approve all the provisions of H. R. 7598 and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to actively support this measure in the coming session of Congress.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, There is strong sentiment in local unions of National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in favor of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), as is evident by the endorsement of this bill by over 2,000 Local Unions, 30 Central Labor Bodies, 4 State Federations of Labor, 4 International Unions, i.e., United Textile Workers of America, International Molders' Union of North America, Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers of America, American Association of Tin and Steel Workers of America; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers International Union, and many fraternal and benefit organizations to which members of unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor belong; and

WHEREAS, This sentiment of organized workers brought about the introduction in Congress of H. R. 7598; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment has not been materially reduced by the NRA, the CCC camps and the Public Works program, and there are still, according to official American Federation of Labor figures, some 10,000,000 jobless men and women in this country (this estimate added to by ruined farmers seeking employment in industrial centers, housewives looking for jobs because of unemployment of the breadwinner, the natural increase of workers due to the coming of working age of some 2,000,000 boys and girls each year, bringing the total to some 16,000,000 or 17,000,000) who will be provided for in a systematic manner only when H. R. 7598 is adopted; and

WHEREAS, Leading officials of the American Federation of Labor undoubtedly aware of the sentiment of the rank and file expressed by Local Union endorsements and other avenues of expression, nevertheless continue to back the Wagner Bill, a bill that does not even pretend to provide for the millions now unemployed, and which must, therefore, be considered a scheme designed by employers and their government advisors to sidetrack genuine and effective unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 7598 is the only bill which proposes a system of unemploy-

ment insurance for all unemployed workers, to be financed jointly by the Government and the employers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as endorsing H. R. 7598 and pledge the resources of the organizations it represents to put pressure on Congress for its immediate enactment into law; it agrees further that a national campaign for the securing of endorsements of H. R. 7598 in every Local union of the National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be begun at once; and be it further

RESOLVED, That pending the enactment of H. R. 7598, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention instructs the Executive Council to demand and press for relief for the unemployed, based on established figures for adequate living standards, from State and City authorities.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, It is no longer a matter of dispute that in the United States there is an army of permanently unemployed workers numbering more than ten million even when we accept the most conservative estimates; and

WHEREAS, This immense army of unemployed workers is a threat to the wage and social standards of the entire membership of organized labor and all wage workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The only proposal that deals adequately with the problem of the support of these millions of unemployed workers, on the basis of keeping them connected with the labor movement of which they were a part when employed, is the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, commonly known as H. R. 7598, now before the Congress of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That various other measures are before the Congress of the United States, none of which are adequate in their provisions for meeting the extremely vital problem of maintaining the unemployed in this country at a decent standard of living, and the support by Congressmen and Senators for H. R. 7598 and other so-called unemployment insurance measures being of a formal character, this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends to its affiliated National and International Unions, Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor and Federal Labor Unions, the preparation for and the calling of a 24-hour general strike on a national scale, the first week in January, to correspond with the open-

ing of the Seventy-fourth Session of United States Congress, to focus the attention of the toiling population upon the necessity for the passage of H. R. 7598, in order to bring proper pressure in the form of a gigantic petition to Congress.

Health Insurance

Resolution No. 186—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its program for social justice has recorded its approval of old age pensions and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic hazards of sickness continually threaten the security of the worker and his family; and

WHEREAS, Recent studies show the need for a better distribution of adequate medical services; and

WHEREAS, There is an increasing discussion of health insurance as a means of distributing adequate medical services; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor institute a study of health insurance.

Upon these eleven resolutions the committee reported as follows:

The substance of these eleven resolutions are concerned with the broad subject of Social Insurance ranging from Unemployment Insurance to the more recent discussions of Health Insurance. The methods that are recommended differ substantially. We shall discuss first the general principles involved and then the methods proposed for carrying this plan into effect.

The Cincinnati convention in 1932 by unanimous action placed the American Federation of Labor on record in favor of Compulsory Employment Insurance. Three years before, the Toronto convention gave an equally effective expression to the conviction on the part of this Federation that the time had arrived in American industry when it was in the interest of general welfare that provision should be made for old age pensions. Taken together with Workmen's Compensation this provides for the major hazards of industry. The experience of the passing months has confirmed your Committee in the soundness of their declara-

tion in favor of social insurance. Your committee therefore recommends concurrence with the intent of these several resolutions looking toward the endorsement of this proposal.

The method as proposed in these resolutions varies and in some cases is contradictory. The proposal, for example, in Resolution No. 10 for tax on labor saving machinery while of service in providing a brake on labor displacement would be wholly inadequate.

The proposal in Resolution No. 20 to secure action by the Congress of the United States presents difficult legal questions so far as individual states are concerned. We believe in Federal aid for such a program. We cannot concur in such a plan of national legislation.

Resolution No. 32 would separate and allocate insurance funds to each and every industry and give to Labor in each industry a "paramount voice" in its administration, while Resolution No. 91 unalterably opposes any plan of separation of insurance funds based on either companies or industries and demands a pooling of all insurance funds, State and Nation.

The plan of Resolution No. 38 to provide unlimited unemployment benefits is inconsistent with sound policies of social insurance, and is disapproved. A proposal to put the age of beneficiaries of old age pensions at 60 presents a problem in finance which while desirable as an objective is impractical at present.

The purpose of Resolution No. 76 to include maternity insurance to the list of plans for social insurance is consistent with this general philosophy and is approved. To suggest, however, that teachers who already enjoy a pension system should be included in such an insurance scheme seems to be unwise. It would be better to make such systems both sound and universal in application.

Resolution No. 101 is referred to only as the Lundeen Bill and which the American Federation of Labor has declined to approve heretofore, while Resolution 124 recommends House Bill 7598. While the simplicity of this later proposal may be

appealing at first glance, nevertheless your committee non-concurs in the recommendation, though it agrees with that part of the resolution providing for the payment of relief on the basis of adequate living standards.

The proposal of Resolution No. 126 that there should be a "24-hour general strike on a national scale" the first week of January to focus attention on the necessity for passage of House Resolution 7598 is fantastic. It is as impossible of achievement as it is impractical as a method. We recommend non-concurrence in this resolution.

The proposal of Resolution 186 of the Executive Council Institute of Study of Health Insurance to provide for a better distribution of adequate medical services to wage earners is both sound and desirable. We recommend concurrence.

In Summary

Your committee recommends the whole-hearted endorsement by this Convention of the general proposals for Social Insurance, in line with action which has already been taken by previous conventions; and of study of those other phases of Social Insurance upon which previous conventions have not already acted. We concur with those proposals for support of Social Insurance that have been set forth in the legislative program of the Federation and non-concur with methods that have been advanced which are at variance with this sound and established policy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: I move that the rules be suspended and that we remain in session until six o'clock this evening, and if a night session is required that the night session be held tomorrow night.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committees as follows:

To Increase Legislative Activity

Resolution No. 216, by Committee on Resolutions. Upon its own initiative, your

committee submits the following statement and recommendations:

Your committee is of the opinion that Labor's legislative necessities are becoming more and more urgent, and must continue to be so because of the far-reaching industrial problems being made a matter of national legislation; therefore, the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor should be strengthened as may be required by the Executive Council, so that its activities can be increased and its work made more effective.

This necessary end may be secured by increasing the members of the Legislative Committee, or by having the full membership of the Legislative Committee confined exclusively to legislative work while Congress is in session, and any such other methods as the Council may determine, which will increase the effectiveness of the legislative work done by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give immediate consideration to the steps necessary to carry out the recommendations of your committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 12, 62 and 99, dealing with the subject of the NRA, were reported on in a group. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Program to Make NRA Principles Effective

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The working men and women of America, through forced oppression and certain forms of practical slavery throughout a great number of years, have had instilled in them a great fear of their employer, and therefore have a reluctance toward opposing said employer in any wish or will, and have not answered the call of the New Deal as they may have desired; and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Administration, said workers have been given the legal right, by labor legislation, to self-organization into bona fide trade

unions; they have, however, only their own meager wages whereby they can create a fund to fight for that which the law has guaranteed, as compared with the gigantic financial institutions erected by the thoroughly organized corporations; and

WHEREAS, Said corporations through their financial backing (which amounts to millions) have hired highly learned and talented attorneys to aid them in evading the absolute letter of the aforesaid labor legislation, and in some instances have almost defied any rulings contrary to their own wishes; and

WHEREAS, Though the working people have organized, in answer to the call to provide means of creating more employment, to help relieve the suffering in our great country, there are so many cases of injustice throughout our country, that because of lack of finance to hire talented representatives they do not possess the national acclaim or prominence to require immediate inspection of said cases, which results in untold suffering forced upon the working people of this great nation by the heartless and sometimes seemingly inhuman employer; and

WHEREAS, Through machinations of said employers they are forcing their employees into practical starvation, to gain their ends and frustrate the possibility of equitable bargaining between the producer and owner, to such an extent as to threaten extinction of the entire purpose of the National Recovery Act as intended by the Administration; and

WHEREAS, Through the gigantic and moneyed efforts of said corporations and employers, they have instilled into the minds of countless thousands of workers, who represent a majority of the Government and have patriotically tried to follow and back the wishes of the Administration, a wonder, as to the real wishes and intentions of said Administration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, a group of true-spirited and patriotic citizens of this great country, self-organized into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, a bona fide Trade Union, do hereby respectfully request the Honorable Administration of the United States of America to consider the following points, as stated, for the reasons submitted above and the reasons accompanying each point:

1. Enforce the Blue Eagle, as a means to determine who is favorable to a true democratic government of the people, for the people and by the people.

2. Withdraw said Blue Eagle from all who, through their own actions or as proven by outside forces, have violated the rulings accompanying the display of the Blue Eagle, and publicize said corporations, industries, or firms throughout the entire United States, in order that all may know them by their deeds.

3. Publicize throughout the nation the necessity of the great masses to take notice of said actions, to enable the Administration to carry on efficiently their program of recovery, to insure plenty for all in this great land of plenty.

4. Restrict all Government orders, either direct or indirect, for any and all types of material for the Navy, Army, Federal buildings, or any other Federal contracts, large or small, from all corporations, industries, or firms proven to be against the great masses, who represent approximately seventy-five per cent of the government but have been kept under a greedy, self-interested few by the above-mentioned methods. This means being used to help that grand army of working people fight a more equal battle against the gigantic financial institutions of the aforesaid corporations, industries and firms, in order to restore our country to a sound economic basis, with food, clothing and decency for all.

5. All Labor Boards created through the recent legislation passed by Congress, be instructed to use every bit of power granted them by said legislation, and use same as quickly as possible on cases now confronting them, in an effective manner, especially where Labor has proven its charges, in order to more quickly solve the enigma now facing this country, give new hope to the masses in the Administration, relieve untold cases of dire and unnecessary suffering and set a precedent for other nations to lift the drastic situation throughout the entire world.

6. If necessary, to establish all this machinery, pick the most prominent case in each industry and carry it through to the finish, imposing all the stipulated fines for violation of the law upon the employer, where such violations are justly proven in the minds of the members of the aforesaid Boards. However, during the settlement of such picked cases, authorized investigators should be appointed to see that the hundreds who might suffer through this necessarily extended action shall not want for the proper nourishment until said cases are ended, not forgetting the hundreds of little children (future citizens) who are always involved.

7. We are submitting a copy of this program to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Administrator General Hugh S. Johnson, the National Labor Relations Board, the Steel Labor Relations Board, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and President Michael F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America. We respectfully present this seven-point program for consideration to all parties and hope that if merit is found in same all groups of our Brother and Sister workers throughout the United States will submit a duplicate of this program in order that the Honorable Administration

may know the true sentiments of the majority of our great Government; therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the aforementioned group of citizens undersigned, as duly elected representatives of some 5,000 steel workers, in the above named organization, do hereby pray that we have thought of a solution to the problems now facing this, our country, and, as citizens of such, do offer our staunchest backing to this program, which we feel to be truly aligned with the policies by our Government officials for a New Deal, as outlined by the National Recovery Act.

**National Industrial Recovery Act
Supports Principles of Freedom**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In 1933 the Congress of the United States in dealing with the political and economic problems forced upon the nation by the practical collapse of industry and finance in 1929, enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Their action was a "method" of saving the nation from the economic problems which had overwhelmed the people; and

WHEREAS, This "method" is now being challenged by many of the leaders in industry and finance whose incapacity for the responsibilities they had assumed were the principal causes for the collapse of 1929; and

WHEREAS, Other countries in dealing with their national, political and economic problems adopted other "methods" such as communism, in Russia; fascism, in Italy; nazism, in Germany, and their equivalent in Hungary and other countries in Europe; and

WHEREAS, These "methods" were accompanied by the establishment of dictatorships and the destruction of free speech, free press, free political institutions, and also by the immediate destruction of free and voluntary national trade union organizations; and

WHEREAS, The "method" adopted by the Congress of the United States upon the recommendations of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was based upon the maintenance and exercise of the institutions of freedom which, from the beginning, have been the cornerstone of our American form of government; and

WHEREAS, Under this American "method" of free speech, free press, and free political institutions have been protected, and in addition the American wage earners have been guaranteed the right to free trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made in several quarters to modify and revise the

"method" which has been established, and to substitute controls which would modify or destroy the free institutions to which American workmen are entitled; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare its approval of the principles of freedom contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act, and pledge itself to support these free institutions at all hazards.

**Endorsing President Roosevelt's
Recovery Program**

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For a series of national administrations preceding that of Franklin D. Roosevelt the United States successively has suffered from a failure to realize the vital place in the Nation's well-being held by the workers of this country, and the fact that no part of the Nation may prosper and succeed unless labor also may maintain its fair share in the prosperity and success; and

WHEREAS, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the progressive social, industrial and economic legislation he has sponsored and has proposed for the future has given unmistakable proof of his realization of labor's important integral part in national development and progress, and has expressed a sympathetic understanding of the desirability of carrying this program into immediate effect; and

WHEREAS, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his most recent pronouncements, and in the face of frequent attacks by a powerful though shortsighted opposition, has again given proof of possession of the requisite energy and courage to continue his efforts to make such social, industrial and economic legislation effective in the future; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, wholeheartedly and enthusiastically endorses the program as heretofore outlined by the President of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention express implicit confidence and full faith in the personal integrity and courage of our Chief Executive which enables him steadfastly to pursue his program towards consummation, without faltering under an opposition of a strength which would dismay an official of less integrity; and be it further

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and to the press.

These three resolutions deal with the subject of the NRA already reported on at length upon the Executive Council's Report on this and directly related subjects.

Resolution No. 12 is directed solely to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and contains a set of pronouncements submitted by this organization to the President of the United States. While we are in accord with the spirit and purpose of this resolution, nothing we might do would add or detract from the action thus taken by this organization on this subject.

Resolution No. 62 attempts to describe briefly the principles underlying the NRA, and presents a comparative statement of dictatorial policies abroad against the democratic methods followed by our Nation and its Administration, and in which viewpoint your committee concurs.

Resolution No. 99 expresses deep and keen appreciation to President Roosevelt for the progressive, social, industrial and economic legislation he has sponsored and may hereafter advance, and pledges support in this program, in all of which your committee concurs.

Summarized, your committee believes the subjects embraced in these resolutions have been fully and adequately dealt with in the report of your Committee on the Executive Council's Report, and that therefore no further action is required other than approval of comments and recommendations above noted and as previously acted upon by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Provide for the Employment of American Citizens on All Contract Construction, Maintenance and Repair Work in the Canal Zone

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate H. A. McConaughey, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operation and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose will be expended in benefiting, through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States except in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions should be filled by American citizens, by the Army and Navy, in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: artisan, baggage-master baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the Legislative Committee to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no persons other than citizens of the United States shall be employed in the positions outlined above by the United States Army or the United States Navy or their contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Government Provision for Representation at Washington of Organized Labor in Canal Zone

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate H. A. McConaughey, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present Administration has adopted a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal have found it necessary, because of their geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor make every effort, through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of Organized Labor on the Canal Zone be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions, regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retention of the Panama Railroad Steamship Service for the Benefit of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Shannon Committee in 1932 recommended the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship service; and

WHEREAS, This service is of vital importance to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, as it provides reduced rates for transportation, enabling these employees to take much needed vacations in the United States, in order to recuperate from the effects of a tropical climate; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of American citizens, employees, and dependents, of the United States Government, as well as personnel of the United States Army and Navy and their dependents, who are in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama, 2,000 miles away from home, are dependent on this steamship line for transportation; and

WHEREAS, Living costs on the Canal Zone are slightly reduced because of low

freight rates allowed the Supply Department and the employees on freight shipments; and

WHEREAS, Private steamship companies would undoubtedly raise the tariff rates on both freight and passenger traffic if the Panama Railroad Steamship Line was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, The private steamship lines operating between the Canal Zone and the United States ports are not equipped to handle peak loads of employees going on recuperative leave; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship line, and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to continue the operation of this line so that the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees will be assured reasonable and reliable passenger and freight transportation to and from the Canal Zone.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Associated Press

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Percy Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Associated Press continues the operation of its telegraph system on an anti-union basis and fails even to acknowledge communications from the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America demanding collective bargaining, in defiance of Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, upon receipt of said demands, proceeded to coerce its telegraphers to state in writing and over their signatures whether or not they desired to be represented in collective bargaining by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press ignored Resolution No. 7 of the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations thereon except to deny the contents of said resolution and report; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union now represents a very substantial majority of these telegraphers who desire collective bargaining through the medium of that organization; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press is engaged in the gathering and distribution of news in competition with three unionized press services, namely, International News Service, United Press, and Universal Service; and

WHEREAS, The commodity in which these organizations deal is news; and

WHEREAS, Under present industrial conditions labor organizations, the American Federation of Labor, National and International Unions, State and City Labor bodies have been the source of a very considerable and important proportion of the news; and

WHEREAS, Such news has been furnished or made available to the Associated Press on equal terms with the aforementioned three union press services despite its unfair treatment of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press shows no sign of receding from its granite-faced opposition to the rights of its workers to organize; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its condemnation of the labor policy of the Associated Press; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is requested to study the advisability of recommending to the American Federation of Labor, National and International Unions, State Federations and City Central Bodies that they refrain from furnishing to the Associated Press news items or other information and to refrain from co-operating with that service in any manner calculated to enable it to continue in unfair competition with its unionized competitors until such time as the Executive Council feels that a more civilized attitude to its telegraphers entitles it to equal consideration with the fair press services.

The introducer of this resolution appeared before your committee with a substitute which he desired to have considered instead of the original resolution which had been sent to him for introduction. Your committee cannot recommend approval of that portion of the resolution which calls for the boycott of a news agency. Your committee recommends that the resolution and the substitute prepared by the delegate be referred to the Executive Council with the convention's request that the Executive Council give every possible assistance to the commercial telegraphers in their effort to secure the application and enforcement of Section 7-a, NIRA. Your committee further recommends that this convention condemn the unfair and un-

justified attitude of the Associated Press toward the commercial telegraphers.

Delegate Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America: It is the intent of all organized telegraphers in the United States and Canada to further the social and economic interests of their fellow craftsmen who are employed by the Associated Press.

And we are certain that the strength of Organized Labor, coupled with undisclosed elements, soon will bring trade union recognition from that great news-gathering organization.

Union men, free from oppressive supervision, have the work of lining up the telegraphers in hand, and they are forceful and mental enough and have means enough to do the work well.

Our brothers of the dot and dash, as well as those who work the remarkable electric printer machines for the Associated Press, are entitled to better wages, better working conditions, and a greater feeling of independence as citizens.

On or about September 20, the Associated Press was conducting a poll of its traffic employees, asking them whether or not they wished to be represented by the officers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America, in collective bargaining.

I am authorized to state that the Commercial Telegraphers' Union proposes a confidential poll of Associated Press telegrapher employees, to be conducted preferably, by the National Labor Relations Board. This would give proxy signers and others an opportunity to express themselves without incurring employer displeasure.

Resolution No. 47, which you have just heard read, asks the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to consider the advisability of recommending to the Federation that it refrain from furnishing the Associated Press any information or data with which news items may be constructed. This recommendation to remain in effect as long as the Associated Press maintains its non-union policy.

In this connection, it is right to say that the United Press and the International News and Universal Service have had contracts with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for thirty years, to their mutual, harmonious advantage.

To reflect: With the locomotive came the telegraph to dispatch trains, the telephone followed, to promote social intercourse and facilitate business relations—the radio is here—television is close by—the amazing electron will probably be speeded to a million miles a second, and then an ultimate may be discovered that will mean universal instantaneity! What will this reveal?

Thomas Edison once said that "In five hundred years we shall just commence to suspect the uses to which electricity can be put."

I take it for granted that nature has not been yielding her secrets solely to build up and comfort the functionaries of the Associated Press; nor, indeed, for any similar group of assimilationists; but for the general service of the world.

The telegraphers of the Associated Press wish to be free from their non-union harness and appear in the open as citizens—men who have to dissemble to hold jobs, in time become revolutionists at heart.

Our bitterest antagonists are men who love authority far more than they love either justice or money. They are small balloons dominated by a big balloon.

In connection with this resolution, our International Union requests the delegates at this convention to call upon publisher members of the Associated Press in their respective home localities, and ask them to make representations to the chief executive of the Associated Press, urging unionization of its traffic employees within the American Federation of Labor.

Action on your part will help the cause of progress.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 47 was unanimously adopted.

Proposing a Resident Commissioner for Canal Zone

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone), Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Territories of Alaska and Hawaii are represented in the House of Representatives by delegates; and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are represented in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone has no Legislature but is governed directly by laws enacted by Congress and the executive orders of the President; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no official representation which will enable their wishes to be properly represented to the President and the Congress of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, approve the policy of establishing a resident commissionership for the Canal Zone similar to such positions now in effect in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor will endeavor to have an Act creating such a resident commissionership approved by Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Application of United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512, for Remission of Back Dues

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

The members and officers of Federal Labor Unions, United Automobile Workers of America, Flint, Mich., having first been approved in regular business meeting on their respective meeting nights, do hereby appeal to this convention of the American Federation of Labor now convened to declare a moratorium on back dues for a period of one year from October 1, 1934.

The members of these Federal Labor Unions, United Automobile Workers of America, having seasonal employment and for the past three years having just a few months work per year make this appeal for the good and welfare of all concerned and for the purpose of bring-

ing back into the organization, without too much hardship, these members who are delinquent and no longer in good standing. Feeling that our strength depends upon our membership and the support of these members as well as those in good standing and still being in a stage of organization, we do appeal to this assembly to give this matter serious consideration.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discrimination Against Older Workers Under Workmen's Compensation Laws

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, It has been forcibly brought to the attention of our membership that the laws of many States give an advantage to business and industry in the way of settling their own claims and in the fixing of rates paid by industry to the State in accordance with the amount paid out by the industry as compensation; and said industries, assuming that men of 40 or 45 years and over are susceptible to occupational disease and injury, are discharging men who have given many years—the best years of their lives—to those industries solely for the purpose of cutting down the cost to them of operating under intended humanitarian law; and

WHEREAS, In other States private insurance companies operating under workmen's compensation acts are offering cheaper rates for protection if the mass of the workers are under 40 to 45 years of age; and

WHEREAS, Such laws have a direct tendency to cause the discharge of men at the age of forty years or over, when they should be reaping the just reward from an employer whom they have served faithfully for many years; and

WHEREAS, Many American industries are demanding the last ounce of energy from their workers at an early age, only to relegate them to the human industrial scrap heap as they approach middle age; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we of Federal Labor Union No. 18536, of the United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, pray of you the delegates to this convention assembled, to pledge your support to the modification of workmen's compensation laws in such states where the aforesaid

evils exist; and that it shall be the will of the American Federation of Labor that the various State Federations, City Central Bodies, National and International unions and Federal labor unions of those States where such laws are being administered, exercise every influence to change and modify said laws, so that no advantage is gained by the employer in discharging a law-abiding citizen of forty years or over, who desires to work and to exchange an honest, faithful effort for a saving wage.

As past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have taken action upon the subject matter of the resolution your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the declaration of previous conventions in approving of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Act as the model Workmen's Compensation law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 55, 171 and 200, dealing with the subject of the radio were grouped as follows:

Radio Educational Program

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Robert Franklin, Taft (California) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There is a crying need for a more thorough exposition of the true meaning of the American Federation of Labor movement in American life; and

WHEREAS, Union periodicals, union speakers and union organizers are unable to reach a very large percentage of the individuals who make up the general public; and

WHEREAS, A large number of this general public must rely on papers, community leaders and employers hostile to the labor movement for their impressions of the American Union movement; and

WHEREAS, Various State Federations and other affiliated bodies have effectively influenced public opinion, in favor of the Labor movement, by the presentation of radio programs in the interest of Organized Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention adopt a fuller use of radio broadcasting, as a means of influencing the opinion of farmers, unorganized workers, members of company unions and the general public to a more favorable consideration of the American Federation of Labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend that the Executive Board of

the American Federation of Labor undertake the preparation of at least thirty programs each year, such as dramatization of Labor history, organization speeches, and speeches to convince the American public of the true importance of the American Labor movement in the upbuilding and maintenance of the American standard of living, and that the Executive Board make these programs available for presentation by electric transcription to the general public, through the various available broadcasting stations.

Radio Facilities for Organizations Operating on a Non-profit Basis

Resolution No. 171 — By Delegates Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Jack Gill, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States recognizing the value of radio communication has reserved control of radio as a public property, placing authority to issue licenses for temporary periods to a governmental agency, namely, the Federal Communications Commission acting for the Congress; and

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress recognizing the growing dangers of a radio monopoly directed the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and to report to Congress prior to February 1, 1935, what percentage of radio facilities should be allocated to organizations or associations operating on a non-profit basis; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the value of radio as a means of molding public opinion and also the present tendency toward monopolistic control; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the Federal Communications Commission and the Congress of the United States insisting that not less than 50 per cent of all Radio facilities be allocated to organizations or associations operating on a non-profit basis.

Radio Allocation

Resolution No. 200—By Delegates John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; George W. Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor; Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; J. Sid Tiller, Georgia State Federation of Labor; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Adolph Fritz, Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, As a result of the monopolistic control of radio on the part of national networks, controlled as they are by centralized financial interests, which networks defy the law of the land in maintaining "Yellow Dog" company unions, thus enslaving their workers; and

WHEREAS, As most all of the powerful radio stations are the property of and controlled by these centralized financial interests which deprive local communities of programs on educational and other subjects which would advance the cultural interests of the American people during the evening hours when the workers have the opportunity of being at home; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recognized the unfairness of this monopolistic condition wherein radio broadcasting is under the control of a privileged few and has directed the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and to report to Congress before February 1, 1935, what percentage of radio facilities should be allocated to organizations operating on a non-profit basis, which bodies are organized for the purpose of advancing the cultural and educational interests of the American people; and

WHEREAS, The privilege of and power to operate radio stations has been specifically reserved as a public property to Congress, and Congress has designated the Federal Communications Commission to act as an agency of Congress only; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is opposed to the continued allocation of public properties to financial interests wherein a privileged few profit at the expense of the people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its militant opposition to the allocation of more than fifty per cent of this public property to organizations operating for private profit; and further, that the American Federation of Labor notify the Federal Communications Commission and Congress of our opposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we register our protest against the continuance in public office of any members of the Federal Communications Commission who vote to surrender more than fifty per cent of this public property—radio—to profit making bodies.

As Resolutions Nos. 55, 171 and 200 dealing with the all-important question of the radio, its regulation and the necessity of maintaining its freedom so that this great avenue of communication may be used for public information, as well as entertainment, your Committee recommends that this convention instruct the Executive Council to prepare dramatiza-

tion of Labor History, statements of the principles and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, organization addresses and other addresses dealing with the problems of Labor for electrical transcription so that these will be available to all broadcasting stations.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to petition the Federal Communications Commission so that fifty (50) per cent of all radio facilities will be allocated to organizations or to associations operating upon a non-profit basis and that should it become necessary to accomplish this purpose that adequate legislation be introduced in Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Out-of-Work Stamps for Members of Automobile Workers Union

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Frank Johnson, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18512.

WHEREAS, The auto industry is a seasonal occupation and the members of the Federal unions lose about three months' employment per year, due to the change of models in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Buick Federal Labor Union No. 18512, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of Flint, Michigan, go on record as requesting the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to give consideration to the possibility of arrangement to issue out-of-work dues stamps to above mentioned membership; be it further

RESOLVED, That out-of-work dues stamps be furnished to members for all the time they are laid off during the season; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Washington sacrifice the 35 cents per capita tax per month; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

As the relationship of a Federal Labor Union to the American Federation of Labor is similar to that of a local union to its National or International Union, your committee refers the resolution to the Executive Council with the recom-

mendation that should the purpose of the resolution be allowed, that the necessary amendment to the constitution be prepared, and that it be submitted to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ohl: May I ask whether the committee considered Resolution No. 106 in connection with this resolution?

President Green: The committee advises me that separate action was taken on the resolution about which you inquire.

Delegate Anderson: I am interested in this resolution because I represent an automobile Federal Labor Union. The greatest issue we have to contend with in the automobile industry is the seasonal layoff due to the changing of models and the hiring of new employees each year to rush out the new models. As soon as the rush period is over these employees are laid off until the next rush period begins.

The employees within the automobile industry have been hastily organized, their funds are small, and unless some agreement is brought about so that these members may remain in good standing in this American Federation of Labor, we will have a large task to reorganize them into our Labor Unions. Therefore, I hope that the officers of the American Federation of Labor will give this due consideration, and bring about some means of issuing out-of-work stamps to these unemployed members. If you do not do that these men are liable to join up with some other organization where the dues are not so high, or they are liable to join company unions where they do not have to pay any dues at all.

In order to maintain our unions intact, and make them more effective to the Labor Movement, I feel that the officers of the American Federation of Labor should consent to issuing out-of-work stamps to the members of these unions.

President Green: The Chair desires to say that it is the purpose of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to be helpful in that situation. We are trying to formulate a plan by which we can be helpful, because we realize that the problem is a very serious one.

I want to assure the delegates from this Federal Labor Union that we will do everything that lies within our power, governed, of course, by the limitations placed upon us by the Constitution. I think we can find a way by which we can be helpful.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not exempt from dues payments and assessments members that have become unemployed through no fault of their own, or that may have become victimized or blacklisted for union activity; and

WHEREAS, Due to the breakdown of the present economic system, these periods of unemployment are long, and threaten to become of longer duration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the affiliated National and International unions to provide a clause in their constitutions, exempting their unemployed and partially unemployed members from payment of dues and assessments for the entire period of such unemployment, or where the period of partial unemployment exceeds one-half the standard union monthly hours.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Boulder Dam

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Seventy-third Congress of the United States enacted H. R. 9002 to provide relief to Government contractors whose costs of performance are increased because of compliance with the Act approved June 16, 1933, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, It is understood that Congress enacted this measure for the purpose of giving government contractors relief from conditions arising from the application of the labor provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Wages of employment on the Boulder Dam project are lower than those for similar employment on like projects in progress of construction in other portions of the United States, and these low wages were established at Boulder Dam because contractors took advantage of the widespread unemployment which existed; and

WHEREAS, Wages of employes on the Boulder Dam project while extremely low are paid for labor in a locality where the costs of living are as high or considerably higher than those existing in other communities; and

WHEREAS, The climatic conditions and physical hazards are such as to bring casualties among the workers far above the normal; and

WHEREAS, The letting of the Boulder Dam contract previous to the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act leaves the contractors unregulated by any code or any agreements; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use their influence with the Secretary of the Department of the Interior and such other administrative agencies as have authority in the situation so that wages being paid on the Boulder Dam project will be increased and the hours of labor be reduced; and be it further

RESOLVED, That should it appear that additional legislation is required to accomplish this purpose that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have such legislation prepared and introduced into the Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Employment of Union Accountants

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Walter M. Cook of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 of New York.

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 has accountants as members who are both certified and not certified, and whose office force must also be members of our union; and

WHEREAS, A number of unions also affiliated with the American Federation of Labor employ these union accountants who give satisfactory service, and we

appeal to the trades unions who need accounting work to employ only union accountants; and

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the cardinal principles of organized labor is co-operation and the determination to help and assist each other; and

WHEREAS, The union accountant members are held responsible by our union for the efficient and honest discharge of their duty in the premises; be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, October 1, 1934, to endorse this request and urge all affiliated unions when employing accountants, to only employ union accountants.

Your committee, while in accord with the general purpose of the resolution, cannot approve of the resolution in its entirety. Your committee therefore recommends that preference be given to the employment of union certified accountants when these are available.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Code for Office Workers

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Walter M. Cook for the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City, N. Y.

WHEREAS, In line with other labor organizations the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, did present a Code covering the demands of office workers throughout the United States on July 29, 1933, to the National Recovery Administration urging a hearing on our proposition for the thirty-hour week, increased salaries and other improved working conditions for the 4,000,000 office workers in our country; and

WHEREAS, We proposed \$18 as a minimum weekly salary for office workers, and minimums for various classifications, as follows: Experienced typists (2 years or more), \$21; experienced comptometer and other calculating machine operators, \$25; experienced file clerks, \$25; supervisory file clerks, \$30; beginning stenographers or dictaphone operators, \$21; experienced, \$30; switchboard operators, \$25; mimeograph, multigraph and addressograph operators, \$25 when employed in offices only; bookkeepers, \$35; head bookkeepers, \$75; bank tellers, \$35;

junior accountants, \$25; semi-senior accountants, \$50; and senior accountants, \$100; and

WHEREAS, Besides the thirty-hour week (six hours a day), five days a week, we asked for time and one-half for overtime, double time on Sundays and holidays, two weeks' notice upon discharge and only for just and sufficient cause, two weeks' vacation with pay; and

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 was represented at some of these Industrial hearings at Washington, D. C., by its President, Vice-President and Executive Board members and was advised and supported by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of our union were informed by the chairman at these hearings that they were for industries only and they would be heard when the code presented by the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 would come up for a hearing; and

WHEREAS, The codes adopted are of no benefit to the office workers as the standard weekly hours of thirty-nine have been increased to forty hours. The minimum salary of \$15 will help office boys and workers in extremely low categories. It grants the rights to organize. This is of paramount importance, as only through organization can office workers receiving more than \$15 have their salaries increased to meet the rising cost of living and to secure "the wages of decent living," to use President Roosevelt's expression; and

WHEREAS, We were waiting for the National Recovery Administration to make good its promise of a hearing on our Code, we were surprised to receive the following letter.

"Washington,
"September 15th, 1934.

"Mr. Ernest Bohm, President,
"Bookkeepers, Stenographers and
"Accountants' Union,
"3 West 16th Street
"New York City, New York

"Dear Mr. Bohm:

"The code which you submitted on July 29, 1933, for the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, New York City, has been carefully considered by the Administration.

"In view of the fact that there are various approved codes which cover the proposals set forth in your submitted code, members of your organization will be governed by the provisions of that Code of Fair Competition under which the employer is operating. Due to this fact, further action on your code has been suspended.

"We thank you for your co-operation in the work of the National Recovery Administration."

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed) H. ROSE,

"H. Rose,

"Chief, Code Record Section

"HR/EW

and

WHEREAS, None of our demands have been met in any of the codes adopted; be it

RESOLVED, By the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 to register a protest against this procedure as a component part of the American Labor Movement and demand a hearing on our code as presented and promised and request the support of the American Federation of Labor.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the Executive Council be requested to give every possible assistance to the Bookkeeper, Stenographers and Accountants' Union in securing a code which will adequately protect their interests.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating Issuance of International Charter to Office Workers

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Walter M. Cook, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, of New York.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement must progress to succeed in its avowed purpose to advance the interest of its membership; and

WHEREAS, While the Federal Labor Unions, otherwise known under different names as Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Accountants, Assistants etc., by numbers are individually engaged in organizing in their own locality, naturally using their only limited means to succeed; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that these Federal Labor Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor could extend their agitation, influence and power by combining into an International Union of Office Workers, organizing all workers employed in any clerical work throughout the United States; we are sure that being thus chartered by the American Federation of Labor our profession will be strengthened, and through co-operative method by these Federal Labor Unions as one, will be able to inaugurate a country-wide organizing

campaign which will bring into the American labor movement thousands of office workers who under present conditions cannot be aroused; be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, October 1, 1934, to instruct the Incoming Executive Council to consider the granting of an international charter to the Office Workers as at present organized in Federal Labor Unions.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that compliance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor will provide the method by which to secure the conditions desired by the introducer of the resolution. Your committee therefore recommends that the introducer of the resolution take up the subject matter in accordance with the laws and the practice of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing American Federation of Labor Strategy Board to Co-ordinate Organizing Policies

Resolution No. 67—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The impetus to trade union organization is now widespread, and the organized workers are now challenged to deal with industry-wide problems for which the existing structure and methods of organization were not originally designed; be it

RESOLVED, That to study and advise on the united action of the trade unions and on the growth of organization in industries not hitherto fully organized, a strategy board of seven men and women representative of the main groups of industries be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor, in order to map out general plans and policies for strengthening the united action of the regular craft unions and at the same time for extending organization into those industries in which the present form of organization has obviously not been successful; and in other ways to adapt the national labor policy to the rapidly changing conditions now confronting labor, thus also carrying out the resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention on national economic planning.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing American Federation of Labor
Board of Planning and Co-operation**

Resolution No. 72—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In industries hitherto practically unorganized there is obvious and sincere desire, because of the great diversity of occupations, to adopt a functional organization for the employees therein in preference to craft organization;

WHEREAS, The problems and issues incident to such a change in philosophy and technique of organization structure may require adjustment between conflicting jurisdictional and other claims of organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, The values of organization of employees along craft lines must be conserved and co-ordinated with the increasingly obvious need to make use of the functional principle in the organization of workers, especially in the public utility and mass production industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor set up a Board of Planning and Co-operation—the membership of which shall be representative of the various interests having a stake in the situation—to the end that by continuous study new general policies and plans may be determined and, with the aid of affiliated organizations, executed for the better and more unified action of all concerned.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 77—By Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, delegates of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The present dearth of positions has placed the children in industry more directly in competition with adults than ever before; and

WHEREAS, The inevitable result of this competition is to lower wages and standards of living of all; and

WHEREAS, Early forced labor is destructive to the health, education, and happiness of children; and

WHEREAS, No civilized nation can tolerate the spectacle of wealth created for the few by the labor of children; and

WHEREAS, Twenty States have already ratified the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the NRA relative to child labor are but temporary; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically favors the adoption of Child Labor Amendment and calls upon its members to work for its ratification in their respective States, and for the passage and enforcement of more adequate child labor laws.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Federal Committee on Apprentice
Training**

Resolution No. 80—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President has by Executive Order of June 27, 1934, authorized modification of conflicting Code provisions to enable employers to engage apprentices in accordance with terms approved by the Secretary of Labor; the Secretary of Labor has appointed a Federal Committee on Apprentice Training to recommend basic standards for use in the development of training programs for apprentices; the minimum standards already adopted by the Committee give evidence of a desire to promote genuine apprenticeship for skilled jobs on a limited scale, in contrast to the rapid and inadequate training of large numbers of semi-skilled jobs;

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor movement has been assured representation through the State Federation of Labor on each of the State agencies which are to administer and supervise the program, and on the Joint Advisory Committees to be set up in communities to determine the need for apprentices, the type of training, where they are to be trained, and the wages to be paid;

WHEREAS, This program will not interfere with existing agreements covering apprenticeship where these have been incorporated in NRA codes or craft agreements, but on the contrary will give Organized Labor an opportunity to promote the type of training which it has always favored as a method of inducting youth into skilled jobs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges its member organizations to take advantage of this opportunity to support and actively co-operate with the Federal Committee and the State agencies in furthering the adoption of plans calculated to insure all-around training for young people entering occupations requiring skill and responsibility.

This resolution does not state all of the actual conditions which exist in the conditions of apprenticeships now in effect in our industries, neither does it advocate the establishing of a definite ratio of apprentices to the number of journeymen workmen employed. In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make a thorough study of existing conditions of apprenticeship and to prepare necessary legislation for the regulation of apprenticeship and the adequate training of apprentices. Your committee further recommends that such legislation shall protect existing apprentice regulations which are included in trade union agreements with employers, and further, that such legislation shall definitely provide for the maximum number of apprentices which can be employed, this to be based upon the number of journeymen workmen employed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hatters-Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Amalgamation

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, After many years of jurisdictional conflict, the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, two International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, agreed, on January 19, 1934, at a joint convention of the two unions held in New York City under the chairmanship of President William Green, to amalgamate into one International union, to be known as the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid agreement of amalgamation, now in effect, has given to the new International union jurisdiction over 50,000 workers employed in the men's hat and cap, and women's millinery industries, and has eliminated the friction which for years had been a source of endless controversy, replacing it with one International union devoted to protecting the rights and advancing the standards of headgear workers, no matter what branch of the industry they are engaged in; and

WHEREAS, The negotiations which led to the amalgamation were conducted by President William Green, whose patience, industry and superb leadership during

every stage of the negotiations, as well as during its most critical moments, made possible the amalgamation of which we are all proud; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of San Francisco, State of California, expresses its gratitude to President Green for his successful efforts in bringing about the amalgamation of the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Civic Federation

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The National Civic Federation has, by the declaration of its principles and subsequent actions, proved to be an agency of the capitalist class to quench the aspirations of the workers and to suppress their struggles; and

WHEREAS, It has, upon more than one occasion, sponsored and defended the open shop, the company union and the yellow-dog contract; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to any member or officer of the American Federation of Labor affiliating with or in any shape or form participating in the activities of the National Civic Federation.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the charges contained in the resolution, and if these are found to be proven to then take necessary and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL

Resolution No. 122 — By Delegate Charles F. Wills, Chicago (Illinois), Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its convention in 1931 adopted

the following resolution (No. 59), entitled "To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL":

"Resolution No. 59—By Delegates H. H. Broach, D. F. Cleary, Charles M. Paulsen, E. Bieretz, E. Preiss and G. M. Bugniat, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

"WHEREAS, The President of the United States has said: 'The question of monopoly in radio communication must be squarely met. It is not conceivable that the American people will allow this new-born system of communication to fall exclusively into the power of any individual, group, or combination. Great as the development of radio distribution has been we are probably only at the threshold of development of one of the most important human discoveries bearing on education, amusement, culture and business communication.

"It cannot be thought that any single person or group shall ever have the right to determine what communication may be made to the American people. We cannot allow any single person or group to place themselves in a position where they can censor the material which shall be broadcast to the public.

"Radio communication is not to be considered as merely a business carried on for private gain, for private advertisement, or for entertainment of the curious. It is a public concern impressed with the public trust and to be considered primarily from the standpoint of public interest to the same extent and upon the basis of the same general principles as our other public utilities; and

"WHEREAS, Under the authority delegated to it, the Federal Radio Commission has licensed and allocated the overwhelming majority of the ninety available 'wave lengths' which include the forty 'cleared wave lengths or channels' to private corporations; and

"WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths with unlimited time and super-power to private corporations and groups in disregard of the public interest, necessity, and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty 'cleared radio broadcasting channels' established by the Federal Radio Commission have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

"(1) To corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station, twelve channels.

"(2) To corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies, seven channels.

"(3) To corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds, ten channels.

"(4) To corporations publishing newspapers, eleven channels.

"(5) To public utility corporations, three channels.

"(6) To insurance corporations, five channels.

"WHEREAS, It is charged that a great Radio Trust alone has been granted six or seven national cleared channels by the Federal Radio Commission, as well as chain-station rights which permit it to broadcast its program over the entire United States, and it has been granted the aforesaid six or seven channels for unlimited use, with tremendous power of from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand watts, while the station of organized labor, Station WCFL, located in the center of the United States at Chicago, Illinois, has been limited in time and to one thousand five hundred watts; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Radio Commission's allocations of channels, wave lengths, and radio facilities, and to inquire into the administration and interpretation of the radio laws of the United States by the Federal Radio Commission and recommend to the Congress of the United States appropriate legislation whereby organized labor will receive its proper share of the radio channels, wave lengths, and facilities equal to that of any other firm, company, corporation or organization"; and

WHEREAS, The minutes of the 1931 American Federation of Labor Convention further read as follows:

"The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 59.

"A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

"Delegate Nockels, Chicago Federation of Labor: Since coming to this convention a great many delegates have asked questions in regard to granting full time to Station WCFL and a 50,000 - watt power. In order to conserve the time of the convention I have made up a statement which I wish to have in the record, without reading.

"President Green: Bring it forward and it will be included in the record.

"The statement is as follows:

"Facts About WCFL Full Time Grants

"Press accounts on September 22, 1931, about WCFL being granted full time on 970 kilocycles, were so worded as to convey to the public the impression that WCFL had won an unqualified victory, a notion that is far from the real truth. What WCFL did receive, can only be regarded as a provisional relief in the matter of time, leaving the all important features of a cleared channel, and increased power, questions that remain to be set-

ried through action by either the Federal Radio Commission or the Congress that created it.

"Even the question of the time grant is qualified, for though granted simultaneous use of the 970 kilocycle band with station KJR of Seattle, recently acquired by the National Broadcasting Company, WCFL can only maintain this position by sufferance of the NBC which controls this fifth zone band, while WCFL is located in the fourth zone division, hence, objection filed on that score or any other of a dozen plausible excuses would compel the Radio Commission to order a discontinuance of WCFL time grant and a resumption of the limited time schedule on which WCFL operated so long.

"The American Federation of Labor has again and again informed the public in general and Congress and the Federal Radio Commission in particular that WCFL, 'The Voice of Labor,' had been assigned to a frequency of 970 kilocycles, limited to daylight hours, which decree necessitated signing off at sun-down at Seattle, Washington, where KJR of the fifth zone, to whom this channel was assigned, was located, while WCFL was in the fourth radio zone, nor was this the only handicap imposed on WCFL, which was restricted to a 15-kw. power grant, which permitted Radio Trust Stations, like KDKA of Pittsburgh, in particular, operating on 980-kc. to drown out with its 50-kw. the weaker 15-kw. station WCFL.

"Not only has labor through its legislative representatives lodged its complaints with the Federal Radio Commission against this system of partiality, but it also voiced its determination not to permit radio broadcasting to be placed into the hands of a special privileged group, without exhausting every resource at its command to prevent such a surrender of the people's right to the air, as was indicated by the reallocation made by the Federal Radio Commission, November 11, 1928, which virtually created a monopoly, dictatorship and censorship of the air by stations assigned super power grants that enabled them at will to drown out all stations on adjacent frequencies."

"The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried"; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the above resolution the use of radio as the medium of communication has grown to such an extent as to become an essential part of the life of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the above resolution the control of the "cleared radio broadcasting channels" has become concentrated in the control of the national chains and their affiliated interests, and chain broadcasting has become an essential medium of expression used by the President of the United States, public officials, and private interests to reach simultaneously the millions of listeners throughout the land; and

WHEREAS, Such concentrated control of facilities has aroused the fears of Congress that the freedom of expression in the public interest and in defense of labor and others not in the control of the capitalistic interests will be exterminated; and

WHEREAS, Pursuant to such fears Congress incorporated in the Dill-Rayburn Communications bill as it was finally enacted into the law creating the Federal Communications Commission the following provision contained in paragraph "C", Section 307:

"(c) The Commission shall study the proposal that Congress by statute allocate fixed percentages of radio broadcasting facilities to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities, and shall report to Congress, not later than February 1, 1935, its recommendations together with the reasons for the same."

WHEREAS, It is essential for Labor to have a national cleared radio channel so as to enable it to preserve in the interests of Labor and the public the freedom of expression beyond the control of the vested interests through the additions of local stations into a national chain; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of said report WCFL has been threatened from time to time and is now being threatened by applications from other stations and others for the use in whole or in part of the channel now used by WCFL; and

WHEREAS, Under the conditions under which WCFL is now operating by license of the Federal Communications Commission the said channel allocated to WCFL is not in fact a clear channel; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Federal Communications Commission to recommend to the Congress of the United States and also petition the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary legislation to assign or to have assigned the channel of 970 kilocycles as a clear channel, with unlimited time and with power equal to the maximum power assigned to any channel in the United States to the owner or owners of the broadcasting station or stations approved by the recognized labor organizations, which, in the opinion of the Commission, are most representative of Labor interests of the United States, and not to issue any license or licenses for the use of such frequency except with the written consent of such so recognized labor organizations to any other person, association, corporation, organization or co-partnership, excepting that the license now granted to radio station KJR shall not be interfered with so long as it does not interfere with any other station now or to be hereafter established by said labor organizations on said clear channel.

In recommending concurrence in the resolution, your committee commends the courage, persistence and constructive, farsighted policy which led the Chicago Federation of Labor to establish Station WCFL.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Right of Public Employees to Organize

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; M. I. Thompson, Utah State Federation of Labor; Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There have recently been a number of cases of dismissal of public employees, especially of teachers in public schools, because of membership in organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such dismissal is in direct conflict with the rights of these employees as American citizens and is in opposition to the spirit of the National Recovery Act, which guarantees to workers the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to have certain of these cases of dismissal investigated by Regional Labor Boards have failed on the ground that public employees have no code, although Regional Labor Boards have acted in cases of other groups having no codes; and

WHEREAS, Public employees are thus deprived of rights guaranteed other workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the officers of this Federation take whatever action may be necessary to correct the above-mentioned abuse; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all National and International Unions, Local Unions, State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Unions concern themselves in this matter and endeavor to secure for public employees the same right to organize as is guaranteed to other workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of practically every National and International Union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor requires that a member who is in arrears for three months or six months (in exceptional cases a year's grace is given) shall be stricken from the benefit membership list, and is furthermore deprived of all rights and privileges; this procedure operates against the delinquent member without a vote being taken in the local union of which he is a member; as a result of this procedure during the five years of the depression hundreds of thousands of unemployed union members, as well as many local unions in which the majority of the membership are unemployed, have been suspended or expelled; and

WHEREAS, With only a few exceptions the International, National and Federal Labor Union organizations have not taken steps to retain the loyalty of these former members to union labor. In failing to do this they have played into the hands of the employers and seriously weakened the organized labor movement; at the same time these officials have not curtailed their expenditures to any great extent; they have not reduced substantially the high salaries of officers, general organizers, etc.; in many cases in order that they might continue to receive their unduly high salaries they have tapped the sick, disability and death benefit funds of the unions, and in this way have brought discredit upon the financial responsibility of the entire trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The high salaries of union officials, compared to the average income of the dues-paying membership, place these officials in a superior social rating far above that of the membership, and therefore are a fertile field for the growth of corruption and the consequent neglect of the interests of the membership; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring expulsion for non-payment of dues cease at once. That this Convention recommend to its affiliated unions that all suspensions and expulsions for non-payment of dues by reason of unemployment or part-time work cease immediately; it is further the sense of this recommendation that all members unemployed for a determined major part of each month shall be exempt from payment of dues but shall remain in good standing in their local union with full rights; that a local union when a majority of its members is unemployed shall be exempt from paying the usual per capita tax to the National or International Union, and the Central Labor Bodies and State Federation, but shall remain in good standing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

go on record that all expenditures of the headquarters of the National and International Unions, except those which produce immediate results through efforts expended in field organizing and in resulting increase in membership of the respective unions, shall be cut to accord with any decrease in revenue by reason of the enforcement of the measures detailed in the above resolution.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Operation of Telegraph and Telephone

Resolution No. 88—By Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its forty-ninth annual convention, held in August, 1934, in Boston, Massachusetts, adopted as Resolution No. 66 of its proceedings the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts Federation of Labor instruct its delegate to the National Convention of the Federation to renew agitation for operation by the United States Government of a telegraph and telephone system as part of its postal service, and that a bill be introduced in the United States Congress of 1934-1935 making provision for such a system which has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, numerous civic bodies, postmaster-generals and leading publicists."

WHEREAS, Telephone and telegraph utility companies are abusing their franchises by violation of Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, by the illegal diversion of public moneys to the subsidizing of company unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that the American Federation of Labor comply with the request of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, to the end that such utilities be compelled to comply with the law of the United States and to assure to the consumers more reasonable rates and improvement in service.

Your committee without recommending any action upon the preamble to the resolution, recommends concurrence in the RESOLVED.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation for Use of National Guard and Army Troops in Strikes and Lockouts

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John Bartee, Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, Looking over the industrial horizon and viewing the loss of life and physical suffering caused by Labor having to go into warfare in case of strikes, and wishing to remove this needless loss of life and in some cases property damage; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its National and State legislative lobbies, and other methods known to Labor, work for the enactment of National and State laws where, because of disputes or differences between employer and employe a strike or lockout results that the National Guard or Regular Army troops are to be posted about the factory or factories involved, and that these guards shall remove all persons from the premises that are so guarded, causing all who might remain on the job to leave and remain away until the dispute is settled satisfactorily; that no one be allowed to enter the factory or factories except officials above the rank of superintendent and those necessary for proper fire protection.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

General Strike

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The experiences gained in the strike of the West Coast maritime workers, of the truck drivers of Local 574 in Minneapolis; from the great strike of textile workers involving the entire industry both in the North and South, etc., demonstrate that actual solidarity in the fight for better working conditions and higher living standards can be established by the workers in the North and South in spite of the special propaganda conducted by the "employers" in their press designed to perpetuate differences between the workers in these two sections of the country; and show that united action in the form of organized relief movements, solidarity and sympathetic strikes, are possible and necessary now, because of the great centralization of the employers and their organizations and their establishment of special anti-labor associations such as the Industrial Association in San Francisco and organizations of employers with similar purposes in other centers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federa-

tion of Labor go on record for and recommend to its affiliated National and International unions encouragement of and support for sympathetic and general strikes in all cases where the living standard of the workers involved in labor disputes with any group of employers is threatened by the united action of employers and various Government agencies.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Early, Seattle Central Labor Council: With reference to this resolution, I want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the resolution is sponsored by Delegate Dallas, of Federal Employees Union. The sponsor of the resolution is the same delegate who addressed the convention in the Brewery Workers dispute and painted a picture to the delegates that Seattle was a city of gangsterism and racketeering second to none in the United States, also vilifying one of our respected trade union members, Brother David Beck of the Teamsters Union.

I want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that Seattle with the possible exception of San Francisco—

Delegate Matlin, Russian-Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers Union No. 18702: I rise to a point of order. Is the brother speaking on the question or not?

President Green: Where are you from?

Delegate Matlin: Newark, New Jersey.

President Green: Proceed, Delegate Early.

Delegate Early: Mr. Chairman, I merely wanted to explain to the delegates the origination of this particular resolution. If you will notice in the report of the second day's Proceedings we have three resolutions all of Communistic tendencies from the same delegate.

Now I want to state that the Seattle Central Labor Union of which I happen to be a delegate to the convention, and also the Washington State Federation of Labor, which is represented by Brother James E. Taylor, have not endorsed and do not sponsor any one of these three resolutions. The subject matter of the general strike with which this particular resolution deals has not the approval of

the Seattle Central Labor Council and will not obtain the approval of the Central Labor Council, because we do not believe that the calling of a general strike as provided for in this resolution is going to be for the benefit of the American Federation of Labor and the general Trade Union Movement. In our opinion the calling of a general strike should be the last means of any organization that could possibly be used. It should be resorted to as a last extremity. But if this convention should go on record as favoring the adoption of a general strike, in our opinion it would render a serious situation to the American Labor Movement and would create a condition where it would be impossible to build up and protect the organizations who have contractual relations with their employers. Can you imagine a condition where a general strike, which is automatically authorized by this resolution will be permitted to undo all that work? It is not feasible, it is not possible, it is not for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor. Now during the recent trouble we had in Seattle the request for a general strike was turned down. It was also turned down by the State Federation of Labor.

I just want to digress, Mr. Chairman, for a moment to say to the delegates that the previous attack that was made upon Brother Beck, a member of the Teamsters Union, by this same delegate is entirely unwarranted. Brother Beck is a very highly respected and honored member of our Seattle Central Labor Council, one who has put in many months of effort toward the building up of the conditions we have there at the present time. This attack did not come from the Central Labor Council and is certainly not sponsored by our delegates.

In reference to the subject being discussed, the Seattle Central Labor Council is not in favor of it and we do not believe that it is a good thing for the Labor Movement.

A motion was made and seconded for the previous question.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: Mr. Chairman, the delegate stated at the beginning that this resolution was intro-

duced by the Federal Employees. I am sure he did not intend to say that. It was introduced by a Federal Labor Union.

The motion for the previous question was carried.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 119 was adopted.

Local Union Administration

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The practice is widespread in our unions of officials perpetuating themselves in office, building around them a machine and preventing by various means those members who are in disagreement with the policies and actions of the official clique; and

WHEREAS, At all conventions of the American Federation of Labor, State and national, there is to be noted an absence of democracy and a marked domination of an official machine which runs through the program desired by salaried officialdom; and

WHEREAS, All decisions concerning the interests of the rank and file, as for example the calling and settling of strikes, the signing of union agreements and negotiations with the employers, are conducted as a rule without the membership, and democratically organized discussion; and

WHEREAS, The autocratic rule of such official machines has been and is instrumental in leading to widespread corruption and the development of gangsterism and racketeering in our unions, has terrorized dues paying members and weakened the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Real trade union democracy will give the rank and file full expression, serving as a check on the actions of leaders and will involve the rank and file more in participation of union activities, developing them to the end that better conditions may be secured; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for trade union democracy and calls on all affiliated unions to establish this principle on the basis of the following procedure:

1. That all officials shall be elected by popular vote in secret ballot and elected special committees from the membership shall be in charge of counting the votes;

2. That the practice of not seating delegates to Central Bodies, on various pretexts, must stop;

3. That the membership shall have the right to recall officials and representatives

by a majority vote before the expiration of the official term;

4. That no member of the union except those found guilty as strikebreakers or as working in the interests of the employers shall be deprived of the right to be nominated, put on the ballot and to act as an official or representative of the union when elected;

5. That all trade union agreements, all amendments to the constitution and all other questions affecting the interests of the membership, shall be submitted to members for a vote;

6. That the right of local unions to start a referendum, the right of individual free speech, free criticism of policies, members to initiate policies, the right of local unions to declare a strike, the right of a member to belong to any political party, all these shall be considered rights which shall not be violated;

7. That nobody shall convict a member or an official on charges involving suspension or expulsion of a member or an official, except by a trial board elected by a popular vote of the members and giving the accused all the privileges of counsel, witnesses, his or her own stenographic record, and full publicity to the proceedings;

8. That National and International officials shall call conventions as stipulated in the constitutions of the respective organizations but under all circumstances such conventions shall be held at least every two years.

As the substance of this resolution conflicts with the right to self-government guaranteed to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of this committee.

A delegate attempted to take the floor on the subject matter of the resolution, without giving his name or being recognized by the Chair.

A motion for the previous question was adopted by a practically unanimous vote.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Resolution No. 121 was adopted.

Communists

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian-Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers No. 18702.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded on the principle of organizing wage earners in their respective trades and industries for their

economic rights, without restriction as to race, nationality, religion, or political belief; and

WHEREAS, In a letter dated May 27, 1931, President William Green defined the position of the American Federation of Labor in his answer to the Minneapolis Building Trades Council on the question of discrimination as follows: "In joining an organization of labor, no one can be required to surrender his religious belief or his political affiliations. As a member of an organization of labor he is just as free to follow his own trend of mind religiously or politically as is every other citizen of our country"; and

WHEREAS, The three-point program of the Executive Council calling for a drive to eliminate Communists from the unions proposes a campaign to expel from the American Federation of Labor affiliated National and International unions of the American Federation of Labor, and also invites Government interference in the affairs of our unions by calling on the Government to persecute and deport foreign-born workers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council launches this red-baiting drive against members of the American Federation of Labor who fight loyally in the interests of the members of organized labor for the improvement of our economic conditions and for honest unions, at the same time it takes no effective steps to drive out of the unions the corrupt and graft-ridden elements who have fastened their hold on many of our unions and operate them for their own personal benefit as private business enterprises or in the interests of the organized employers; and

WHEREAS, The Communist party is recognized as an established political party and is officially on the ballot in 43 states; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as establishing the principle of the right of every member to belong to a political party of his own choice without discrimination or expulsion; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the statement of the Executive Council, which constitutes a complete reversal of these rights, be immediately withdrawn; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all National and International unions are recommended to amend their constitutions so as to guarantee the right and freedom of choice of every member to belong to any religious organization or political party without endangering his rights and privileges as a member of the union.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

General Strike

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, The San Francisco and Bay Counties general strike was called to aid the maritime unions who were fighting against an infamous blacklisting system and discrimination carried on through company controlled hiring halls, and whose members had been on strike since May 8 to abolish this company control and improve their wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Some 125,000 members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor joined the strike in one of the greatest demonstrations of unity in American Labor history; and

WHEREAS, It was the duty of the President of the American Federation of Labor, who is a paid official of the membership, to support this strike both morally and financially, to help deal a blow to company unionism and the open shop and to raise the standard of labor throughout the country by helping to bring about a victory of the general strike; and

WHEREAS, William Green instead issued a public statement declaring "The strike in San Francisco is local in character, possessing no national significance," and that "it originated with the workers directly involved . . ." and that " . . . their representatives ordered the strike and must accept full responsibility for this action," and that the "American Federation of Labor neither ordered the strike nor authorized it"; and

WHEREAS, William Green also wired the Seattle Central Labor Council warning them against calling a general strike in support of the maritime unions, both actions serving only to aid open shop employers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning this action of William Green as a violation of his trust as the official head of the American trade-union movement.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The lynching of human beings and mob law are a shame and disgrace to our American civilization, holding our country up to the ridicule and condemnation of the entire civilized world; and

WHEREAS, Nearly five thousand lynchings have occurred in the United States of America in the last fifty years, over one thousand of whom were white people; and

WHEREAS, Lynching and mobocratic germs, like disease germs, know no color, race, nationality or religious lines, since history shows that wherever lynching becomes a custom that a black man may be the victim today but a white man will be the victim tomorrow; and

WHEREAS, Mob and lynch law are on the increase, striking here and there at the heart of the labor movement and our constitutional form of government, indicating the utter helplessness of individual States to cope with this crime against humanity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, herewith proclaim to the world its absolute and unequivocal condemnation of lynch and mob law, and call upon Congress and President Roosevelt to enact and execute the Costigan-Wagner Federal Anti-Lynching bill, with a view to wiping out this shameful blot of barbarism from American soil; be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House of Representatives and Senators, urging them to back this measure, and that a copy of this resolution also be sent to the following national organizations that are supporting the bill; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Student Council, Young Women's Christian Association, American Civil Liberties Union, Race Relations Committee, Society of Friends, National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Public Affairs Committee, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Writers' League Against Lynching, Church League for Industrial Democracy, League for Industrial Democracy, American Federation of Teachers, and the Congregational and Christian Churches.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 158 and 211, which are as follows:

Use of National Guard in Strikes

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Karl Malsus, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, The strikes in which American workers have shown that they would not agree to submit without protest to further encroachments on their wage standards and working conditions and stand ready to make the greatest sacrifices, even giving their lives in order to maintain labor's hard won rights, have been met on all fronts by murderous attacks by the employers, their private and professional armies aided by police, troops and other armed forces of Government agencies; and

WHEREAS, In spite of the La Guardia-Norris anti-injunction bill, hailed by President Green and the Executive Council as a great "victory for labor," there has been an increase in injunctions against unions, designed to prevent them from exercising such elementary rights as the right to organize and strike, to picket and maintain union organization independent of control by employers; and

WHEREAS, Under the NRA has been witnessed the unprecedented use of the National Guard troops, brutal terror, and even torture, as in the recent textile strike where the list of casualties among workers reads like a despatch from the Western Front during the World War; as in the strike of miners in New Mexico and Utah, the strike of steel and metal workers in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, the strikes of factory electrical workers in Toledo, Ohio; the strikes of truck drivers and helpers in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the strike of maritime workers unions on the West Coast, and in the general strike in San Francisco and the Bay district, and in many other industrial centers where workers have been forced to strike in an attempt to secure a standard of living of minimum decency; and

WHEREAS, Martial law in Wisconsin and Minneapolis, etc., was utilized as a strikebreaking measure by employers and the Government agencies to provide military forces either as strikebreakers for the unfair concerns or as protection for strikebreakers recruited, not from the ranks of unemployed workers, but from the ranks of bankrupt and ruined business men. While intimidating the wage working population, which in all these communities has shown its solidarity with the striking workers, the military forces have been utilized to whip up anti-labor sentiment, to make wholesale arrests, and give so-called patriotic justification for the handing out of brutal sentences to wage-workers jailed and indicted in the course of their labor activities; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the Illinois Labor Movement, and the Chicago Federa-

tion of Labor, Victor Olander and Oscar Nelson, have been quoted in the press as approving gas bombs and other instruments of chemical warfare used by the National Guard, and Nelson being quoted as declaring, "We are happy that there is such an organization as the National Guard to preserve order"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the use of injunctions, of troops, and of military force—either official or unofficial—against strikers, and that the Convention use all its resources to put an end to such strikebreaking measures, joining in this effort with other labor organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office.

Protesting Use of State Militia in Strikes

Resolution No. 211—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319.

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that in many cases it becomes necessary for workers to resort to strikes in order to settle disputes and obtain rights given them under the law; and

WHEREAS, In most instances strikes have been conducted in a lawful and peaceful manner until the invasion of State troops, which have in most cases been the impetus to violence, bloodshed and in the loss of life; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, go on record as being utterly opposed to governors of the various States of our Union calling out State Militia in opposition to workers on strike or lockout who are endeavoring to increase wages, shorten hours or in any way trying to advance the general good and welfare of themselves and the workers of the nation as a whole; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its entire facilities in featuring legislation to correct this unnecessary evil.

Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have declared their opposition to the use of the militia and of Federal troops as strikebreaking agencies. We recommend the reaffirmation of these declarations. Inasmuch as the "Whereases" contain assertions not

supported by any evidence presented to your committee, we recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention. I hesitate to say anything about this resolution, but it affects my home State and the Governor of that State and it becomes necessary for me to at least clear the record.

The resolution states in one of the whereases that martial law was declared in Minneapolis and utilized as a strikebreaking measure by employers and the Governor. I maintain that if we had a Governor in Minnesota at any time who declared martial law for the purpose of breaking a strike, we were perfectly capable of taking care of that situation. We need no information or assistance from New York in spite of the fact that that is a large industrial State.

The information in this resolution is copied almost verbatim from "The Daily Worker." I read it in the paper myself. The facts are that martial law was declared in Minnesota, and it is also true that the employers affected by the strike appealed to the Federal Courts in Minnesota, five judges sitting, for an injunction. They appealed to the Governor of the State to undo this edict of martial law at Minneapolis—not at the request of the strikers but at the request of the employers. It is also true that last Sunday night the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, who ought to know something about it, passed a unanimous resolution commending the Governor of Minnesota for all of his actions in this strike. It is also true that the Trade Union Movement of Minnesota will see to it. I think, that the present Governor of Minnesota, who is attacked in this resolution, will be the Governor of Minnesota next term.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 6:15 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 12.

Tenth Day—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, California,
October 12, 1934.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Freng, Horn, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, Hillman, Bellanca, Doyle, Smith (V. C.), Hannah, Evans, McMahon, Hatch, Fay, Billet, Taylor (T. N.), Mastriani, Meany (Geo.), Iglesias, Bailey, Taylor (Jas. A.), O'Brien (Paul), Gresty, Nance, Hirschfeldt, MacDonald (J. C.), Jackson, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Campbell (Geo. C.), Gross (R. A.), Restine, McInroy, Mitchell (H.), De Witt, Meyers (C. A.), Woods (G. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ellis, Rice, Graham (F. J.), Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Bale, Jackson, Draper, Hoocker, Bower (A. P.), Davison, Wright, Johnson, Dorsey, Holmes, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Mercer (R. E.), Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (Harry), Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Duyungan, Townes, Gorman (E. A.), Wagner, Money, Doane, Whitson, De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Wolfe, Tuohy, Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Watson, Holland, Hampton, Porter, Matlin, Kelly, Garibaldi, Hull, Boyd, Ryan (Jas.), Mitchell, Yetta, Higgins, Moore, McKeown, Dent.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Resolutions for a further report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Negro Workers

Resolution No. 199—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union 19169.

WHEREAS, The Negro workers in the United States are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and constitute the most underpaid and otherwise most exploited of American workers; and

WHEREAS, The NRA codes have provisions which discriminate against, or exclude entirely, certain branches of industry where Negroes are employed, enabling the employers to pay Negro workers even lower wages than the codes call

for and work them unlimited hours; wage differentials in the codes for the South are based on the predominance of Negro labor in certain industries, to permit employers to lower the living standards of all wage workers in these territories; and

WHEREAS, Some International unions have clauses barring Negro workers from membership, as for instance the International Association of Machinists, while others, although formally admitting them into the unions, use open or covert means of excluding Negroes from membership or segregating them by organizing separate Jim-Crow locals of Negro workers; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination and Jim-Crowism are means of dividing workers and weakening their forces, and

WHEREAS, In all struggles the Negro workers, when treated justly, fight shoulder to shoulder with white workers, as, for example, in the West Coast marine strike, the Alabama metal mines strike, and the great general strike recently of textile workers; and

WHEREAS, It has long since been recognized by Organized Labor in the United States that the freedom of the white wage earners cannot be won without the freedom of black workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record calling for the elimination of clauses and constitutions of any affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor containing any suggestion of discrimination against Negro workers, and that all Jim-Crow locals be immediately merged with the existing locals to establish the closest unity of Negro and white workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, To rally the membership of organized labor against the provisions of the NRA codes which discriminate against Negro workers, to establish equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for any jobs for Negro workers; to establish full equality with white workers in all other working conditions and for equal rights in the unions, including the right to hold any office.

Your committee calls attention to the unvarying position of the American Federation of Labor on the question of equal pay for equal work. This traditional policy has governed trade-union repre-

sentatives in connection with the progress of code making under NRA. The American Federation of Labor has opposed the establishing of differential minimum wage rates for southern territories in the codes, and will continue to do so. As the American Federation of Labor is without authority to interfere with the internal affairs and the administration of its affiliated National and International Unions, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was called for.

Delegate Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169:

President Green: For what purpose do you arise?

Delegate Dallas: To speak on this question, as the mover of the resolution.

President Green: What do you have to say?

Delegate Dallas: I wish the delegates here in this convention could have been with me at Seattle during the recent longshoremen's strike. At that time the longshoremen were attempting to establish picket lines. They were between the hired thugs of the Waterfront Association and the hired thugs of the Seattle Police Department and they were being attacked with gas bombs and every other available method. During that time there were a growing number of the longshoremen who took the most active part, the most vigorous and most militant part in this affair, and an attempt was made to get hold of some of these gas bombs the thugs were using on our brother workers. Three Negro members of the Seattle Longshoremen's Union made a vigorous attempt to do that. They paid for that work for organized labor by being beaten up and sent to the hospital, and I resolved if I ever had a chance to speak for the Negro workers of America who are in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor I would do so. And so I urge that this convention do not concur in the committee's report.

I want to say it is really impossible to bring up remarks before this convention, because last night all of the rank and file resolutions were railroaded through in less than thirty minutes. None of the speakers were allowed to take the floor of the convention. It makes a mockery of democracy in this American Federation of Labor.

President Green: You are out of order. You are not speaking on the motion.

The question recurs on the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Racketeering

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian-Turkish Bath Workers and Rubbers No. 18702.

WHEREAS, In many Local Unions, affiliated National and International unions, in various District Councils, Building Trades Councils and Central Labor Bodies, gangsterism and racketeering are rampant, the numerous trials of union officials on charges made by the dues-paying membership revealing only to a small extent the vast extent of this corruption; and

WHEREAS, Exposure by rank and file members in many instances are followed by reprisals organized by gangsters paid by corrupt officials from union funds, in which union members are intimidated, terrorized, killed and maimed; and

WHEREAS, The tremendous resentment of the membership against such conditions brought the issue into the Fifty-third Annual Convention; and

WHEREAS, The formal statement of the Fifty-third Annual Convention, which was circularized in the local unions, has resulted in no effective action against this disgraceful and dangerous state of affairs either by the International unions or the Executive Council; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge to do all in their power to organize the membership in the Local Unions to fight racketeering and gangsterism and to eliminate this menace in whatever form it appears.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends reaffirmation of the position taken by the 1933 convention of

the American Federation of Labor in connection with the subject-matter of the resolution. Our trade unions are a most essential factor in the Nation's industrial economic and social life. They constitute the only practical method by which workmen can have a definite voice in the determination of their terms of employment and conditions of labor. Our trade unions constitute the only effective method through which the voice of Organized Labor can be heard in a representative capacity in connection with local, State and Federal legislation. Our trade unions have been the source through which wage-earners have secured a clearer understanding of their rights as free men, and through which they have secured practical knowledge of the problems which face them, and the most effective manner of dealing with them. They have been the source from which Labor found inspiration and encouragement. It is our trade-union movement which first demanded a free public school system, so that the workers' children would have full opportunity to secure an education. It is our trade-union movement which has taught the principles of true brotherhood, of a proper recognition of the rights of others, and of the sacredness of contracts. In the industrial field our progress has been influenced largely through the practice of collective bargaining, a practice which required confidence in our integrity if employers are to freely accept this method of establishing industrial relations with their employees. All that is uplifting and ennobling in our trade-union movement; all that we have accomplished which has met with the approval of sincere, honorable men in all walks of life; all that we have done which is a part of the splendid record of achievements for higher standards of living, a higher level of citizenship; the announcing of principles, and the declaration of purpose, which have met with the approval of the great religious denominations of our country, and which has received legislative support in our State and Federal legislative bodies, is stained and besmirched when racketeering and gangsterism in any of its forms secures an entry, whether masked or openly, in our trade-union movement.

Your committee recommends that this declaration be adopted by the convention, and that the Executive Council be instructed to forward copies to all affiliated organizations, so that our trade-union movement may make use of all available means to protect and to safeguard the American trade-union movement from any encroachment by racketeering or gangsterism in any form or under any guise.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Labor Laws

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The anti-picketing ordinances recently passed in most of the agricultural counties of California, and similar laws in other States, are a denial of one of labor's essential rights, and are moreover unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, Other laws such as the vagrancy and inciting-to-riot are perverted by the authorities against workers and their leaders on strike or in the pursuit of their functions for labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Prison labor is still being used in competition with free labor, as in Imperial Valley and elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, State and local government officials have co-operated and do co-operate with vigilantes who attack labor men in their halls, demonstrations and on picket lines or places of work; and

WHEREAS, The infamous criminal syndicalism and anti-labor sedition laws of various States are being used to violate the workers' rights to organize, strike and picket; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor is on record as opposing the California state criminal syndicalism law; and

WHEREAS, Injunctions against organized and striking labor have not been abolished, but are still being used, further abrogating the rights of workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of active steps to remedy and redress the above stated grievances of labor and instruct our incoming Executive Council accordingly.

Your committee is of the opinion that anti-syndicalist and labor sedition laws in such states where they exist are fre-

quently used for the purpose of preventing trade-unionists from the full enjoyment of their rights as wage-earners and free men. In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to have a study made of existing anti-syndicalist and labor sedition laws, and prepare a statement announcing the policy of the American Federation of Labor toward such legislation. Furthermore, that the Executive Council be instructed to give its full and hearty support to all State Federations of Labor in their effort to have such legislation amended or repealed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656, and Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have entered their nineteenth year in jail, where they have been held by the open shop forces of California despite the fact that every shred of evidence against them has been proven false; and

WHEREAS, Mooney and Billings are victims of a proven frame-up because of their active fight for labor's cause; and

WHEREAS, The open shop forces are responsible for the organization of vigilante bands who, together with the police, raided, terrorized and jailed active union members in an effort to break the San Francisco and Bay Counties general strike; and

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney's case is not an isolated one, as frame-ups of labor leaders and active fighters in the labor movement are used by employers to intimidate labor, prevent organization, stop wage increases and improvement of workers' conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to rally the membership of organized labor in the country to unite its efforts to win the immediate unconditional release of Mooney and Billings and all others imprisoned for their fight for labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention herein assembled elect a delegate to visit Brother Mooney in San Quentin prison.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends the reaffirmation of

last year's declaration, and the declaration of all previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor with reference to the Mooney and Billings case, and further recommends the continuance of the efforts under the direction of the American Federation of Labor to secure their unconditional pardon and their early release.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Munitions Industry Investigation

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656; Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, The investigation conducted by the Nye Committee of the munitions industry, while it has revealed some important information, according to its own statements published widely in the press has suppressed much vital information; and

WHEREAS, With the excuse that the publication of name, addresses, telegrams and letters dealing with the manipulations and dealings with representatives and actual bribery of foreign governments by the munitions industry has been withheld from publication, and not even entered in the records of the committee; and

WHEREAS, If the wage-working population of the United States, and especially those members of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are to be able to judge adequately the menace of the munitions industry, and work out for themselves a program by which this menace, that contains not only the germs but the actual threat of a new world war, is to be combated, it is necessary that full information in regard to the discoveries of the Nye Committee be published; and

WHEREAS, This has not been done; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we call upon Senator Nye and other responsible Government authorities to probe in the greatest detail into the munitions industry and its connection with war and industry in general, and to make public without restrictions or reservations all the findings of the committee resulting from its investigation conducted on this basis.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with that portion of the resolution which calls for the publication of the alien representatives of Government whose names have been or may be

brought out in connection with the investigation being made into the activities and ramifications of the so-called munitions trust by the Nye Committee. Your committee concurs with that portion of the resolution relative to American citizens who may have been involved. Your committee, therefore, recommends that there shall be full publicity given of all those United States Government representatives, commissioned officers, or enlisted personnel of the Army or the Navy, and of American manufacturers or private individuals which the investigation by the Nye Committee indicates were involved.

A* motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Di Caplo, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656 and Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667, discussed the resolution briefly, urging that widest publicity be given the results of the Nye investigation, and that the delegates vote for the entire resolution and not for the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Dues Exemption for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Jack Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Many unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not exempt from dues payments and assessments members that have become unemployed through no fault of their own, or that may have become victimized or blacklisted for Union activity; and

WHEREAS, Due to the breakdown of the present economic system, these periods of unemployment are long, and threaten to become of longer duration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the affiliated National and International unions to provide a clause in their constitution exempting their unemployed and partially unemployed members from payment of dues and assessments for the entire period of such unemployment or where

the period of partial unemployment exceeds one-half the standard union monthly hours.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fascism

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667; Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, Fascism in Germany headed by the butcher Hitler is a dictatorship in the interests of the big bankers and employers and against the whole toiling section of the population; and

WHEREAS, This brutal dictatorship has already proven in action its true color by suppressing the trade unions, cutting unemployment relief and insurance, putting the unemployed workers on forced labor without wages, suppressing the elected shop councils, prohibiting strikes, suppressing all working-class political, cultural and even sport movements, by the most bloody barbaric reign of terror directly against workers and the Jewish and Catholic minorities; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are confined and tortured in prisons and in concentration camps and dungeons, among whom is the leader of the struggle against Fascism, Ernst Thaelmann; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its convention in 1934, and other American Federation of Labor bodies, have gone on record against Fascism and for the release of Thaelmann and all anti-Fascist fighters; and

WHEREAS, This bloody barbaric dictatorship of Hitler, in order to maintain its rule is doing its utmost to develop race hatred, anti-semitism and nationalism, causing the war clouds in Europe to gather faster, and bring closer the danger of a world war; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for an uncompromising struggle against Fascism in Germany and elsewhere and against growing Fascist tendencies in the United States; against the menace of war and for the immediate release of Thaelmann and all other anti-Fascist victims of Hitler's regime.

The convention has already acted upon a portion of the substance of this resolution in connection with that section of

the Executive Council's report which refers to Fascism. Your committee, therefore, offers the following as a substitute:

"WHEREAS, There has recently developed a sinister tendency on the part of some financial and industrial groups to secure a control over legislation and administrative policies which would give them even greater power than they have exercised in the past; and

"WHEREAS, Under the guise of protecting and perpetuating the guarantees of human liberty contained in the Federal Constitution they are seeking to undermine the most essential provisions of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights incorporated in the Federal Constitution; be it

"RESOLVED, That this convention declare its purpose to assist in protecting constitutional rights by uncovering and exposing all those who under the mask of patriotic motives endeavor to destroy equality of rights and opportunities for all, and set up in place of a government founded upon free institutions a control over government founded upon the power of wealth."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Apprenticeship Regulations

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656, and Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, The apprenticeship periods required in almost all unions are much longer than really necessary in order that one may master a specific craft; and

WHEREAS, Due to such long periods an apprentice does the work of a journeyman at the apprentice's wages; and

WHEREAS, Said practices constitute discrimination against young workers in the labor movement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of reducing the terms of apprenticeship by approximately twenty-five (25) per cent; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of steadily graduated

and substantial percentage wage increases, based on the journeyman's scale, for all apprentices.

As the purpose of this resolution is to shorten instead of lengthening the term of apprenticeship, and as it fails to provide for the thorough training of apprentices, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Apprentice Wage Rates

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667; Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, The employers have utilized the vicious system of making apprentices and learners do the work ordinarily done by journeymen, without giving these journeymen and learners the same wages; and

WHEREAS, This system has been the means of throwing journeymen out of work and of reducing the wage standard for all labor; and

WHEREAS, This policy of discrimination in pay has been especially directed against the youth in industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to this vicious system and that it endorse the slogan of "Equal pay for equal work" regardless of age, sex or racial differences.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wages of CCC Workers

Resolution No. 180—By Delegate Rudolph Di Caplo, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667.

WHEREAS, Some 300,000 young men today in the Civilian Conservation Camps are being used to build roads, clear forests, fight fires, and carry through other government projects at approximately one dollar a day; and

WHEREAS, They have displaced men that ordinarily received union wages for work of that sort, thus contributing greatly toward reducing the standard of living of all labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record demanding that anyone employed by the Government in these camps be paid union wages for all labor performed.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends that when workmen are employed to do skilled work in Civilian Conservation Camps that they be paid the union scale. Your committee further recommends that this question be referred to the Executive Council with the request that they lend their every effort to secure the payment of such union scales for all workmen doing skilled work in these camps.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Distribution of "American Federationist"

Resolution No. 181—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656.

WHEREAS, The present system of distribution of the "American Federationist" is such that all paid-up members receive it free of charge; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these members do not read the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, We consider this to be a needless expense; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of placing the "American Federationist" on a paid subscription basis entirely; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any moneys saved through this method of distribution should be remitted to the local trade unions and Federal labor unions in the form of a lower per capita tax.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor

Resolution No. 198—By Delegate James P. Dallas, Federal Labor Union No. 19169.

WHEREAS, The economic plight of the workers and farmers of this country has brought about the entrance of thousands of children into industry; and

WHEREAS, These children are forced to work hours in excess of their strength, and the wages they are paid offer a direct threat to the scales and demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Roosevelt Administration, through its NRA industrial codes, has not improved the status of children, resulting merely in displacing some of these children from industry without adequate provision for their welfare; and

WHEREAS, By virtue thereof, and the need of some means of sustenance on the part of these children, child labor has increased and continues under even worse conditions (homework, bootlegging of children in shops, etc.); and

WHEREAS, This situation is depriving these children, the sons and daughters of workers and farmers of this country, of the right which is theirs, namely, to a normal, healthy development; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for:

1. Abolition of child labor under 16, with Government maintenance for children displaced from industry, agriculture or street trades, at no less than \$3 per week.

2. Vocational training on a graduated scale for youth between the age of 16 and 18 at the expense of the employers and Government. This training to be under the workers' control with all youth receiving full wages for the type of work performed.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Soviet Russia

Resolution No. 214—By Delegate John J. Geraghty, Vallejo (California) Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, At conventions of the American Federation of Labor reports have conveyed to the delegates information concerning the conditions of the workers and trade unions in foreign countries. At the Fifty-third American Federation of Labor Convention, a long report of conditions in Germany was made, which led to a boycott on German goods; and

WHEREAS, Politicians and clergymen have been permitted to speak before the Convention; and

WHEREAS, The workers of America are interested in the practical work of organization and methods of the trade unions of the Soviet Union; and

employed workers of their right to vote or that they will protest against the enforcement of any laws already on the statute books seeking to deprive these unemployed workers of the right to vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Membership of American Federation of Labor Officials on NRA Boards

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Coleman Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311.

WHEREAS, After one year of the NRA, Labor finds that its conditions have not improved, that there are still more than 10,000,000 unemployed, that the codes have brought about a general lowering of the level of the skilled workers' wages, that the purchasing power of workers has been lowered through the sharp rise in the cost of living according to the Government's own admission, and through actual reduction of the income of wage workers; and

WHEREAS, Section 7-a of the NRA, which supposedly guaranteed the right to organize, turned out to be in practice the use of armed forces against the workers, brutality and terror, through the calling of the National Guard and invoking of martial law, the incitement to methods of Fascist terror, through mass arrests and jailings, through clubbings and gassing of strikers, through fraudulent schemes and trickery which rob the workers of the right to join a union of their own choice but compels them to go into company unions; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the National Labor Board and the Regional NRA Boards and other administrative boards of the NRA by delay, arbitration and other methods to defeat the efforts of workers to organize into unions of their own choice, as was evident in the case of the Weirton Steel, the Budd Manufacturing Company, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit, etc., and by arbitrarily ordering workers back to work, to prevent strikes and break them as in the Toledo strikes, the Minneapolis strike, and in the case of the auto and steel workers, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the American Federation of Labor have been part of the official machinery of the NRA as members of the administrative boards and have agreed in co-operation with the employers and the Government representatives to codes which fail to guarantee an adequate income to wage workers, which do not provide for raises in wages to meet the mounting living costs, codes which do not provide for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the Government, etc.; and

WHEREAS, American Federation of Labor officials, by signing the bituminous coal code put the union label on the setting up of a Board for compulsory arbitration and illegalizing of strikes; by signing the auto code they have agreed to the merit clause, which places their stamp of approval on the open shop; and by agreeing to the steel code they have helped to recognize and strengthen company unions; and

WHEREAS, The service of the American Federation of Labor officials in behalf of the NRA has meant sanctioning the anti-labor acts of the NRA, thereby invalidating the fundamental rights acquired by the workers of the United States through many years of struggle; and

WHEREAS, This triple alliance of Government, employers and the leading officials of the American Federation of Labor has led to greater Government interference in the life of the unions and the struggle of organized labor, to the extent that it has enabled the employers more easily to put over attacks on workers' conditions in order to safeguard their profits; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the withdrawal of all officials of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions from posts in the NRA in advisory and executive capacities, and from all sections of the NRA, local, district, state and national labor boards, committees and authorities, however titled.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Nationalization of Radio

Resolution No. 192—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Radio broadcasting at present is rapidly becoming an advertising racket and listeners are compelled to listen to a lot of questionable advertising in order to hear favorite entertainers; and

WHEREAS, The broadcasting lanes are the property of the people and should not be controlled and used by private interests as a means of profit or for propaganda purposes; and

WHEREAS, At present it is exceedingly difficult for the Government to obtain from the broadcasting chains the

privilege of using the air, especially for broadcasting congressional sessions; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocate and support the enactment of legislation at the next session of Congress for the nationalization of broadcasting.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Karl Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers, and Pressers' Union No. 18232.

WHEREAS, Thousands of unorganized workers from the trustified mass production plants, beset by the danger of company unionism and the continued attacks on their working conditions, have joined the American Federation of Labor for the improvement of their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, These workers were organized into Federal locals directly, on the basis of a policy of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to organize them with the understanding that the "rights and interests of all affiliated National and International unions must be followed, observed and safeguarded," showing clearly that it is the ultimate aim of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to dismember these unions into craft organizations separated under the National and International unions; and

WHEREAS, At the Fifty-third Annual Convention, and at special meetings of the Executive Council thereafter, the question of strengthening and giving greater support to the Federal locals was not considered, but instead the discussion centered on the division of the unions and who shall have the benefit of the dues when the Federal locals are dismembered into craft unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled in the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to guarantee the interests of the Federal local unions and the right to full local autonomy for these unions, including the right to strike; that the dues of the local unions be handled by the regularly elected officials of these local unions, and that the Federal labor union locals have equal representation with any other affiliated body to the American Federation of Labor conventions according to the per capita basis allowed National and International unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal labor unions be given full support of the Executive Council in their effort for improvement in wage and working conditions of their members and for the right to organize and other elementary rights; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and pledges support to the Federal labor unions in the respective industries, to the end that effective contact and co-operation with other labor organizations in these industries be attained, to unite in common efforts leading toward the formation of one industrial union in each of these respective industries.

As the question covered by the resolution is one of administration. Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizing Campaign Policies

Resolution No. 190—By Delegate Carl B. Lawrence, Vegetable Packers' Association No. 18211, Salinas, California.

WHEREAS, Any and all divisions of the ranks of working people hinder Labor's efforts to win better conditions from the employers; and

WHEREAS, The past experience of Organized Labor in America proves the value of solid ranks, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or political belief; and

WHEREAS, The experiences of the Pacific Coast maritime strike, the Bay Region general strike, the Textile and other recent strikes, all demonstrate the benefits to Labor of such organized solidarity; and

WHEREAS, The co-operation between white and Filipino workers in the recent Salinas lettuce strike was a strength of Labor as against the shipper-growers, who had their own solidarity to keep wages down; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record for the immediate strengthening of Labor by including all workers in our unions without any discrimination against Mexican, Negro, Filipino, Oriental or foreign-born workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we authorize our incoming Executive Council to take early and energetic steps, and use all influence, to put the above provided policy into effect in all the affiliated National and International unions.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to any discrimination against wage earners because of race, color, creed, nationality, or religious and political views.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Requirements for SERA Employment

Resolution No. 194—By Delegate James E. Restine, Imperial Valley Central Labor Council, El Centro, California.

WHEREAS, In many communities it is necessary to sign the equivalent to a pauper's oath before being allowed to register for SERA employment; and

WHEREAS, There are numerous persons belonging to Organized Labor that are destitute and even hungry, but because of their just pride they will not bring themselves to make or sign such an oath; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention convened, in San Francisco, does hereby authorize its officers to protest to the proper Government authorities, and to urge that an arrangement be made to the effect that the officers of the various recognized trade unions be constituted as judges of eligibility for SERA employment.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the condition referred to in the resolution, and to take such action as the situation justifies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Relief for Unemployed Rubber Workers

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate O. H. Bosley, United Rubber Workers' Federal Union, No. 13321, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The rubber industry is seasonal, due to the fact that it depends primarily upon another highly seasonal industry, automobile manufacturing, for its largest volume of business; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the rubber industry have been the victims of the practice of their employers avoiding

the expense of non-productive periods through seasonally discharging their employees; and

WHEREAS, This seasonal discharge of employees creates an unemployment list so great that the workers have no opportunity to secure work in other industries and are thus forced to accept Government relief; and

WHEREAS, The Government relief funds are nearly depleted in the vicinity of Akron and are now already inadequate to supply the minimum needs of thousands of the unemployed rubber workers; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the rubber industry in Akron are organized within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, use its influence to secure adequate Government relief for the unemployed in and around Akron; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a similar effort be made to secure adequate Government relief in all other sections of the country similarly affected.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to prepare and to work for the passage of legislation which will provide adequate relief for all unemployed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Change of Title for Post Office Laborers

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate William Nickols of the Post Office Laborers Union No. 17831, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, We have been confronted with a dual organization, namely the National Association of Post Office Laborers, for many years:

(a) This association first competed with us by monthly dues being but half the amount we were receiving;

(b) By propaganda they maintained, to get in the American Federation of Labor, as a National Organization paying one cent per capita.

We claim this unfair competition. If they wish to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, they should be admitted in the locals now organized under the American Federation of Labor, as individual members, to include Post Office Laborers, Railway Mail Service Laborers, and Watchmen;

RESOLVED, That Post Office Laborers Union No. 17831 be recognized as the only union of Post Office Laborers, Railway Mail Service Laborers and Watchmen in San Francisco. Having been organized for the past ten years, and being in the majority, we claim this right, and our control should be final;

WHEREAS, Misconstruction now exists by the title of Laborer in the Postal Service, as it does not define actual work performed;

RESOLVED, That all employees of the Post Office Department that are now designated Post Office Laborers, and Railway Mail Service Laborers, have their title changed to read Post Office Mail Handlers and Railway Mail Handlers.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that the subject matter of this resolution should be referred by the introducer to the Executive Council before bringing the matter into the convention. Your committee therefore recommends that this procedure be carried out by the interested parties.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Adamski, Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Friendly Relations is ready to report.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: The convention will please be in order while we interrupt the regular order of business for the purpose of performing a pleasant duty. In your behalf I desire to present to the fraternal delegates in attendance at this convention and also to our honored guest, Brother Walter Citrine and his good wife, a visible, tangible expression of your friendship and feeling of appreciation of their visit with us and of the messages which they delivered to us.

It has always been the custom for the officers and delegates in attendance at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor to present our visitors from abroad with suitable and appropriate remembrances which would adequately express your feelings of friendship and good will. And so this morning we are prepared to perform that pleasant duty. Our Committee on Friendly Relations has discharged its duty in an excellent manner.

They have been very discriminating in their selection of gifts and I am sure that our visitors and our brothers and their good wives will agree with me when I say that.

First of all I want to present to our good friend, Fraternal Delegate Stokes this watch and chain, which is appropriately and suitably engraved. It is for you. It is a gift from the officers and delegates, your very dear friends who are in attendance at the convention. We ask you to carry it home with you as a tangible reminder of their friendship, their good will and an expression of their appreciation of your visit here, but above all we want you to carry it with you as a beautiful memory of the friends you met and the friendships formed in this city and at our convention. Please accept it with our feelings of friendship and deep appreciation of your splendid visit.

I also want to present to you a watch to take home to your dear wife. This, too, is the gift of officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. Although we have not met her, we know she is a jolly good fellow, just the same as you are. Take this home and tell her the delegates have sent it to her, and that means that she should watch you.

You know the sad story, delegates and friends, about Brother Walkden. He came to America anticipating a very pleasant visit with us. He traveled all the way to the Grand Canyon in Arizona and then received the sad message of the death of his good wife. Our hearts go out in sincere sympathy to him in his sore bereavement, but we want to make him as happy as we can. So I am commissioning you, Brother Stokes, to take to him a watch and chain, suitably engraved, the gift of the officers and delegates at this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Stokes: Mr. President, I am almost overwhelmed with the friendship which has been displayed to me in making these presentations.

May I just say a few words with regard to the last present to my good Brother Walkden. I do not want to repeat or make history of the tragedy—and it

was nothing more or less than a tragedy that it should have happened as it did. But in conveying to him from you your sincere appreciation, one cannot help but almost become emotional in the way in which you met me and treated me, and I know you would have met and welcomed Brother Walkden in the same manner. I know how glad you would have been to have him with you, and I shall do all that is possible to convey to him how sincere your greetings are, when I present this watch. And while I am on that subject the idea has just occurred to me, Brother Citrine, that we might arrange some suitable meeting at which we could give the watch and badge to Brother Walkden. I am sure the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress will make a suitable arrangement for a meeting at which these beautiful presents will be presented to Brother Walkden. I think it is only right and proper that we should do something along those lines in order to convey to him how sincere your feelings are.

With regard to the present to my wife, your President really hit the nail on the head when he said that she is a jolly good fellow. She really is, and nothing would delight her more than knowing that this gathering of trade unionists should have thought of a dear old lady away in London, who would have done her very, very best to get here. However, she suffers very badly from rheumatism, and she feared the return journey. And when I present this watch to her there is sure to be a family gathering—and we have a family, children and grandchildren.

And that brings me to this beautiful badge and watch. I know it is the usual thing for us to say that it will always be honored in the family, but it just occurred to me that there is one feature about this badge and watch and your fraternal greetings that I might touch upon. We often hear of the family heirlooms, of the Four Hundred, those who are supposed to have come to America, and to be a descendant of one of the Four Hundred you must have some family heirlooms of great value. In England they talk of the heirlooms of the aristocracy. However they may think or feel about them, I can

assure you that in a family such as mine, my father a trade unionist and my grandfather a trade unionist, we haven't many mementoes that have been handed down, but we carry the scars and the wounds of the past. But this badge and the watch which you gave to me and the watch which you have given to my wife will become the family heirlooms in the Stokes family and will be handed on from generation to generation as an appreciation of our fellow trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

President Green: Now, Brother Dunn, will you please come forward. Brother Dunn, in like manner as I have presented to Brother Stokes a token of our esteem and friendship, I present to you a watch and chain, appropriately engraved. We ask you to accept this from us and to carry it back to Canada as a remembrance of your visit with us. This is a visible expression of the good will of the delegates, but I repeat what I said to Brother Stokes, that we want you to carry back fond remembrances of the friendships you made while you were here. We know they will be everlasting. Accept this from me and from the officers and delegates in attendance here, with our sincere expressions of friendship, cordiality and appreciation of your visit.

And we have not forgotten your good wife. We also have a watch for her, and we know that when you return you will find a most hearty welcome and you will go into a friendly atmosphere when you tell her that you have brought this beautiful watch home to her. Take this to Mrs. Dunn and tell her we want her to be as happy in the possession of it as we are in presenting it to her.

Fraternal Delegate Dunn: Mr. President and Delegates—I have to thank you very much for these beautiful presents on behalf of Mrs. Dunn and myself. When your President said that I was to tell her of the good wishes that go with these beautiful presents, I am sure I may say that I don't know how we could have been more regally entertained than I have been in the city of San Francisco. I

hardly know how to express my thanks. I protested just a few days ago to one of your members that it was not necessary to show us all the kindness that they had been showing us since we have been here, and his reply was: "Boy, don't you know that it is written that it is more blessed to give than to receive? We get a bang out of this thing. Are you going to deprive us of that?" And I thought, here is true American hospitality.

It happens only once in a man's lifetime that he occupies the position that I have occupied in this convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is not given to a man, at least it has not been up to now, to occupy this position twice in the duration of his lifetime, and I should say right now that it has been an experience and a memory that I shall carry with me all the days of my life. The significance of it all was brought to me a little more forcibly in the words of one of your delegates who spoke this morning, and it is simply this, that in this democratic organization, which is similarly constituted to the organization I represent, the very fact that I am here this morning, a member of the rank and file of the trade union movement, proves that the rank and file of the trade union movement is given its just consideration, or certainly I should not be here this morning.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for these beautiful presents. It seems to me that the presentation is most appropriate. Working as I do with the tools it is very necessary that I look at the watch every once in a while to see what time it is, and every time I look at that watch I will have a pleasant remembrance of the days of October, 1934, in San Francisco.

President Green: We also have presents for our distinguished guests, Brother Citrine and his good wife. I want to present to Brother Citrine this watch, with an appropriate engraving, discriminately purchased by our Committee on Friendly Relations, and I ask him to accept it from us with our expression of friendship and good will. It is a gift, Brother Citrine, from the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. There

is more in it than its intrinsic worth. There is in it an intangible value to you that I know will be everlasting and I am happy to present it.

And in like manner we have a watch for Mrs. Citrine. We have been so happy because you were here. I have heard so many expressions of appreciation on account of your visit with us. I am glad I am able to present this to you in person. The watches will be presented to the wives of the fraternal delegates by the fraternal delegates themselves when they return home and we wish we might all be there when the presentation takes place. But we are all here at this presentation this morning so we ask you to accept this from the officers and delegates with their appreciation of good will and friendship.

Mr. Citrine: Brother Green and fellow trade unionists—I expect you have a right to think, after twenty years as a trade union official, that I ought to have the hide of a rhinoceros and certainly should be very case-hardened, and yet I cannot explain why it is that my heart is bouncing about and misfiring like the engine of a motor car that is trying to run on bad gasoline.

My presence here is rather unusual and although I well knew your practice in regard to fraternal delegates, I also knew that I was coming here in quite a different capacity. I have always wanted to come to this Federation Convention. I always wanted to see your convention at work, but I did not know quite how that could be accomplished, because as the permanent secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, I never would stand in competition with any of our delegates for the honor to come to you as fraternal delegate. Consequently it seemed to me that my longing was likely to be unfulfilled. This year I had arranged to take a good, long holiday, because I had been working hard for a period of eighteen months, and I anticipated that I should be elsewhere. Then I received a telegram from President Green asking me to come here as your guest. I consulted the General Council and they said to me, "Of course you must go." I said

I was very desirous of going but I did not feel physically up to it. And they said, "That's all right, you will get a good change and a good rest in the United States." Well, I knew what that meant. I have been told that the sort of change and rest you got in the United States was that the waiter took the change and the hotels and railroads took the rest.

Anyhow, I felt that provided I could be accompanied by my wife, I should be very glad to come. You know there is something in human nature, so it is said, that you can never feel completely happy unless you have something to grumble about. The state of perfection must be a most unbelievably happy state. But when I arrived on this continent right from that moment there seemed to be a great deal of conspiracy to prevent me from having anything to grumble about. I felt very much like one of the characters in Gilbert and Sullivan's play, King Gama, whose life was cursed by every one of his wishes being anticipated, and I could almost join with him when he said:

"Oh, don't the days seem lank and long,
When all goes well and nothing goes
wrong.
And isn't your life extremely flat,
When you have nothing whatever to
grumble at."

I felt myself I ought to find something to grumble about, but unfortunately I cannot do it. From the moment that my wife and I arrived here we were in the hands of friends, we were treated as honored guests, we came amongst esteemed colleagues and every moment of our time here has been supremely happy. We will both carry back to Great Britain with us very treasured memories, and I can assure you that because of these quite unexpected gifts that you have made to us this morning, in the days when in the course of nature it comes time for us to lay down the active reins of our office, we shall look back upon this period and we shall relive in our memories these glorious weeks we have spent among our brothers and sisters of the United States.

God bless you all.

President Green: Mrs. Citrine, won't you say a word?

(As Mrs. Citrine came to the front of the platform, the delegates arose and applauded.)

Mrs. Citrine: Ladies and gentlemen, I have never made a speech in my life, and I am sure that I cannot do it now. I wish to thank every one of you for all your kindness to me and my husband since we have been in America. We appreciate all the social functions we have attended. I want to thank the Hatters' Union for presenting me with this lovely hat and I thank you all for the beautiful watch, which I shall cherish as long as I live. I thank you all very much indeed.

Delegate Adamski: Mr. President, on behalf of Brother Welkel and myself, I want to thank the officers and delegates for making it possible for us to present these watches.

President Green: I want to say just this word in conclusion, that we are extremely happy over the visit of our fraternal delegates and our guests. They have been present at the sessions of our convention and we are happy to have had them here. We express the sincere hope that their stay here, every moment of it, may be filled with happiness and that they may have a safe and joyous return to their homeland and their families.

I also want to thank Chairman Adamski and Brother Welkel for the service they have rendered as the Committee on Friendly Relations. Their work is appreciated and they are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: Brother Stokes is a member of the Glass Bottle Blowers of Great Britain. The Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States seem to wish to claim him as a member of their organization here. They have done so, at least in spirit. He is a part of them, because a glass bottle blower is a great deal like a miner, no matter in what part of the world he lives he is still a miner. They have asked me to present to Brother Stokes this gift. I present it to him with their expressions of friendship and good will.

(The gift was a handsome leather case fitted with toilet articles.)

President Green: They have also transmitted here a gift for Mrs. Stokes, a handsome pocketbook.

Fraternal Delegate Stokes: I want to thank my fellow workers in the Glass Bottle Blowers Union. We are not only glass bottle blowers, but we are bottle emptiers whenever we get a job.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: On behalf of Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, of which I have the honor to be an executive officer, I would like to be permitted to say that we are very happy to participate in the presentation to Brother Stokes, in behalf of this convention by President Green, a beautiful watch.

We want to present this gift, as a personal remembrance and compliment from the industry here in the United States. I am sure that Brother Stokes and his good wife will realize that it is not the intrinsic value of these souvenirs, but rather the thought that is back of their presentation, we want him to remember. I want to take this opportunity to express to Brother Stokes, publicly as it were, the deep appreciation of myself and my association for the very many courtesies that the Glass Bottle Blowers extended to our representative, Brother Thomas B. Eames, two or three years ago when he was in Europe to investigate the glass bottle blowers industry. So I ask to be permitted to not only say to Delegate Stokes, but to his colleagues as well, bon voyage, and cheerio on your trip home.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

Protesting Attitude of Department of California, American Legion, in Maritime Strike

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the conclusion of the World War, the Veterans of the United States Army, Navy and Marines who took part in that conflict have formed a national organization known as the American Legion; and

WHEREAS, At the time of its inception a bond of friendship was made between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor, developments of which have shown that the aims of both in many respects are alike; and

WHEREAS, This tie of friendship between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion has been increased by the exchange of courtesies and the seating of fraternal delegates, one by the other, at their national conventions; and

WHEREAS, In the preamble of the Constitution of the American Legion there is a declaration that the Legion itself shall maintain a neutral attitude upon industrial matters, which has been accepted in good faith by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This calls to mind a circumstance that occurred during the administration of the late President Grover Cleveland, in which a similar organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of union veterans of the Civil War, were used extensively for the purpose of breaking strikes and herding scabs, and otherwise acting on the side of the employers; and;

WHEREAS, In a recent maritime strike in San Francisco, the Commander and other officers of the American Legion, Department of California, were responsible for starting a publicity campaign that, in the judgment of many members of Organized Labor and of the American Legion, had for its purpose the beginning of laying the foundation of a program to turn over to the employers the organized veterans of this country as they were in 1893; and

WHEREAS, This appears to be a breach of faith on the part of the then Commander and other Officers of the Department of California of the American Legion that may disrupt the friendly relationships that have existed between these two organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that this entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of entering into an exhaustive investigation of the actions of the just retired Commander and other Officers of the Department of California, American Legion, with special regard to the publication of certain advertisements in San Francisco papers relative to the maritime strike recently concluded there, to determine, first, whether or not there is a conspiracy

upon the part of certain officials and members of the American Legion to betray the pact of friendship between that organization and the organized labor movement, and to bring in a report of their findings to the next convention of this Federation.

The relations between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have been of a thoroughly friendly and co-operative character. If any incident has occurred which would weaken the friendly relationship which has existed for so many years, your committee cannot but express its profound regret. Whatever the facts may have been, your committee is convinced that it is not the function of this convention or of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the action of any subordinate past officer of the American Legion. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Workers in Radio Industry

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Wade H. Read, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18368.

WHEREAS, The radio industry has developed during the past few years to a point where it is recognized as one of the major industries of the country, employing approximately 50,000 workers; and

WHEREAS, Organization work has been carried on in the industry with the result that 17 organizations have been chartered in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Organization work is being carried on by independent unions, and to some extent employees are under the domination of company unions; and

WHEREAS, Those workers who have been organized in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor have succeeded in advancing their economic interests; and

WHEREAS, By advancing the interests of the affiliated organizations they have placed themselves at a disadvantage by their competition with unorganized labor; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated organizations have demonstrated that complete organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is vitally necessary; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a special program of organization be conducted in the radio industry by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action as may be required to accomplish the purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protest Against Unfair Attitude of S. Clay Williams, Chairman Administrative Division NRA

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigarmakers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the workers of our country have been assured that those placed in control of the administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act would be fair, impartial and sympathetic towards the adoption of and the approval of codes which would make possible employment opportunities for millions of those workers now unemployed with resultant increases in purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, During the past week Mr. S. Clay Williams, Chairman of the Board of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, has been made Chairman of the Administrative Division of the National Recovery Administration; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams officiates as the Chairman of the code committee for the cigarette and smoking tobacco manufacturing industry and has been an official of the National Recovery Administration for the past fifteen months during which time he apparently used his position and his influence to prevent the consideration of any code for that industry, and, when, finally, forced to present a code for that industry, presented a code which would have permitted of the payment of wages as low as 12 cents per hour, and, which code deprived the President of the United States of the mandatory power contained in all other codes to amend or modify codes; and

WHEREAS, Since August 21, 1934, when a public hearing was held on the code above described, Mr. S. Clay Williams has refused to participate in any hearing or meeting with representatives of the workers of the cigarette and smoking tobacco manufacturing industry and officials of the NRA, through which hearing or meeting final action could be taken and a code adopted, and has even stated that unless those in charge of the consideration of a code for that industry accepted the proposed code which he, Mr. S. Clay Williams, had presented, or a code which

was acceptable to the cigarette manufacturers, that he would oppose the approval and the enforcement of such code and would take the case to the Supreme Court if necessary; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams has stated that 40 cents per hour is an excessive minimum wage to be made effective for skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Mr. S. Clay Williams represents and officiates for an industry, namely the cigarette industry, the total labor costs of the products produced representing less than 2 per cent of the wholesale value of such products, and, which industry has plowed back into the industry each year for the past 12 years out of the profits more dollars than was paid yearly to the wage workers of the entire industry, and, which industry has continually, during the depression, paid large dividends to the stockholders and extraordinary bonuses to officials while each year reducing the amounts paid in wages to the workers; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of such individuals as Mr. S. Clay Williams in control of the administration of the National Recovery Administration will make possible, through the issuance of regulations which have the force and effect of law, the virtual enslavement of the workers of our country; and

WHEREAS, Those workers who have suffered and been discriminated against as a result of the prejudiced and biased attitude of Mr. S. Clay Williams and his type holding influential positions in the control of the National Recovery Administration do not believe that President Roosevelt is aware of the highly prejudiced and unfair attitude of Mr. S. Clay Williams; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby direct the Executive Council to call the attention of President Roosevelt to the biased, unfair and inconsiderate attitude of and the activities of Mr. S. Clay Williams as an official of the National Recovery Administration and to suggest to President Roosevelt that he have an impartial investigation made of the hostile attitude and the activities of Mr. S. Clay Williams as an officer of the National Recovery Administration before fully entrusting to said Mr. S. Clay Williams the power which ordinarily he, the President, imposes in his appointees.

In recommending concurrence with this resolution your committee calls attention to the impropriety of the appointment of individuals to positions under the National Industrial Recovery Act whose public record has been one of opposition to trade unionism, collective bargaining and the principles and definite

provisions embodied in Section 7 (a) and (b) of the National Industrial Recovery Act. It is difficult, if not impossible, for trade unionists to co-operate satisfactorily with individuals whose public statements and personal policy have been at variance with the intent and the provisions of legislation which declares that the right of Labor to voluntary organization is equal in every respect to that of all other groups of citizens.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Out-of-Work Stamp for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In times of extraordinary unemployment, many members of Federal labor unions and of Local unions chartered by National and International unions, have no income and therefore find it impossible to meet their usual obligations, including the payment of union dues; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that workers placed in this position become discouraged when compelled to forego to any extent their rights and standing as members, and thus become estranged from the organized units of our movement through no fault of their own; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable and necessary to maintain effective the membership of every worker once organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor give consideration to the better protection of our unemployed membership through a system of out-of-work stamps; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby recommend to all National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to likewise give consideration to the purpose of security in the standing of their unemployed members.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the Executive Council make a study of the various methods by which International Unions have provided for the maintenance of good standing for unemployed members, and that this compilation be forwarded to all affili-

ated National and International Unions for their information.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation Requiring Naval Work Be Done in Government Plants

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present productive capacity of the United States navy yards and arsenals are not used to the greatest advantage, due to lack of work; and

WHEREAS, The naval vessels, ordnance work and military equipment are manufactured in private yards and establishments while the facilities of the Government plants are allowed to remain idle; and

WHEREAS, The taxpayers are entitled to a more productive use of expensive machinery installed; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular Convention assembled, do approve and recommend that legislation be introduced in the Congress of the United States, providing: That no naval vessels, ordnance work or military equipment be manufactured in private establishments until the present capacity of Government plants shall have been fully utilized.

Your committee recommends that the "Resolve" be made to read:

"RESOLVED, That this convention recommend to the Executive Council that a measure be introduced in the Congress of the United States which will provide that no further contracts be entered into by the Government for naval vessels, ordnance work or military equipment, until the present capacity of Government arsenals and navy yards has been fully utilized."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Activities of Dual Union of Motion Picture Machine Operators

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The activities and the program of the American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., of Los Angeles, Cali-

fornia, is opposed to that of the International Photographers, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, Said American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., is a dual organization to that of the International Photographers of the Motion Picture Industry, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., is a company union and as such has intimidated, coerced and forced members of the International Photographers of the Motion Picture Industry, Local No. 659, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, to join said company union against their wishes and desire; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of its existence, its activities and program is harmful to the interests of all members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada and has brought about a perilous condition to the structure of organized labor in the State of California; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately promulgate a plan whereby said American Society of Cinematographers, Inc., shall be forced to terminate their existence as a dual organization and company union.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators with the further request that the Executive Council give its co-operative assistance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Code for Telegraph Communications Industry

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Percy Thomas, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, One year ago the Washington convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 8, which demanded that the Telegraph Communications Industry be placed under a permanent code of fair competition at the earliest possible date;

WHEREAS, Despite numerous hearings and promises, the Telegraph Communications industry has not yet been placed under a code of fair competition;

WHEREAS, Employees of commercial companies continue to suffer loss of earnings, deplorable working conditions and unemployment under the President's Re-employment Agreement, which was declared by General Johnson on August 30, 1933, as "wholly unsatisfactory"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to urge on the National Recovery Administration speedy action in connection with the imposition of a code of fair competition on the Telegraph Communications industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Investigation of Labor Policy of Procter & Gamble Co.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. C. Coulter, Central Labor Council, Long Beach, California.

WHEREAS, The Procter & Gamble Company have capitalized on their so-called "Employees Profit-Sharing Plan"; and

WHEREAS, The consuming public have been led to believe that the said Profit-Sharing Plan is all-embracing in so far as the workers are concerned; and

WHEREAS, The public is entitled to a clear picture of the practical application of the said plan, which can only be properly had through an impartial investigation; and

WHEREAS, Because of the widespread operations of the Procter & Gamble Company and other similar plant operations with its many plant units of operation, it appears proper that in order to obtain the maximum of results all plants must be organized; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President thereof to cause a complete investigation by the proper Governmental Agency of the so-called Employees Profit-Sharing Plan, together with the Pension and Benefit Plan, reporting same through the proper agency to the President of the American Federation of Labor and in turn to the consuming public; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor direct an organization campaign looking to the complete organization of all plants of the Procter &

Gamble Company and other companies engaged in soap and edible oil products manufacturing.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting PWA Designating Employment of Non-Union Workers

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been obtained from the Los Angeles office of the National Re-employment Service, 1123 South Hill Street (W. J. Willis, director), an excerpt from a bulletin, purportedly issued from Washington, D. C., by the Public Works Administration, entitled "P. W. A. 1247, Manual of Instructions—State Engineers and Field Inspectors," which excerpt is purportedly taken from Page No. 44, last paragraph, and reads: "If the applicant so desires, an additional condition may be added to the terms of paragraph 3 (a), Revised Bulletin No. 2, to the effect that the preponderance of labor to be employed must be employed from the political subdivision in which the project is located and the remainder from the County, provided such labor is available and qualified. Therefore, if there is a non-union community which is constructing the project, and it desires to employ a preponderance of its own residents, it may require the contractor to do so, regardless of any agreements between the contractor and labor organizations. Residents of the County in which the town is situated may not then be supplied as workers until the number permitted the town are employed. If the contractor, because of his union agreements, cannot comply with this, he is not a qualified contractor"; and

WHEREAS, The subject matter of this paragraph, if allowed to prevail and become a permanent rule of the PWA will have a grievous effect upon the employment of Union members of the various crafts involved by disqualifying their employers to bid on and construct such public works projects as may be built in the aforementioned districts; and

WHEREAS, If this paragraph is allowed to apply, it will have a depressing effect upon any and all organizing campaigns waged; and

WHEREAS, The application of this paragraph would be in direct violation of Section 7-a of the NRA, which clearly allows employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers, besides discriminating against those employers who wish to abide by the said laws by

maintaining contractual relationship with their employers by disqualifying these employers from bidding on or constructing such public works projects which may be constructed in such districts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, protests the application of this or similar rules upon any and all public works projects as discriminatory against Union Labor members, against employers who maintain contractual relations with Union organizations, and is contrary to the intent and purpose of the National Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of the resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Public Works Administration at Washington, D. C., the two Senators and all the Members of Congress from the State of California and O. C. Carr, State Engineer Inspector for Public Works Administrations of California.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials, and from whose judgment the employes have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of tenure if the employe is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare, and have introduced in the Congress, legislation to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals, independent of any existing government agency to which employes may appeal in

demotion and dismissal cases, and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Abrogation of Building Trades Agreement Covering PWA Work Relating to Employment Agencies.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress an Act was passed entitled the "National Industrial Recovery Act," for the purpose of creating a public works program to spread employment and increase wages, thereby increasing purchasing power, which, in turn, if carried out as outlined by the supporters and makers of this act, would build up and strengthen the whole economic structure of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The above-entitled Act was so worded as to provide for designated agencies to be set up by the Federal Government for the registration of all labor, both skilled and unskilled; and

WHEREAS, Because a further clause was written into said Act pertaining to Union Labor, wherein representatives of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor submitted evidence that 80 per cent of the class of work contemplated under said Act had been done in the past by contractors who have contractual relations with Union Labor; therefore, it is very necessary to provide for the protection of union mechanics as well as union employers wherein the following clause was drawn up and made a part of said Act. (This clause as published in Bulletin No. 2 was agreed upon by the International representatives of the Labor Unions, and involved J. M. McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department, and Secretary of the Interior Harold I. Ickes, appointed by the President of the United States to carry out the interpretations of the said Act), the two pertinent sections of which agreement read as follows:

"11. Be it further resolved, that in the event that the prevailing hourly rate prescribed under collective agreements or understandings between Organized Labor and employers on April 30, 1933, shall be above the minimum set for any district within that zone; that agreed wage rate shall be the rate to be paid for em-

ployes on construction projects financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

"111. Highly skilled or organized labor shall not be required to register for work at such local employment agencies, but shall be secured in the customary ways through recognized trade union locals. In the event such highly skilled or organized labor is not secured by such locals within forty-eight hours after request is filed with them, then such workers shall be obtained through local employment agencies designated by the United States Employment Service."

WHEREAS, In the State of California said re-employment offices were designated and set up by the United States Government and had just commenced to function properly during the last sixty-day period, when undue pressure was brought about by certain people supposed to be representing the general contractors and influenced and governed by the Chambers of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations, whose attitude toward Union Labor organizations is well known (to disrupt the entire set-up in so far as Union Labor is concerned); and

WHEREAS, The above-mentioned influence has caused a change to be made which is detrimental to the highly skilled men of the carpenter and kindred building trade crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the effect that contractors have been released from under this act to secure all foremen, subforemen and keymen from the designated agencies, which is being abused by unscrupulous contractors; and, furthermore, all foremen and keymen have been permitted to use tools at the rate of journeymen's pay, and in many instances, contractors have been allowed to use tools themselves. These instances and others not mentioned are examples of the subterfuges and illegitimate practices being allowed to creep into the building program under the PWA administration, to nullify the intent of the Act; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco, the week of October 1, 1934, go on record as bitterly protesting this procedure and instruct its officers to immediately take up with the proper authorities in Washington to have these violations stopped at the earliest possible date.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Seamen vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate V. A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The International Seamen's Union of America has through custom and practice and by virtue of its charter from the American Federation of Labor had jurisdiction over all employees engaged in any capacity other than licensed officers, on vessels flying the American flag on ocean and coastwise vessels and craft plying bays, sounds and inland waters; and

WHEREAS, Said jurisdiction has been exercised on the Bay of San Francisco and its tributaries by district unions of the International Seamen's Union of America at various times during the past thirty years without question or challenge from any American Federation of Labor organization; and

WHEREAS, During the past fifteen years the Ferryboatmen's Union, a district union of the International Seamen's Union of America, has maintained jurisdiction over all men employed on vessels plying San Francisco Bay and tributaries working in unlicensed capacities; and

WHEREAS, During this period the Ferryboatmen's Union has at all times had a majority of unlicensed men on San Francisco Bay craft organized and working under contractual relations, and at least for a period had practically every man employed on river craft, barges and tugs, in addition to ferryboats, under its banner; and

WHEREAS, During the past few months the jurisdiction of the International Seamen's Union of America and its district union, the Ferryboatmen's Union, has been challenged by the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 38-79 of San Francisco; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that the jurisdiction of the International Seamen's Union of America shall include in addition to ocean coastwise and lake vessels all employees, other than licensed officers, engaged on all craft plying bays, sounds and rivers of the United States.

Your committee is advised this resolution was presented by reason of a misunderstanding and leave to withdraw it has been filed with the committee. Your committee recommends the request be complied with.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now decides to suspend the report of the Committee on Resolutions for the moment, in order to take up the report of the Committee on Laws, which was made a special order for 11 o'clock this morning. The Chair recognizes the chairman of the Committee on Laws, Brother Martin Francis Ryan.

Chairman Ryan: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—It has been my honor and my privilege to serve on the Committee on Laws as the chairman for quite a few years. I recognize and I appreciate that honor and distinction and along with me on that committee, I am happy to say and to testify, it has been my privilege to be associated with some of the outstanding and loyal trade unionists in attendance at this convention. We met and organized in an orderly way; we held a number of meetings and we have given careful consideration to all matters referred to our committee. We have reached our decision and we are now ready to report. The report will be read by our secretary, Brother Volz, International President of the Photo Engravers' Union.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Volz of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Secretary Volz: Your Committee on Laws begs leave to submit the following report:

It has had referred to it seven different propositions, two in regards enlarging the Executive Council, two in regards amendments to the laws of the Building Trades Department, and three involving a reduction and reapportionment of per capita tax.

Where the sense permitted, we have grouped these propositions for the purpose of expediency and to avoid unnecessary duplications.

Proposed Constitutional Amendment to Enlarge Executive Council

Resolution No. 1—By United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article V, Section 1, on page 9, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight" appearing on the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five."

To Enlarge American Federation of Labor Executive Council

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane and Maurice C. Cohn, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In view of the recent tremendous growth in membership of the American Federation of Labor; the Executive Council has become too small and unrepresentative; and

WHEREAS, Some of the largest and most important unions in the American Federation of Labor are not represented on the Council; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor take necessary steps to enlarge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor so that more organizations can be represented thereon, and a better representation of all crafts can be a part thereof.

Resolution No. 1 proposes increasing the number of Vice-Presidents to be elected from eight to 25, and consequently the number of Executive Council members from 11 to 28. Resolution No. 28 also proposes an increase, but does not suggest any definite number.

Similar amendments and modified substitute amendments were presented for consideration at the two previous conventions of the Federation, but failed of passage.

Your committee is informed and is aware that there is present a manifest desire among many delegates in attendance at this convention to enlarge the Council by the selection of additional officers, but not to the extent proposed in Resolution No. 1.

Your committee joins with those who question the advisability of too great an increase and—with but one dissenting vote, who desired to be recorded in the negative—are recommending a substitute for the two foregoing Resolutions No. 1 and No. 28, by submitting the following amendment to the Constitution:

Amend Section 1, Article V, of the Constitution by striking out the word "eight" on the second line and substituting in lieu thereof the word "fifteen," making the entire section read as follows:

"Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council."

On behalf of the committee I move concurrence in that recommendation.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: Mr. President, delegates to the convention—Upon two previous occasions I have stood before this convention of the American Federation of Labor and advocated the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of this organization which would provide an opportunity for its Executive Council to be more representative of the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor. Upon both of those occasions I stated that I was moved by no ambition other than to bring about a change which would be beneficial in molding the policies of this organization.

It is the hope of the delegates to this convention that during the coming year there will be an accretion to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, to the end that this organization will speak for millions of American wage earners, and I consider that it is proper that the Committee on Laws, serving this convention, should present a recommendation to meet the new conditions as rapidly as they arise.

Let me say to you that if the Executive Council of the American Federation of

Labor was an administrative body I would be one of the last to suggest an increase in its number, but the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is a policy-making body, if you please, and I believe that if it is to serve its best purpose it should be as representative of the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as it is possible to make it.

In proposing and supporting an increase in the Executive Council, it was not my thought nor my intention to suggest that organizations which are adequately represented should increase their representation upon that body. I have stated upon the floor of this convention, and it is a matter of record, that I consider the organization for which I am privileged to speak is adequately represented upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. My purpose was to provide an opportunity for others who were not so situated to secure that representation which would make the membership of these organizations more inclined to follow the policies enunciated by the Executive Council and approved by the conventions of this organization.

I am satisfied, as a proponent of what I consider to be a reform, with the recommendation of the Committee on Laws. I trust that this amendment, if adopted, will serve the aims and purposes of those who have proposed and supported it; and I say that there is no delegate in the convention of the American Federation of Labor who is more truly concerned with the future of this organization, or who would go further or do more to propose and support any proposal which would advance the effectiveness of the organization that must be for the American wage earners in the crisis which must come within the next few years in this country.

I say to you that, in supporting the proposed amendment to the law which increases the number upon the Executive Council, the only purpose of this delegate is to render better service to American wage earners, and make the Executive Council of this organization more representative of the entire membership.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hesketh.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President and delegates—I agree entirely, for once in my career, with Delegate Howard of the Typographical Union. I trust the delegates here will see fit in their wisdom to adopt this report. In accordance with the committee's report I trust you will see fit to put someone from the food industry on the Executive Council.

Delegate Davis, Boilermakers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—It isn't often that I arise in this convention to offer objections to what might be termed committee reports, but I feel at this time that I cannot remain seated any longer. I see in the committee's report something far more than representation. I see in the committee's report, in the set-up, and especially if the newspapers are right, something that is going to make the American Federation of Labor a party that need never have any more conventions. I hold, Mr. Chairman, that with the increase proposed by this committee, the Executive Council could then decide all the questions that might confront the movement.

May I call to your attention—and I take for granted that the newspapers know something of what they are speaking—that the combined vote of the Executive Council would be a great majority of the votes in the American Federation of Labor. I hold that by such an arrangement it would cease to be a representative body. In addition to that, I think I am in accord with Delegate Howard and, if it is decided by this convention that there must be an increase in the Executive Council, I hold it should be representative of the movement and not representative of its new corps and organizations.

I have tried all my life to be regular with this movement. I have tried always to listen to the reason and wisdom of those who have been in the movement longer than myself, and I say to the delegates here today that if the proposed recommendation is adopted you will have

done more to destroy the effectiveness of the American Federation of Labor and its convention than any one thing that you have ever done before in any convention.

There is no good reason why one or two or three organizations should be represented two or three times on the same Council.

Now, if we are to stifle initiative, if we are to stifle free thought, if we are to stifle the aggressiveness of this movement, I say adopt the committee's report. Personally, I think the present set-up of the Council is sufficient, but if you are to increase it, I say that no one industry should have more than one representative on the Council.

Delegate Tobin, Brotherhood of Teamsters: Mr. President and delegates—I favor the report of the committee as an amendment to the Constitution. Last year I was opposed to the resolution introduced by Delegate Lewis, which called for twenty-five Vice-Presidents. When consulted about it this year I opposed a Council of twenty-eight members. As time goes on we have got to meet the conditions confronting the Labor Movement. I don't know anybody who will not admit that conditions have so substantially changed in so far as the work of the Labor Movement is concerned within the last year, that it would be almost impossible to carry on the work of this Council without changing or enlarging the present membership.

I served on this Executive Council as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for eleven years. I resigned from that Council in 1928. I don't want to go on the Council again, I have too much work, unless I can be helpful. If I do it will only be temporarily, so I am not speaking for myself. I have been in the Council when some of the members, taken up with their own affairs, were absent from meetings and very often we would not have a quorum to carry on the work of the Council. The work has increased more than double within the last year.

Now, of course, with reference to who shall compose the Council, the amend-

ment to the Constitution has nothing to do with it, but in view of the fact that Delegate Davis referred to it, I am also going to refer to it.

The law of this American Federation of Labor is that any member of the trades union movement in good standing and vouched for by his officers has the right to aspire to any office in this Federation, even if he is not a delegate to the convention. We are not selecting organizations. What we want on the Council is men who will fight for the things that Labor believes it is entitled to. We can not elect in the composition of our Council men because they come from certain organizations. There are certain men connected with our movement who have made a market for the Labor Movement in the last year in the City of Washington. As far as I am concerned, whether it be one man or two men or three men from any particular organization, if they have the stuff in them to do the things that should be done I am not worried about what organization they come from.

The majority of this convention shall decide whom they want to serve them on the Executive Council. When this vote is taken I am satisfied that Brother Davis and his associates, no matter who is elected, will protect and take care of and represent him as he should be represented on the Executive Council.

I hope and trust that the amendment shall obtain and that the committee's report will be adopted by this convention in the interest of our Labor Movement.

Delegate Gillooly, Flint Glass Workers: Mr. President and delegates—I arise to offer an amendment to the report of the Committee on Laws. I move to add the following, "but in no case shall there be any more than one member of any national, international or Federal Labor organization listed as a member of the Executive Council."

The amendment was seconded.

President Green: Delegate Gillooly offers an amendment to the committee's report. The question now occurs on the motion to adopt the amendment.

Delegate Gillooly: I agree with the statement made by the President of the Typographical Union, that if the Labor Movement of America is to have a fair representation of members on the Executive Board we should as a body of delegates comprising the congress of the American Federation of Labor, support the amendment that has been offered, for the reason that it would eliminate things that have been charged as going on in the city of combination and lining up votes for the purpose of electing certain individuals to the Executive Council. I am in favor of the present set-up of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and I am satisfied to entrust to these representatives of the Labor Movement any complaint that may directly or indirectly affect our organization, but if we are to increase the members of the Executive Council, then we should display the same spirit of fairness that actuated the pioneer members of the American Labor Movement in its formation. I am not agreeable to electing two men from any International Labor Union represented in this convention because of its large vote. If we go along as has been proposed, for illustration, and no limitation is placed on the number to be represented from any international union, what will prevent the larger unions combining their vote, if they so desire, to elect and place the power in the hands of a few to control the destinies of the American Federation of Labor?

We have at the present time, Mr. Chairman, a set-up of fair representation of Labor in the American Labor Movement. We have as the President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, and a fellow delegate to this convention representing the Mine Workers of America. We have, on the other hand, Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, a member of the Typographical Union, and recognized as a member of the Council. We have Brother Frank Duffy, a member of the Carpenters' organization and a member of the Executive Council. We have Matthew Woll, a member of the Executive Council representing the Photo-Engravers' organization. We have Tom Rickert, a member of the Executive Council, representing the

United Garment Workers of America. We have George Harrison another newly elected member of the Council, representing the Railway Clerks. We have A. O. Wharton, representing the International Association of Machinists, a member of the Executive Council. We have John Coefield, a member of the Executive Council, representing the Plumbers and Steamfitters. We have our good friend Martin Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, a member of the Executive Council, representing the Railway Carmen, and last, but not least, Joe Weber, a member of the Executive Council, representing the Musicians.

The amendment was presented in the hope that the wisdom and practice and policy of the American Federation of Labor might be continued in the selection of members of the Executive Council from the various national and international organizations represented in this convention, and not permit, without limitations being placed on the Council, certain individual international unions to combine their large vote and elect whom they see fit to elect.

I left off one member of the Council, Brother Buglazzet, who represents the Electrical Workers.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: I have no desire to discuss the amendment proposed by Delegate Gillooly, but I would like to raise two constitutional points of order. First, the basis of representation in the American Federation of Labor is not the number of international unions represented, but on the basis of membership; second, that the amendment offered by Delegate Gillooly impairs the right of members to aspire to be elected to office in the American Federation of Labor, and is therefore out of order.

President Green: You have raised a fine constitutional point, Brother Kennedy. First of all, you raise the point of the basis of representation of organizations in the American Federation of Labor. Just what is the point in that?

Delegate Kennedy: That we are not in here based upon the number of unions

in the Federation, but on the basis of the membership of the Federation. Second, that the amendment impairs the right of individual members to aspire and be elected to office in the Federation.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order you raise on the matter of representation is well taken. That is set forth in our law and is clearly provided for. The Constitution provides for the basis of representation of organizations in the convention.

On the second point the Chair would rule that this is a constitutional convention. It has the right to amend the law in accordance with the expressed will of a majority of the convention. And even if the convention decides or desires to limit the right of representation the convention itself has authority to do that. We cannot deny the exercise of the rights of the delegates in attendance at a constitutional convention.

Delegate Kennedy: May I be privileged to discuss the amendment?

President Green: Yes.

Delegate Kennedy: Mr. Chairman, the first point which I raised with respect to the amendment of Delegate Gillooly was sustained by President Green. I think if we logically pick out the interpretation placed upon that point by President Green it would naturally and consistently lead up to the assumption at least that if representation is not based upon international organizations or the number of them, that it would logically follow that to restrict these organizations from having more than one or two representatives would really bring about destruction of the underlying principles for which the American Federation of Labor is organized, that is, representation upon the basis of majority.

Now, my friends, I feel the amendment developed by Delegate Gillooly, and other arguments which have to do with this particular amendment, are really an attempted indictment on the basis of the thought of majority rule in the Council of the American Federation of Labor. At

the present time the Council, in so far as the membership is concerned, represents a minority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor. It is true that upon the basis of organizations they might be represented, but on the basis of membership they really represent the minority.

The proposal submitted by the committee provides for fifteen members of the Executive Council, and upon that basis in the convention, irrespective of organizations, the chances are that for the first time in many years the Council will truly represent the majority of the membership of the Federation, and I submit that the report of the committee comes closer to the fundamentals of the American Labor Movement than does the amendment.

Mr. Gorman, here the other day, in discussing the affairs of the United Textile Workers, proclaimed the hope—and we all join with him—that eventually the textile organizations might have a membership totaling one million members within the Federation. I submit that if they do they would be entitled to as many members on the Executive Council as they could elect in this convention. And the same is true of any other organization.

As I see it, it will develop a type of unionism based upon international organizations and against the principle of majority rule. That does not conform to the principles of the Labor Movement such as we got from Samuel Gompers and from other pioneer leaders of our Movement. And, joining with Brother Tobin, I say that if one organization can give us five influential members on the Executive Council it would be to the interest of the Labor Movement to take them because of the value that would be secured thereby. And I submit that the principle that majority rule is at stake in the convention, and nobody needs fear majority rule in any gathering.

The report of the committee provides for majority rule and we should not prevent any man from any organization to aspire to be elected to office. The amendment offered by Delegate Gillooly would put that into effect, and it is my judgment

that the amendment should be voted down and the report of the committee should be sustained.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: Mr. President and members of the convention—I know just as truly as any delegate sitting in the hall that I presumed to walk upon this platform and to give expression to my views on this all-important question without first receiving the nod of the president of the convention. I haven't the least doubt but what some of you delegates in your minds feel that, in presuming to come upon this platform without receiving the nod, I am exhibiting considerable gall to do that without being asked to come forward.

Brothers and sisters, I do not represent a large organization in numbers, but I do feel that I have every right and privilege to be as bold and brazen, and to come forward and strut my stuff, as John L. Lewis, Dan Tobin, or any other member of the organization, and they have not waited to receive the nod before coming forward. And I make this observation because I was conscious of the fact that I dared to do it.

Now in reference to the amendment to the proposition. As you delegates know, this question has been before the last two or three, or possibly four conventions of the American Federation of Labor. You know just as well as I do the individual in this convention who has stood out in his opposition to the adoption of such a resolution. That delegate is none other than Brother Dan Tobin, of the Teamsters, and I am quite sure that you delegates have noted his usual consistent inconsistency on such questions.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I raise a point of order. He is out of order; he is not discussing the question.

President Green: The point is well taken. We must not indulge in personalities.

Delegate Duffy: If necessary I shall appeal from the decision of the president. It is quite significant, may I say, with reference to the point of order, Brother Tobin, may I say that you, and you,

Brother Lewis, can occupy the time of this convention and indulge in the most extreme remarks toward each other, and just because I represent a small organization I want to be heard, because I have just as much right as John L. Lewis or any other of the rest of them.

Delegate Lewis: I ask that the speaker be kept within the rules, and if it is necessary for me to enforce my own rule with regard to my good name I am ready to do it.

President Green: This is a matter of law, it is a matter of adopting the committee's report, it is not a question of personalities. The chair must, of necessity, rule that no speaker, no matter who he is, can indulge in personalities when the point of order is raised. The Chair has given wide latitude in the discussion, but when the point is raised the Chair must rule that no delegate can indulge in personalities. Delegate Duffy shall be given the widest latitude to discuss this motion. He is entitled to the same rights as any other delegate to this convention. The only thing we ask is that he confine himself in the discussion to the subject and confine himself to parliamentary law.

Delegate Duffy: I fail to see wherein I am doing anything other than Brother Tobin and Brother Lewis have done upon various occasions, and I maintain that John L. Lewis is guilty of trying to enforce discrimination, and, so far as I am concerned, he has my full, whole hearted approval to do anything he dares to do, and I am not afraid of him because he happens to represent the United Mine Workers of America.

President Green: Brother Duffy, the Chair must insist upon you conforming to rulings of the Chair and if you do not then the Chair will have to enforce the rules of the convention. Now, please confine yourself to a discussion of the question before the house and avoid personalities.

Delegate Duffy: I do not maintain that I am indulging in personalities, and I am going to appeal to the delegates to this convention over the decision of the presi-

dent if I am to be muzzled and cannot have the same opportunity as these other delegates who are now trying to impose the gag rule, and if I am interrupted again by any delegate or the president of this convention, I am going to ask the delegates in convention to decide whether or not the president's ruling that I must desist prevails, or whether I am to have an opportunity to unburden myself of what I have to say.

President Green: You will be given the widest opportunity to discuss this question if you observe parliamentary law, if not, the Chair will not allow you to speak.

Delegate Duffy: Last year and the year before when this question was before the convention Brother Dan Tobin arose and was recognized, and he gave as the one reason, practically speaking, why he was opposed to the adoption of a similar or identical resolution, and that was because John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers was seeking through the adoption of this resolution the power to control the American Federation of Labor. That is the record and it cannot be denied.

Might I say also with reference to this question of being personal—where was John L. Lewis the other day when Brother Dan Tobin came upon this platform and insulted members of organized international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? And did John L. Lewis raise any objection to the indulgence of personalities then? Certainly he didn't, and it was only because he was determined to put across this resolution which will give him the power he wants.

President Green: The delegate is out of order and must cease his remarks unless he agrees to conform to the ruling of the Chair and the rules of the convention.

Delegate Duffy: I wish to appeal from the decision of the Chair and ask you delegates to decide the question as to whether or not I am to be permitted to finish my remarks.

President Green: The delegate appeals from the decision of the Chair on the point of order. The question is, Shall the

decision of the Chair be the decision of the convention? All in favor of the decision of the Chair being the decision of the convention will say aye.

A viva voce vote was taken and at the conclusion the president said: "The ayes have it and the ruling of the Chair is sustained."

Delegate Duffy: Well, I certainly am deeply edified by this exhibition of American or Yankee square-dealism, as you might term it. Now I might ask why Brother Dan Tobin—

President Green: You cannot go on. If you elucidate your point without indulging in personalities you may do so.

Delegate Gordon: I raise a point of order. The delegate has violated the rules of the convention, he has refused to conform to a ruling of the Chair that has been sustained, and I believe he has forfeited his right to the floor.

President Green: The Chair wants to be fair in this matter, and I have said repeatedly that Brother Duffy will be given the widest opportunity to discuss the question before the convention, but this continual denunciation of individuals does not refer to the question at issue and will not be tolerated. The Chair will rule that the point of order cannot be sustained for the moment, but if the delegate insists upon his refusal to conform to the rules of the convention it will be sustained.

Delegate Duffy: May I ask if I am permitted to use the name of any delegate in this convention in any manner? Am I permitted to do that?

President Green: I am surprised at the president of an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who presides over the deliberations of conventions of his own, asking the Chair that question. Surely he knows parliamentary law, because he must be governed by parliamentary law when he presides over conventions of his own organization. If the delegate desires to refer to some statement in favor of or in opposition to the committee's report, he

has the right to do so, and the Chair will be very liberal in his ruling if Brother Duffy will only help by being reasonable in the matter.

Delegate Duffy: Then may I use the name of Howard. I wonder if there is anything mysterious and something sacred between the name of Dan Tobin and Charles Howard! Brother Howard stated in his remarks that the Executive Council is not an administrative body, that it is a policy-making body. If the Executive Council is not administrative, where is the administrative authority of the American Federation of Labor? Perhaps Brother Howard can answer. Is anyone going to come to the defense of Brother Howard and say that I am insulting him?

Delegate Howard: You can go as far as you like as far as I am concerned.

Delegate Duffy: Is it not a fact that one of the basic, fundamental principles of parliamentary law, and order, and procedure is that after the assembly as a whole, and after all those composing the assembly, if you please, have been permitted to have a free and unhampered opportunity to state their views on any question, and after such a debate and the discussion in any assembly, and the assembly as a whole decides the question, does it turn it over to either a small committee or a few persons, members of the assembly, as the body to administer or carry out the program on the principles enunciated and set forth as its objective?

Through the increasing of the Executive Council by placing more brains, as they say, on the Council—I don't know whether they meant that as a slight on the ability of the present Council or not—but they said we need more brains. My understanding of brains is not a quantitative quality and, as the saying goes, there is very good and valuable good in small packages.

I have respected the Council of the American Federation of Labor and I think there is ample brains there, and there is sufficient administrative force there to carry on the work of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor properly, constructively and in the interest of the American Labor Movement in so far as the American Labor Movement as a whole is concerned.

Brother Kennedy—and I hope, delegates, that I have not again taken in vain some idol of this convention in using Brother Kennedy's name—but Brother Kennedy expressed the opinion that the basis of representation in the American Federation of Labor is based upon membership in the respective national and international unions. I want to disagree with Brother Kennedy in that contention. Brother Kennedy knows just as well as you and I know that the American Federation of Labor does not admit to membership on the basis of individuals, but on the basis of Labor Units, such as national, international, state and central bodies, and it is representative only, in my humble opinion, in so far as this boasted American democratic principle and idea goes, only when those organizations as a whole are given proper consideration and opportunity to show whether or not there are any brains in these other organizations.

And I disagree with Brother Kennedy that it was on the basis of individual membership. He cannot find anything in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor substantiating that statement. It is on the basis, may I repeat, of national, international, state and local central bodies and on no other basis.

It is possible, if the organization members of this American Federation of Labor representing workers—which it so happens may be by accident or may be by some industrial development over which they or we and nobody else had any planning—that because of the nature of the industry large numbers of persons are employed in that industry, and because they happen to have a large membership, if you do not take into consideration the question of having power, full and complete representation from among the different organizations representing different industrial and factory workers, etc., it is possible that the larger organizations might control the American Labor Movement and they might be inclined—and

they are only human—it is possible in the light of past experience that they might be a little selfish and the majority might suffer as a result.

That particularly is pointed out, not in those words, no, but in principle and effect by an individual delegate to this convention, and I leave it to your own judgment as to whom I have referred, since I am forbidden to use his name. That has been the basis of his opposition, and now today he stands up here and asks you to take his word for it that it is the only thing that will mean the salvation of the American Federation of Labor.

I have heard some things in the last few days as to what is in the making. No doubt you have also heard these things. Now this question of brains: I am representing a small organization just like many other delegates in this convention, whose voices for the most part have been silenced because they seemed to have become conscious of the feeling that seems to permeate the very atmosphere of this hall, that because they come from small organizations they are not to strut their stuff as some of the others do, and are not backward in doing so.

And let me say, if I may presume, in behalf of national and international officials of small organizations, that there is just as much brains and ability among that class of delegates to this convention as there is among those representing the bigger organizations, and I prefer, so far as our own organization is concerned, to allow our record of over 40 years to speak for itself as to the constructiveness, the sane and sensible principles it has.

I hope that I have not offended any delegate to this convention. That is not my spirit. I only want an opportunity to express my thoughts on this question. If I have offended anyone, John L. Lewis or Dan Tobin or President Green or anybody else, I have enough sense of my responsibility as a gentleman to apologize for any insult or any personalities. I did not say my words in a spirit of trying to be personal, but aside from the personal side of the question I have endeavored

to speak—and I am sorry I was not permitted to say all I wanted to say—in the most sincere spirit in the interest of the American Labor Movement. I hope that you will at least support the amendment if you must support the motion in its objective, in order that you will maintain and make it possible that we have democratic rule in the American Federation of Labor and not rule by a privileged few, and by a block system, as it has been termed.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman and brothers—I rise in opposition to the amendment, and in speaking in opposition I shall not attempt to add any heat to the debate, but I think I can add a bit of light.

The purport of the amendment, its intention, is to distribute the membership of the Council as widely as possible among the subsidiary bodies of the American Federation of Labor. But let us analyze briefly exactly what it would do.

Avoiding personalities and naming no names, it would mean this: that so long as the present eminent leader of our organization holds his position, which we hope may be for long years to come, that so long as that condition endures the door is closed to every mine worker who might be ambitious to sit in that chair. So long as the Secretary occupies the position he does it is a bar to the admission of any Typographical Union man, and the same is true of the Treasurer, so long as he occupies that position it is a bar to the ambition of any Car worker.

If the amendment is adopted it would be impossible to secure on the Council the sort of men who might be vitally needed. There might be men of nationwide prominence and ability whose counsels are needed, but who would be prohibited from serving because of this amendment. Much has been said of the power that could be exercised by the organizations that have large votes. That power can be exercised now the same as it would be if the report of the committee is adopted. I favor the report and commend the spirit of the amendment, but in its practical application it would

be highly detrimental to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Martel: I arise for the purpose of offering an amendment to the amendment.

I move that the amendment be amended to provide that not more than one vice-president shall be elected from the same international union.

Seconded by Delegate Warren.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates. The original amendment as offered is aimed to keep certain men from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I believe it is more important to the members of the Labor Movement of America that it should seek the services of its outstanding members than to promote the prejudices of one individual against another and allow that to actuate our decision here today. There seems to be some fear here that some of the outstanding members of the trade union movement might sit in the councils of the American Federation of Labor and that in order to keep them from sitting there, there is a desire to use the fact that the president of this organization might be from the same international union. If the Miners International Union has seen fit to select from its membership John L. Lewis as their International President, is that a reason why we should not have his services on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor if we so desire?

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that this convention will not hog-tie itself by writing into the basic law any provision that will deny us the services of the most capable men in the trade union movement if we so desire those services.

It is refreshing, however, that the debate here on this question has taken an entirely different turn than it has taken for the last two years. The first day of the convention I was approached by one of my fellow delegates and queried as to whether I was going to do any beard pulling this year, and I informed him that in the light of the developments dur-

ing the last year I did not think it would be necessary, that the trade union movement as represented in this convention had about grown up to the suggestion that there should be room on the Executive Council for more members. I am glad to see that the committee to which this matter has been referred during the three conventions of the American Federation of Labor has finally seen the light, has finally given way before the pressure of sentiment in the convention to increase the membership of the Council.

The important thing before us, my friends, is the fact that a victory has been gained, that we are going to increase the membership of the Executive Council, not that we should now start using the hatchet on those who had the courage to lead in this important reform.

Delegate Gorman, United Textile Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I want to say first of all that no delegate representing the United Textile Workers of America is aspiring for a position on the Executive Council. There are several reasons for that. If I may be permitted at this time to outline the position of the United Textile Workers of America on the subject and also to make a statement as I tried to do the other day in reply to a reference made on the floor of this convention to rubbish that had come into the organization during the past year—my original intent on Wednesday was to ask this convention to expunge from the record that reference. Since then I have been assured by Delegate Tobin that he in no way referred to the United Textile Workers of America. That will satisfy my feelings in the matter for the time being. If any other delegate wants to take up the cudgels, it does not mean that I am not in favor of expunging that reference, but it has a great deal of bearing, in my opinion, on the subject before the convention at the present time.

I wish it were possible for the convention to carry out the original intent and increase the Executive Council to twenty-five. I am fearful that if the present set-up goes through it will react as a boomerang against the movement.

Even before the amendment is decided upon, before it is presented to this convention, we are told who the delegates are that are going to be on the Council. That to my mind is not a good sign. It is not good Labor policy, and I say this with no disrespect or reflection against the members who have been named. They will prove themselves an asset to the Executive Council, but the method whereby these things are done is the reason why the American Federation of Labor is looked upon with suspicion throughout the United States. It would seem to me that there are other organizations in this convention who are vitally interested in the subject of organization who are willing to devote their time and efforts to the extension of organization, and who are entitled to membership on this Executive Council.

I have numerous delegates in mind who would also prove an asset to the Executive Council. I would suggest for the consideration of the convention the advisability of giving more southern representation on the Executive Council, where we have an organization problem. Hundreds and thousands of workers not only in the textile industry, but in other industries are ready to come into this movement and would like to talk to their own people in their own localities on the subject. I know delegates in this convention from the South who could help in organization work in that territory.

I understand the name of Major Berry has been suggested and recommended for election. I have nothing against Major Berry, but Major Berry is a deputy administrator of the National Industrial Recovery Act. He is a busy man. Major Berry was a member of the Textile Committee which was wiped out of existence in the creation of the new Textile Board.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to see delegates to this convention from that part of the country given an opportunity to aspire. It seems unfair that the thing should be closed, that the matter should be settled even before it comes to the floor of this convention.

If I may, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make an amendment to the report of

the committee that the number on the Executive Council shall be enlarged to twenty-five in order to give other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor some representation on the Council.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I rise to a point of order. The original motion now carries two amendments. It is not subject to further amendment.

President Green: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate Henning, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and brother delegates—

Delegate Gorman, United Textile Workers: Would a substitute motion be out of order?

President Green: You have not been recognized just now, Delegate Gorman, I have recognized Brother Henning.

Delegate Henning: President Green and fellow delegates. When President Green recognized Delegate Martel with the subsequent recognition of his amendment. I was on the floor with the intention of supporting the first amendment, and naturally, therefore, because the amendment to the amendment is before the meeting I have now to oppose the adoption of the amendment to the amendment.

Briefly, in referring to the laws of the American Federation of Labor in Article V I find no restrictions which provide that the members of the Executive Council shall be confined to only one member from any National or International Organization. Then by referring to the minutes of our first day's session, we find that we are now in the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meaning that for over fifty years this organization has seen fit to recognize an unwritten rule that no two members shall be elected on the Executive Council from one organization. I have not had the experience of many of the delegates attending these conventions, but during the last eight years that I have had that honor I have seen recognized leaders of various organizations take the floor and nominate members of

their respective organizations—first for the officers of our Federation and then for the members of the Executive Council. I have always felt that these men in nominating their respective candidates, did so on the basis of one of two conclusions: either that their man, because of the position he held in his organization was sufficiently recognized and established to represent our Federation as an officer or as a member of the Executive Council, or because of his ability and experience he was so fitted. I have felt that in selecting a man from his own organization who happened to be a previous officer it was proper that the particular organization should place that officer's name in nomination.

However, I think we all recognize this fact, that if a certain organization did not see fit to so do, and the delegates to this convention thought that a certain officer, even though his organization had not nominated him, would be a desirable man to have considered, that such nomination would come from the floor of the convention, and that if the convention in its wisdom saw fit to elect such officer, either with or without the nomination of his own organization, or by nomination of another than one of his own, it would be due recognition of that organization and that that organization would be recognized so far as representation on the Council of the American Federation of Labor is concerned.

We have had this question before us in two previous conventions. This is the third in which it is being given serious consideration. We find today that there is a complete change in the position of certain spokesmen of certain organizations, which must of necessity indicate that there must be something in the way of added prestige to their organization or something that they are seeking to accomplish by having the report of the committee adopted without any restrictions.

This convention has referred to the Executive Council, I believe, a larger amount of work than any of the previous conventions that I have attended. The Executive Council has to represent this organization and carry on the functions

of this organization between conventions. We do not feel that an unrestricted representation on the Executive Council which would permit of one organization or two or three having more than one member on the Council would carry out the best intent that is aimed at when we have to delegate certain of our work to the Executive Council to perform in the interim between conventions. I believe the best results can be obtained, because it does seem apparent that the Executive Council is about to be enlarged, by the restrictions of the amendment and not by the restrictions of the amendment to the amendment. I trust the delegates present will give those two particular questions serious consideration in connection with the voting, so that we can have on the Executive Council, if it is to be increased, a larger representation of the various organizations, rather than a larger representation of certain individual organizations.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I believe I have attended all of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor since 1890 with the exception of three. I should not have taken the floor now on this question but for the fact that instead of lessening the force of the increased membership of the Executive Body and instead of lessening the force of the convention as that is being done and is suggested and is called attention to by one of the speakers here, the amendments themselves go further than even the committee's report in shackling the sovereign body. What is the meaning of the two amendments? Let me speak on the two at once. We who are sitting here now undertake to govern future conventions by our action here today, and it is in the line of taking away the freedom of action of the sovereign body in such a way as to make the whole question one of fundamental principles.

There is no doubt that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is overburdened with work. I don't know that it is going to help to put any more on. What I think you ought to do is to give them the necessary help in the matter of giving the present Council the right to select experts if they need them

for certain investigations that they are obliged to make as a result of the actions of the convention. Fundamentally, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is an executive body, and on an executive body in any kind of organization, what is intended is to see that the will of the majority is fulfilled. That they have become to a large extent a policy making body rises out of a disposition of altogether too many people in these conventions, one after the other, to "let George do it." It has not been sought by them, it has been forced on them, and they have had to look after a certain amount of investigation work that they could not tend to properly because their time would not permit.

I think this convention should be very chary in the whole proposition. Looking at the Labor Movement and guarding the fundamentals of all Labor in this country, I shall vote against the amendment and against the report. I don't think that it will strengthen the Federation to have the membership of the Executive Council increased.

I think it would strengthen the Council if they were given authority to employ experts under certain conditions and to get, therefore, more complete and unprejudiced facts to bring to the convention.

As far as representation on the Council is concerned, some of the discussion here has generated into what you might properly call piddling. The movement as a whole is not interested whether this organization or that organization is represented on the Council. The movement as a whole is interested in getting the best elements in the movement, those who are best fitted to stand as the guardians of the movement and serve on the Executive Council, and you are not going to improve the Labor Movement by adopting a system under which the Executive Council drafts the ideas into form for the purpose of the convention saying yes or no. That is not democracy. That is the half-way mark between democracy and absolutism. You are turning and going back instead of going forward in

some of these propositions. I shall vote against both.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question.

President Green: Delegate Gainor, I have not recognized you. Delegate Allfas has been asking for the floor for some time.

Delegate Gainor: In the same spirit of comradeship I now call your attention to the fact that it is fifteen minutes past adjourning time.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived. What is the desire of the convention?

Delegate Volz: I move you that the rules be suspended and we continue in session until this question is settled.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Tighe, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: Can a motion to suspend the rules be in order after the time set by the rules of order for adjournment has elapsed?

President Green: The Chair has not recognized that the time provided for adjournment in the rules of order has elapsed. The motion, therefore, is in order.

A viva voce vote was taken and the Chair was in doubt.

A vote by show of hands was then taken.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the motion to suspend the rules is carried.

Delegate Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers: A motion to suspend the rules requires a two-thirds majority. I don't believe it has the two-thirds majority.

President Green: I am sure of that. The point of order is well taken. The motion to suspend the rules requires a two-thirds vote. That being the case the motion is lost and the convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:45 p. m. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Tenth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees—Frang, Merlino, Horn, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Altire, Hillman, Doyle (Jas. J.), Feeney, Lucchi, McInerney, (J. A.), Evans (A. A.), De Veze (L.), Lowry, Swan, Hatch, Fay (S. V.), Billet, Tiller, Taylor (T. N.), Watt (R. J.), Clinedinst, Mastriani, Meany, Iglesias, Bailey, O'Brien (Paul), Gresty, Hirschfeldt, O'Brien (T. J.), MacDonald, Jackson, Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Campbell (Geo. C.), Gross, Restine, Cushing, McInroy, Mitchell (H.), DeWitt, Meyers (C. A.), Woods (T. E.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ellis, Rice, Graham (F. J.), Pitner, Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Bale, Campbell, Jackson, Draper, Hoocher, Bower, Davison (J. R.), Ringius, Wright, Johnson (C. O.), Dorsey, Holmes, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Franklin, Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Jenkins (B. B.), Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Duyungan, Townes (A. A.), Gorman (B. A.), Maisus, Wagner, Money, Doane, Whitson, De Long, Barnes (Geo.), Lumm, Wolfe, Tuohy, Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Watson (S.), Holland (W. B.), Hampton, Dent, Kelly, Garibaldi, Hull, Kidwell, Boyd, Groner, Ryan (James), Mitchell (R. A.), Yetta, Higgins, Moore (F. E.).

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, the representatives of the Federated Trades representing the shopmen on the Southern Pacific Lines ask unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. It is non-controversial in its character and it arises out of a condition which has developed as a result of our being now in position to take a vote to remove the company union on this railroad. We are just in receipt of information that approximately forty per cent of the ten thousand men involved in this controversy will be laid off not later than the 15th of this month. We consider it nothing more or less than intimidation on the part of the railroad to influence this vote. We trust the convention will grant this request.

President Green: Is there objection to the introduction of the resolution? Hearing none, the resolution will be received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution is as follows:

Southern Pacific Railroad Company Union.

Resolution No. 217—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, J. A. Franklin, D. W. Tracy, Roy Horn, H. C. Fremming, John F. McNamara, Martin Francis Ryan, Joe Reed, C. F. Grow.

WHEREAS, Our President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, immediately following his inauguration as President, delivered a public statement to the citizens of the United States of America that the economic and social conditions existing within the nation were such as could only be considered as a national danger, and that National Emergency Legislation was immediately required to deal with these grave problems; and

WHEREAS, The United States Senate and Congress, acting upon the urgent request of the President, created the NIRA and the Emergency Transportation Act, and providing for the necessary machinery and measures to restore the national prosperity; and

WHEREAS, The President, in his message to the people, declared that these laws were passed to put men back to work and also to increase wages, to insure the workers decent standards of living for themselves and dependents; and

WHEREAS, Thirteen million unemployed workers were given encouragement by these declarations and legislation to restore them to work; and

WHEREAS, Under this National Emergency Legislation the co-operation of the employers was required to assist the Government in stabilizing industry and returning men to work; and

WHEREAS, Under Section 2, Subsection 4, Amended Railway Labor Act (1934):

"Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representative of the craft or class for the purposes of this Act. No Carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any Carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees"; and

WHEREAS, There exists a Company Union, assuming to represent the Shop

Crafts, on the Southern Pacific, Pacific Lines. The representatives of this Company Union, running true to form and following the policy of such Company Unions, have through apparent collusion or at least tacit consent of Management, threatened, intimidated and coerced in every conceivable manner for the purpose of preventing the employees of the Southern Pacific Company from participating in the exercise of their rights under the law; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of the Shop Craft employees on the Southern Pacific Lines joined their respective organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, During the past year numerous threats have been made by representatives of the Company Union against the employees, members of the American Federation of Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The press reports of October 11, 1934, confirm the statements made by the officials of the Company Union; and

WHEREAS, The threatened reductions are now being put into effect on the eve of taking a vote to determine representation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session, does hereby condemn the action of the Company Union, its officers and representatives of Management for their consummation of an agreement which has for its purpose the reduction of force equal to approximately forty per cent of all shopmen employed by the Southern Pacific Railroad, Pacific Lines; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby declare its full support in assisting and protecting these employees who have been discriminated against by this unwarranted action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, many delegates have made arrangements to leave the convention this evening. I am of the opinion that we will be through with the report of the committee in an hour or two. I therefore offer a motion that the election of officers of this Federation be made a special order of business at 4:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Alfias.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Enlarging Executive Council

(Continued)

Delegate Alfias, Machinists: Mr. President and delegates: I rise in opposition to the amendment to the amendment on the question which was under consideration at the time of our recessing about 12:45. I believe the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should be composed of representatives as widespread as possible, so as to have spokesmen on the Executive Council from as many of the elements within our Labor Movement as possible. I believe that that procedure is in line with the general structure and policy of the Labor Movement.

Reference was made this morning to this body as being a sovereign body, and that the sovereign should not relinquish any of his prerogatives. A sovereign has the right to restrain himself, and this particular sovereign body has restrained itself in that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor cannot be amended except by a two-thirds vote. That somewhat restrains the will of an absolute majority, and it is well that it should be so, because we have heard many times about the tyranny of the majority in some instances. That is why organizations in other forms and even in forms of government must make some provision for granting individual liberties to the individual and to minorities in order that they may have a place in the picture.

Within the structure of our organization we have our several departments of the American Federation of Labor. These departments are divided into councils. The Machinists belong to the Metal Trades Council. In these councils all organizations are entitled to the same representation, regardless of their numerical strength. So that an organization which may have a membership of 4,000 members as we have had in some instances, is entitled to only one vote, whereas an organization which may have as low as 18 or 25 has only one vote. That is an instance where the majority restrains itself in order that minorities

might have their place in the sun and in the picture.

Even in this convention the rules which were submitted by the Rules Committee, of which I was a member, provided that delegates might have the opportunity to speak on their resolutions. That is a grant of the sovereign body to minorities with whom they may not actually agree. Now I think it would be very disastrous for the American Federation of Labor to institute here a set-up whereby a few large and powerful organizations would have the deciding upon practically all questions that come before this body. It is hardly to be expected of human beings that might be elected by one agency to represent any others. In most of the large organizations we have many capable men among them, and they would be untrue to their own organizations if they did not try to protect those organizations with all the means within their power.

And as members of the Executive Council representing the American Federation of Labor they are charged with the obligation of giving fair consideration to questions which may be brought before that body by minorities and which may be in conflict with the economic interests of their own group.

So that if we are going to have an Executive Council to represent the sentiment by and large of the American Federation of Labor it must be as widespread as possible and as free from the charge that it is merely an arrangement whereby the relative voting power of the individuals concerned is going to decide the question. We also deviate from the numerical strength idea in the Executive Council itself. Take Vice-President Woll with a small organization, he has the same power to vote on the Executive Council as Vice-President Duffy, representing a large organization. That is as it should be.

For these and many other reasons which I might cite, I hope the convention will vote down the amendment to the amendment and support the amendment.

President Green: The question recurs upon the amendment. Are you ready to vote? The question is on the amendment offered by Delegate Martel which provides, as I understand it, that in the election of members to the Executive Council no two vice-presidents shall come from the same organization. Is that correct?

Delegate Martel: Yes.

President Green: The convention will vote on the adoption or rejection of that amendment. Inasmuch as the law requires that amendments to the Constitution shall be adopted by two-thirds vote the roll will be called. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll and it will be first upon the amendment offered by Delegate Martel, to which I have referred.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers: Mr. President, Delegate Martel's amendment is an amendment to the amendment, is it not?

President Green: Delegate Martel's amendment is an amendment to the amendment. The first vote will be on the amendment to the amendment. The next vote will be on the amendment, and the third vote will be on the adoption of the committee's report. The convention will be in order and the Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll and had completed the work to and including the International Union of Longshoremen.

Roll Call on Delegate Martel's Amendment

(Discontinued)

YES—Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Ernst, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (Chris), Cohn (M. C.), representing 814 votes.

NO—Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan, Crane, Marilino, Garnett, Franklin (J. A.), Walter, Davis (J. N.), Mara, Bates (H. C.), Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Price (W. V.), Morrin (P. J.), McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Ryan (Edw.), Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Warren, Ryan (Dave), Risley, Ward, George (L. E.), Hyatt, Frisvold, Cohen (Sol), McCarthy (John), Harrison (G. M.), McMillan, Gil-

bert, Coulter (C. C.), Desepte, Warfield, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Feeney, Milton, O'Brien (Thos.), Possehl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter, Maloney (W. E.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, McNamara, Clinton, Conway (John), Dannenberg, Rickert, Hashkins, Gordon (A.), Adamski, Houck, Dubinsky, Langer, Freedman, Bialis, Feinberg, Dinola, Maloney (James), Dunlap, Gillooly, Babcock (E. C.), Hoffmaster, Moreschl, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Tighe, McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case, (C. J.), Burt, Brown (Anna J.), Gainor, Finnann, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz (L. E.), Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (Wm.), Peterson, Morris (W. T.), representing 19,425 votes.

NOT VOTING—Frang, Mullaney, Horn, Pelkofer, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Kasten, Horan (J. J.), Nelson, Van Heck, Altfere, Ornburn, Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strebel, Ballanca, Doyle (J. J.), Baer (P. W.), Dooney, Lucchi, Greene (M. F.), Goldman, Lawlor, Spector, representing 1,749 votes.

Delegate Martel: Inasmuch as it is apparent that the amendment to the amendment is defeated, if it is not out of order I would like to ask permission of the convention to withdraw the amendment to the amendment.

President Green: It would seem a bit irregular, but in order to expedite the business of the convention the Chair would like to ask if there is objection to withdrawing of this amendment.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to have the votes recorded that have been cast so far.

President Green: Are there objections to the amendment being withdrawn? Hearing none the amendment is withdrawn and the record made will stand.

The question now recurs on the amendment offered by Delegate Gillooly of the Flint Glass Workers International Union. The Secretary will read the amendment.

Secretary Morrison—

Delegate Gillooly: I move that the following be added, "but in no case shall there be more than one member of any National, International or Federal Labor Union elected as a member of the Executive Council."

President Green: The question recurs upon the adoption of this amendment

which has just been read. Those favoring the adoption of the amendment will please say "aye" when your names are called and those opposed will say "no." The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll with the following result:

Roll Call on Delegate Gillooly's Amendment

YES—Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan, Crane, Merlino, Horn, Pelkofer, Franklin (J. A.), Walter, Davis (J. N.), Mara, Morrin, McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Ryan (Edward), George (L. E.), Hyatt, Frisvold, Cohen (Sol.), McCarthy (John), Coulter (C. C.), Desepte, Feeney, Milton, O'Brien (Thos.), Baer, Dooney, Gillooly, Babcock, Hoffmaster, Ernst, Hesketh, Kovel-eski, Lane (Chris), Cohn (Maurice C.), Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Grow, Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (Dan P.), Hynes, Ryan (James J.), Wickman, Close, O'Keefe, Miller (S. A.), Myles, Burns, (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), Duffy (J. M.), McGowan, McAuliffe, Barnes (F. C. Jr.), Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon (W. D.), McConnell (J. A.), Appleton, O'Brien (J. F.), Carey (J. C.), Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Sparks, De Veze, Sumner (C. A.), Cashen, Carter, Lowry, Hanson, Swan, Typographical Union delegation (488 votes), Hoch, McNally, Lawson, Thompson (M. I.), Burr, McConaughy, Burns (M. J.), Anderson (G.), Turnock, Bartee, Anderson (R. E.), Lowe, Money, Stephens (Harry), Nickols, representing 5,142 votes.

NO—Gillmore, Myrup, Goldstone, Belsel, Koch, Garnett (C. C.), Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Bates (H. C.), Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Price (W. V.), Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight (F. H.), Hutcherson, Duffy (F.), Warren (G. E.), Ryan (D.), Risley, Ward (B. P.), Ornburn, Harrison (G. M.), McMillan, Gilbert (J. L.), Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strebel, Ballanca, Warfield, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Possehl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter (O. W.), Maloney (W. E.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton, Conway (J.), Dannenberg, Rickert, Hashkins, Gordon (A.), Adamski, Hock, Dubinsky, Langer (L. P.), Freedman, Bialis, Feinberg, Dinola, Maloney (James), Dunlap, Moreschl, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Tighe, McSorley (W. J.), Moore (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Burt (R. R.), Brown (Anna J.), Gainor, Finnann, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz (L. E.), Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (W.), Peterson (A. H.), Morris (W. T.), Fljozdal, Finneran, Farnan, Millman, McCarthy (W.), Swanson, Fournatt, Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Lloyd (T. J.), Maxwell (M. S.), Wilkerson, Smith (V. F.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (T.), Green (W.), Boylan, Hartneady, Brennan (M. F.), Fagan (P. T.), Weber (J. N.), Canavan (E.), Weaver,

(C. A.), Bagley (C. L.), Castronova, Kapl, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Daniel (E. B.), Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (J. L.), Kaufman (H.), Colleran (M. J.), Rooney (J. E.), Redmond (W.), Feeley (J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon (W.), Britton (W. W.), Bowen (C. E.), McHugh (W. H.), De La Rosa, Murphy (D.), Spooner, Furuseth, Larsen, Browne (G. E.), Dempsey (F. J.), Green (T. V.), Maloy (T. E.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Reznicek, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Beck, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna (J. J.), Manion, Leighty (G. E.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. K.), McKeown, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Typographical Union delegation (243 votes), McDonough, Rosqvist, Rogers (J. L.), Easton, Ohl Jr., O'Brien (T. J.), Willis (C. F.), Doll, England, Friedrich, Bowles (R.), Townshend, Campbell (W. W.), O'Connell (J. A.), Matthams, Early, Doyle (F.), Dahlager, Stubbee, Johnson (F.), Russell (M. P.), Read (W.), Cook (W. M.), Moore (F. X.), Townes, Roll, Ault, Gerhart, Flynn (M. J.), Dellums, Porter (P.), Turner (R. F.), Anthony (H. C.), Bosley, representing 19,230 votes.

NOT VOTING—Freg, Mullaney (J. A.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Kasten (F.), Horan (J. J.), Nelson (O. F.), Van Heck, Alteir, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund (C. L.), Lucchi, Greene (M. F.), Goldman (M.), Lawlor, Spector, Hannah (E. I.), Jones (G. W.), Gavliak, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Thomas (P.), Hatch (J. H.), Fay (G. V.), Billet, Frey (J. P.), Gross (J. E.), Tiller, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Watt (R. J.), Clinedinst, Mastriani, Meany, Osborne, Phillips (J. A.), Iglesias, Bailey (A.), Taylor (J. A.), O'Brien (P.), Gresty, Nance (A. S.), Hirschfeldt, Watson, MacDonald (J. C.), Jackson (D. W.), Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Gross, Restine, Cushing, McInroy, Brooks (W. C.), Mitchell (H.), De Witt (H.), Meyers (C. A.), Woods (G. E.), Eby, Fritz (A. J.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames (H. L.), Kennedy (J. G.), Ellis (J. C.), Rice (A. L.), Graham (F. J.), Coulter (J. C.), Buzzell, Ringius, Pitner, Farrell (C.), Shave, Quinn (J. C.), Gornto, Bale, Doyle (J. H.), Campbell (J. C.), Jackson (G. B.), Draper (P. M.), Hoocker, Bower (A. P.), Davison (J. R.), Marsh (J. L. R.), Eggert, Wright (J. A.), Volkers, Johnson (C. O.), Dorsey (G.), Holmes (T. W.), Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Franklin (R. G.), Covert (W. P.), Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins (B. B.), Glass, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Duxyungan, Nathan (J. E.), Gorman (B. A.), Van Ohrmann, Fisher (M.), Maisus, Wagner (C.), Murch, Doane, Costello, Bunting, Whitson, Dallas, Taylor (C.), Di Caplo, De Long, Barnes (G.), Phillips (T.), Flores, Lumm, Wolfe (J. A.), Tuohy, Manash, Dowd (C. E.), Bertucci, Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Watson (S.), Holland (W. B.), Hampton, McElligott, Dent (J. H.), Gartrell, Matlin, Kelly (H.), Garibaldi, Hull (W. J.), Johnson (T.), Kidwell, Boyd (L.), Groner, Ryan (J.), Lufano, Mitchell (R. A.),

Beardall, Yetta, Lawrence (C. B.), Higgins (J. F.), Moore (F. E.), Walkden, Stokes, Dunn (Wm.), representing 933 votes.

President Green: The motion is lost. The question now recurs upon the adoption of the committee's report. Those who favor the adoption of the committee's report will please say "aye" when their name is called and those opposed will say "no." The secretary will call the roll.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

Roll Call on Committee's Report on Amendment Enlarging Executive Council

YES—Gillmore, Shanessy, Birthright, Reagan (P. H.), Crane (C. T.), Merlino, Garnett, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Bates, Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Price (W. V.), Morrill (P. J.), McCain, Lyons (J. H.), Ryan (E.), Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight, Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Warren (G. E.), Ryan (D.), Risley, Ward, Ornburn, George, Hyatt, Frivold, Cohen (S.), McCarthy (J.), Harrison (G. M.), McMillan (E. A.), Gilbert, Coulter (C. C.), Desepete, Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenblum, Potofsky, Strebel, Bellanca, Warfield, Tracy (D. W.), Bugnizet, Bleretz, Paulsen, Feeney (F.), Milton, O'Brien (T.), Possehl, Fitzgerald (A.), Fay, Carter (O. W.), Maloney (W. E.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton (J.), Conway (J.), Dannenberg, Rickert, Hashkins, Gordon (A.), Adamski, Houck, Dubinsky, Langer (L. E.), Freedman, Bialis, Flenberg, Dinola, Maloney (James), Dunlap, Babcock, Hoffmaster, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivera, Etchison, D'Andrea, Ernst, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (C.), Cohn (M. C.), McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Burt (R. R.), Brown (A. J.), Gainer, Finnegan, Gorman (W. J.), Schwartz, Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Lewis (W.), Peterson (A. H.), Morris (W. T.), Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Grow, Allfas, Henning, Haggerty (D. P.), Flodsdal, Finneran, Farnan (J. J.), Millman, McCarthy (Wm.), Swanson, Fouratt, Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Lloyd (T. J.), Maxwell, Wilkerson, Smith (V. F.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (T.), Green (Wm.), Boylan, Hartneady, Brennan (M. F.), Fagan (P. T.), Weber, Canavan (E.), Weaver (C. A.), Bagley (C. L.), Castronova, Kapl, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Daniel (E. B.), Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (J. I.), Kaufman (H.), Colleran (M. J.), Rooney (J. E.), Redmond (W.), Feeley (J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon (W.), Britton (W. W.), McAuliffe, Bowen (C. E.), McHugh (W. H.), De La Rosa, Murphy (D.), Spooner, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Sparks, Browne (G. E.),

Dempsey (F. J.), Green (T. V.), Maloy (T. E.), De Vese, Sumner, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen, Carter (P. M.), Reznicek, Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Swan, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Beck Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna (J. J.), Manion, Leighty (G. E.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), McKeown, Evans (E. L.), Lentle, Howard (C. P.), Morrison (F.), Trotter, Martel, Simons (J.), Gill, Hatch, Fay (G. V.), McDonough, Hoch, Rosqvist, McAnally, Thompson (M. I.), Easton (J. B.), Ohl Jr., Burr, Watson (W. W.), McConaughy, Joel, Wills (C. F.), Doll, England, Kennedy (J. G.), Coulter (J. C.), Friedrick, Farrell (C.), Doyle (J. H.), Bowles, Campbell (W. W.), O'Connell (J. A.), Volkers, Matthews, Early, Doyle (F.), Dahlager, Bartes, Stubbee, Johnson (Frank), Anderson (B. E.), Russell, Read, Cook, Moore (F. X.), Nathan, Townes, Lowe, Van Ohrmann, Murch, Roll, Ault, Gerhart, Flynn (M. J.), Randolph (A. P.), Webster, Dellums, Nickols, Porter (P.), Turner (R. F.), Anthony, Bosley, Gartrell, Lawrence, representing 22,423 votes.

NO—Myrup, Goldstone, Belsel, Koch, Horn, Felkofer, Franklin (J. A.), Walter, Davis (J. N.), Mara, Baer, Dooney, Glllooly, Tighe, Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. P.), Wickman, Close, Burns (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), Duffy (J. M.), McGowan, Barnes, Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon (W. D.), McConnell (J. A.), Appleton, O'Brien (J. P.), Carey (J. C.), Furuseth, Larsen, Lawson, Burns (M. J.), Anderson (Gust), Turnock, Stephens (Harry), representing 2,056 votes.

NOT VOTING—Freng, Mullaney (J. A.), Kasten, Horan (J. J.), Nelson (O. F.), Van Heck, Altaire, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund (C. L.), Lucchl, Greene (M. F.), Goldman (M.), Lawlor, Spector, O'Keefe (L.), Miller (S. A.), Myles (J. M.), Hannah (E. I.), Jones (G. W.), Gaviak, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Thomas (P.), Billet, Frey (J. P.), Gross (J. E.), Tiller, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Watt (R. J.), Rozers (J. L.), Clinedinst, Mastriani, Meany, Osborne (B. T.), Phillips (J. A.), Iglesias, Bailey (A.), Taylor (J. A.), O'Brien (P.), Greasy, Nance (A. S.), Hirschfeldt, O'Brien (T. J.), MacDonald (J. C.), Jackson (D. W.), Schwartz (H. W.), Cuthbert, Walsh (J.), Campbell (G. C.), Gross (R. A.), Restine, Cushing, McInroy, Brooks (W. C.), Mitchell (H.), De Witt, Meyers (C. A.), Woods (G. E.), Eby, Fritz (A. J.), Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames, Ellis (J. C.), Rice (A. L.), Graham (F. J.), Buzzell, Ringius, Pitter, Shave, Quinn (J. C.), Gornto, Bale (E. F.), Campbell (J. C.), Jackson (G. B.), Draper (P. M.), Hoocker, Bower (A. P.), Townshend, Davison (J. R.), Marsh (J. L. R.), Eggert, Wright (J. A.), Johnson (C. O.), Dorsey (G.), Holmes (T. W.), Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Mercer (R. E.), Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty, Jenkins (B. B.), Glass, Kmetz, Lander (G.), Smith (S. M.), Duyungan, Gorman (B. A.), Fisher (M.), Maisus, Wagner (C.), Money (R. H.),

Doane (L. R.), Costello (E.), Runting, Whitson (R.), Dallas, Taylor (C.), Di Capio, De Long, Barnes (G.), Phillips (T.), Flores (M. V.), Lumm, Wolfe (J. A.), Tuohy, Manash, Dowd (C. E.), Bertucci, Watson (S.), Holland (W. B.), Hampton (L. A.), McElligott, Dent (J. H.), Matlin (I.), Kelly (H.), Garibaldi, Hull (W. J.), Johnson (T.), Kidwell, Boyd (L.), Groner, Ryan (Jas.), Lufrano, Mitchell (R. A.), Beardall, Yetta, Higgins (J. F.), Moore (F. E.), Walkden, Stokes, Dunn (Wm.), representing 826 votes.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted and it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes the secretary of the committee.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee reported jointly upon that part of Resolution No. 3 referred to the Committee on Laws, Resolutions No. 115 and No. 202. The resolutions read as follows:

Agricultural and Cannery Workers' Unions

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate J. B. Nathan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 18893, Oakland, California.

RESOLVED, That the initiation dues be not less than One Dollar (\$1.00) per member and membership dues not less than Fifty Cents (50c) per month, and that not more than half of the above amounts shall be payable to the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council be given authority to waive the payment of initiation dues when it deems it necessary in order to stimulate organization, and that whenever members are unemployed they shall be carried in good standing without the payment on monthly dues;

Proposed Constitutional Amendment Reducing Per Capita Tax

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Rudolph Di Capio, Shipyard Workers' Union No. 19667; Fish and Cannery Workers' Union No. 18656, San Pedro, California.

RESOLVED, That Article X, Section 1 on page 18, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "thirty-five" appearing on the eighth line, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "fifteen."

Per Capita Tax for Agricultural and Cannery Workers

Resolution No. 202—By Delegate Carl B. Lawrence, Vegetable Packers Association No. 18211.

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of agricultural, and fruit and vegetable packing house workers who are not now organized and wish to become members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of such workers have been taken into various unions other than the American Federation of Labor, because, due to their very low wages, they cannot afford to pay the present per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The work is for the most part of such a migratory nature that it is practically impossible for a large majority of them to receive the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, Because of the highly perishable nature of most agricultural commodities, and because of the shortness of the seasons on the various commodities in which they work, it is practically impossible in most cases to forecast the most opportune time for a strike, and for this reason it is practically impossible to comply with the rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor as regards authorized strikes and strike benefits; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Vegetable Packers' Association of California shall, and hereby does petition this Convention of the American Federation of Labor to so amend its Constitution and By-Laws as to provide a per capita tax not to exceed fifteen cents (15c) per member per month for all agricultural, cannery and fruit and vegetable packing house workers; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Vegetable Packers' Association of California shall and hereby does, indorse the resolution for a lower per capita tax for agricultural and cannery workers, as presented by the Building Trades-Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County.

The foregoing Resolutions No. 3, No. 117 and No. 202, all of which propose reduction, modification and under certain circumstances waiving of per capita tax, were grouped by your committee for the purpose of expediting the work of the convention.

Delegate Carl B. Lawrence appeared before the committee on behalf of Resolution No. 202.

Your committee gave these resolutions serious consideration. It is the opinion

of your committee that the present per capita tax requirements are not in any manner burdensome, also that modification such as proposed in these resolutions would necessitate readjustment and possibly discontinuance of strike and lockout benefits and that they would accordingly prove detrimental rather than helpful.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Nathan, Cannery Workers' Union No. 18393, Oakland, California: Mr. Chairman, I move the following substitute for the report of the committee: That this matter be referred to the Executive Council with authority to formulate such temporary regulations of per capita tax and initiation dues as in the judgment of the Executive Council may best promote the organization of the agricultural and cannery industries.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Is there a motion to refer?

President Green: The delegate offered a motion that the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Wharton: Is it a proper motion? This affects the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and in effect the motion, as I understand it, delegates authority to the Executive Council to set aside the provisions of the constitution. If that is correct I raise a point of order that it is out of order.

President Green: In the opinion of the Chair that point of order is well taken, although I shall hear from the delegates as to their opposition to the point of order raised by Delegate Wharton.

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employees: This is a resolution of law, offering to amend the law of this organization. Now this delegate moves to refer the matter for further consideration to the Executive Council. There is nothing wrong in that that I can see.

President Green: Let me hear your motion again.

Delegate Nathan: That this matter be referred to the Executive Council with authority to formulate such temporary regulations of per capita tax and initiation dues as in the judgment of the Executive Council may best promote the organization of the agricultural and canning industries.

President Green: You move that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of making temporary regulations?

Delegate Nathan: Yes, sir.

President Green: The motion is in order.

On being put to vote the substitute motion offered by Delegate Nathan was lost.

President Green: The substitute motion is lost. The question recurs upon the report of the committee.

Delegate Nathan: I know you are anxious to get away from here and you don't like to hear any talking on this matter, but here in California we have a very important situation. We have a group of agricultural and cannery workers that needs help. In California the agricultural workers are industrial workers, and the proportion is about 20,000 during the season when they are not working and approximately 60,000 to 70,000 when they are working. These men and women earn on an average of \$9 per week when they are working, and that is about sixteen weeks during the year. They cannot afford to pay high dues, and the unions that are organized in this industry cannot afford to pay per capita tax for the whole twelve months of the year and only collect for three or four months. Therefore, it is necessary that something be done for these workers.

They want to join the American Federation of Labor, they would like to be in organizations of the American Federation of Labor, but so far because of the impossibility of taking them in on a permanent membership basis we have not been able to do so. Other organizations have been organizing in California that

continually attack the Federal labor unions that are interested in these industries because of the high dues. There is a chance of doing something if the dues are lowered. If we cannot lower the dues in this way, something must be done either in organizing a Federation on a national basis in this State in order to take care of these workers, because under the Federal labor union plan it is impossible to take care of them. Federal labor unions are limited to a certain specific territory or locality. These migratory workers go all over the State. In Oakland in 1933 we organized a union of approximately 500 members. Two years later not a single member remained in that city. They wander all over and we have no way of taking care of these people unless something is done.

This part of the resolution that was referred to the Laws Committee is only part of the resolution that I submitted. Because of my inexperience I formulated the resolution in such a way that it had to be split, and that is the reason this part is coming here under the report of the Committee on Laws. But the other part of the resolution that was accepted by the Committee on Organization stated that we should organize a federation of cannery and agricultural workers that would be able to take care of these migratory workers, and a part of that resolution provided for lowering of initiation fees and dues and also the per capita tax. This would be only for a limited period. Since the last year the wages in this industry have increased from an average of 22 cents an hour to about 30 or 35 cents in the agricultural fields. Only because of the efforts of these unions has that been possible, but they have been handicapped because they could not keep their members together. In the three months that they earn intermittently they never earn more than \$200 or \$250 in a year, and they go from one field to another. By the time they are through with two or three weeks' work they have not enough to leave that place and they have to depend upon charity.

Something must be done by this American Federation of Labor to see that

these people are organized. This provision is only temporary. If a union of agricultural and cannery workers is organized in this State under the American Federation of Labor, I believe that within a year or two you would not have to worry about any dues. They will be able to pay their dues because they will get enough money to pay them, but at the present time they have no resources, nothing to pay dues with. We cannot keep our organizations together because of that fact, and therefore these workers are left without any organization whatever. Many unions in Oakland and San Francisco have helped these people out. They continually help them, but it is up to this convention or the Executive Council to devise some plan, if not in the lowering of the dues, in some other way. I understand that the lowering of the per capita tax involves many things, the rubber workers and other workers, who can pay that tax. Here we have low skilled workers, seasonal workers, and they find it impossible to pay these dues. We find it impossible to organize and to keep them organized. There are only two methods, either by power of attorney or by auxiliary unions. We have tried both and we have had a lot of trouble, and the only other method is to give them withdrawal cards every year and reorganize year after year. If the convention will in some way authorize the Executive Council to plan something for the next convention to take care of these agricultural and cannery workers, that will be a step in the right direction and will give encouragement to these workers.

I would like to offer a new amendment, if possible, that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and that the Executive Council report back to the next convention on the plan it has formulated.

President Green: Brother Nathan, that is merely a repetition of the amendment you offered just a moment ago. But I will say this to you, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, that we appreciate in full your problem. We understand quite well the difficulties that you are called upon to meet because of the migratory character of your workers,

and I know that it is the desire and purpose of the Executive Council to deal with your problem and to do everything that lies within our power to help you in your organization and administrative work. I am sure the Council will give it special consideration and will endeavor to arrive at some practical plan by which and through which we can be helpful to you.

Delegate Nathan: I appreciate that, because the Executive Council through its representative here in California has given us all the help it possibly can. I thank you very much on behalf of the workers that I represent.

Delegate Lawrence, Vegetable Packers Association No. 18211, Salinas, California: Brother Nathan has explained pretty well the peculiar and difficult nature of organizing the fruit and vegetable packers, the agricultural and cannery workers in this State. Let me remind you of one thing. Most agricultural commodities, foodstuffs, are of a perishable nature. We have organizations in this State one of which I represent, and which has had successful strikes before. Due to the perishable nature of these agricultural commodities, the seasonal work, it is absolutely impossible to forecast the most opportune time for a strike when a strike is apparently necessary. For that reason it is utterly impossible to comply with the present rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor as regards authorized strikes. Our strikes, because the stuff is perishable, are won or lost in a week's time, sometimes less, and it is impossible for us ever to have a defense fund, which we are continually paying into.

A few days ago I heard more or less discussion on this floor as to whether we should eat our food off a union made plate in a restaurant. Nothing was said about whether that food we eat should be produced and packed and processed and shipped by union workers. A plate, if it is not dropped, is apt to last for years, but the food that goes on it must be replenished every day. There are actually millions of people in this great United States who work in the fruits and veg-

etables and cereals and all the agricultural products which we eat every day. With the exception of two things which are a little more important to keep us alive, the air we breathe and the water we drink, there is nothing which we would perish without sooner than food.

I feel it is the solemn duty of the delegates in this convention and those whom they represent and of the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to help these downtrodden workers to better their wages and working conditions and to be able to live in houses as other human beings live, instead of living in ragged tents or even worse—miserable hovels thrown up out of packing boxes or what have you.

We want to educate them in the great American Labor Movement, to help them become better citizens and to demand and to be able to afford union made goods, to hire union craftsmen where they have something they want done. If you can do this you will contribute a great deal toward the ultimate utter exclusion of the scab worker and sweat shop goods.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee considered resolutions No. 150 and No. 153 jointly. The resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Amendment to Constitution of Building Trades Department

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor ratify the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department whereby Section 1 of the Constitution of the Building Trades Department was amended by adding the words "and construction" after the word "building" in next to the last line of the section, so that same will read:

"Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and shall be composed of National and International building trades organizations, recognized as such, duly and regularly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Membership shall be confined to National and International

building trades organizations that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and which are universally employed in the building and construction industry, either in erection, repair or alteration."

Proposing Amendment to Constitution of Building Trades Department

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That Section 10 of the General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the deletion of the following words:

"In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes."

Delegates Hutcheson, Tracy, Bates, D'Andrea, and others appeared in protest to the resolutions being considered upon the ground that the recent convention of the Building Trades Department, from which these resolutions emanated was illegal and consequently all action taken null and void.

Attention was called to the fact that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in a supplementary report submitted to the convention had ruled upon the illegality of the recent convention and that the matter upon appeal was at the time in the hands of the Committee on Adjustment.

This matter has subsequently been decided by the convention upholding the decision of the Executive Council. Resolutions No. 150 and No. 153 are accordingly not properly before the convention, and the committee recommends that no action be taken.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Volz: The foregoing concludes the report of the Committee on Laws.

Three appointed members of the committee did not attend any of its meetings. It is the opinion of the committee that they are not in attendance at the

convention. Their names are consequently not included as signers of the report.

(Signed)

MARTIN F. RYAN, Chairman
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary
DENNIS LANE
JOHN A. McCONNELL
CHARLES ANDERSON
A. GORDON
E. E. MILLIMAN
BERT WARD
EDWARD CANAVAN
WILLIAM E. MALONEY
JOHN MALONEY
JOHN CONWAY
FRED J. DEMPSEY
DAN HAGGERTY
FRED BAER.

Delegate Volz: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Laws as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Baer, Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman, as one who voted in the negative on the first resolution of the Committee on Laws which was for the increase on the Executive Council, I refused to coincide with the balance of the committee. It seems as though my understanding now is that the committee's report is that I signed the report as a whole. I want it recorded that with that one exception I am in favor of the committee's report.

President Green: That notation will be included in the report of the proceedings of the convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Laws as a whole was carried.

Vice-President Ryan: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, as chairman of the Committee on Laws I desire to express through you my thanks and appreciation for the most generous and whole-hearted support which you have given the Committee on Laws. At least it may be said that we gave you a little subject matter of entertainment, anyway.

President Green: I desire to express to the committee, in behalf of the convention, our deep appreciation of the very careful and fine service rendered. We

thank them for their work and we discharge them with the thanks of the convention.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman, the convention this afternoon referred a resolution by unanimous consent to the committee. It has been impossible for all the committee to meet. Individual members of the committee have been seen so that the report that will be presented undoubtedly represents the opinion of all of the committee. The resolution deals with a situation on the Southern Pacific Railroad and reads as follows:

Southern Pacific Railroad Company Union.

Resolution No. 217. By Delegates A. O. Wharton, J. A. Franklin, D. W. Tracy, Roy Horn, H. C. Fremming, John F. McNamara, Martin Francis Ryan, Joe Reed, C. F. Grow.

WHEREAS, Our President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, immediately following his inauguration as President, delivered a public statement to the citizens of the United States of America that the economic and social conditions existing within the nation were such as could only be considered as a national danger, and that National Emergency Legislation was immediately required to deal with these grave problems; and

WHEREAS, The United States Senate and Congress, acting upon the urgent request of the President, created the NIRA and the Emergency Transportation Act, and providing for the necessary machinery and measures to restore the national prosperity; and

WHEREAS, The President, in his message to the people, declared that these laws were passed to put men back to work and also to increase wages, to insure the workers decent standards of living for themselves and dependents; and

WHEREAS, Thirteen million unemployed workers were given encouragement by these declarations and legislation to restore them to work; and

WHEREAS, Under this National Emergency Legislation the co-operation of the employers was required to assist the Government in stabilizing industry and returning men to work; and

WHEREAS, Under Section 2, Subsection 4, Amended Railway Labor Act (1934):

"Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine who shall be the representative of the craft or class for the purposes of this Act. No Carrier, its officers or agents, shall deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join, organize, or assist in organizing the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any Carrier to interfere in any way with the organization of its employees"; and

WHEREAS, There exists a Company Union, assuming to represent the Shop Crafts, on the Southern Pacific, Pacific Lines. The representatives of this Company Union, running true to form and following the policy of such Company Unions, have through apparent collusion or at least tacit consent of Management, threatened intimidated and coerced in every conceivable manner for the purpose of preventing the employees of the Southern Pacific Company from participating in the exercise of their rights under the law; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of the Shop Craft employees on the Southern Pacific Lines joined their respective organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, During the past year numerous threats have been made by representatives of the Company Union against the employees, members of the American Federation of Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The press reports of October 11, 1934, confirm the statements made by the officials of the Company Union; and

WHEREAS, The threatened reductions are now being put into effect on the eve of taking a vote to determine representation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session, does hereby condemn the action of the Company Union, its officers and representatives of Management for their consummation of an agreement which has for its purpose the reduction of force equal to approximately forty per cent of all shopmen employed by the Southern Pacific Railroad, Pacific Lines; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby declare its full support in assisting and protecting these employees who have been discriminated against by this unwarranted action.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

C. F. Smith Grocery Company, Detroit, Michigan

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Congress of the United States in the passage of the NRA guaranteed to protect workers in their right to organize in labor organizations of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The NRA provides for prosecution and the assessment of fines and imprisonment upon conviction for the violation thereof; and

WHEREAS, The C. F. Smith Grocery Company, chain store grocery in the City of Detroit operating over five hundred grocery stores, has been found guilty of violating Section 7-a in the discharge of several members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, for their activity in organizing and joining a union of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Detroit Regional Labor Board was appealed to the National Labor Board at Washington, which Board upheld the decision of the Detroit Regional Labor Board in ordering these men be returned to work with back pay for lost time; and

WHEREAS, The Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Union Local No. 299 has made a demand upon the District Attorney at Detroit for the prosecution of the C. F. Smith Company; and

WHEREAS, No such prosecution has been instituted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor call the attention of this case to the President of the United States with a request that the C. F. Smith Company be proceeded against for violating the NIRA if it persists in its refusal to reinstate the men mentioned, together with back pay.

In connection with the resolution, your committee recommends that the proper complaint be filed with the National Labor Relations Board.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel: Mr. Chairman, I don't know what can be accomplished by referring a complaint of this kind to the

National Labor Relations Board. This matter has been before the National Labor Relations Board. They have recommended to the Compliance Division the withdrawal of the Blue Eagle from the C. F. Smith Company and that has been complied with. Our difficulty now is to get the other governmental agencies to take up the complaint at that point. We have corresponded with the Department of Justice, the Attorney General's office—

Vice-President Woll: May I interrupt? The committee is perfectly agreeable that the report be extended to include that the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor take such other action as may be necessary to bring about an adjustment of the complaint.

Delegate Martel: Mr. Chairman, there is no adjustment of the complaint to be attained. What we seek to accomplish is a prosecution of the C. F. Smith Company.

I have here telegrams and communications from the Attorney-General's office in which he says the matter has not been called to their attention by the proper governmental agencies. The Compliance Division, however, has taken the Blue Eagle away from the C. F. Smith Company, and what I want is to get the Department of Justice and the Attorney-General's office to take these people into court and prosecute them for violating the law.

There seems to have grown up in this country the idea that the laws of this nation are made for some of the people, and some of the people can obey those laws if they choose to obey. This is the third instance in the history of the United States when we have had a basic law that certain people refused to follow. We have the one that granted the Negro the vote, the prohibition law and now we have the NRA, and so far as I am concerned I refuse to accept placing the NRA law on the same basis as the prohibition law. It is my opinion that the NRA law is just as good law as the Dyer law, the Mann Act, the counterfeiting law or any other law of this kind, and any man who violates it is no better than Al Capone or

anybody else that the Federal Government has put in jail.

We are trying to secure an acknowledgment of that out of Washington. We want the constituted authorities of this country who have sworn to enforce the law, to enforce the NRA on those who violate it and not use it as a means for combining and boosting prices alone.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the request that we make is a simple one and that is that the president of this organization ask the President of the United States to see that the C. F. Smith Company is prosecuted for violating the law. What is wrong with that? Is it out of order to ask the President of the United States to see that his appointed officers function in accord with their sworn duties? Will the secretary of the committee answer that question?

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The committee is desirous of having this company prosecuted for violating the law. The committee's recommendation in no way interferes with all that the delegate requests. It does not prohibit the Executive Council from requesting the President of the United States to have this company prosecuted by the Department of Justice. The committee's report, however, does put the convention on record as favoring the preliminary steps being satisfactorily passed so far as NRA is concerned. All that the delegate is asking for is contained in the purpose of the committee's report.

Delegate Martel: Does that mean, then, Mr. Secretary, that ultimately the officers of the American Federation of Labor will ask the Department of Justice or the Attorney-General's office to prosecute this fellow for violating the law?

Delegate Frey: That is the purpose of the report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Requesting Investigation of "Labor Digest" and Activities of Norman Zollitz of Indianapolis, Indiana

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical

Union, and M. I. Thompson, Utah State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an alleged labor paper printed in the State of Indiana by a person by the name of Norman Zollizi; and

WHEREAS, This paper holds itself out as the official spokesman of organized labor and claims to be officially endorsed by organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This publication is praising company unionism and making direct appeals to the exploiters of labor for its support; and

WHEREAS, This publication has been used in certain localities, particularly recently in the State of Michigan, for the purpose of creating the impression that its policy was the policy of the organized wage workers as represented in the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Its continued masquerading will do irreparable damage to the trade union movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be asked to investigate the activities of the "Labor Digest" and Norman Zollizi, and acquaint the members of organized labor through the labor press of his findings.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Affiliated Government Workers Organizations Express Appreciation of American Federation of Labor Support

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Leo E. George, John McCarthy, Sol Cohen, Carl Frisvold, Gilbert E. Hyatt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; E. J. Gaior, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Hugh Sparks, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alfias, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; H. A. McConaughy, Balboa (Canal Zone), Central Labor Union; M. A. McAulliffe, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers.

WHEREAS, In the sessions of the Seventy-third Congress the affiliated organ-

izations of Government workers received the active support of the American Federation of Labor in their legislative campaign to restore wages and working standards reduced under the Economy Act; and

WHEREAS, This support of the American Federation of Labor, through the active assistance of President Green, Secretary Morrison and the Legislative Committee, was of great benefit in securing legislation for the restoration of wages, automatic promotions and other standards of Government employment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the affiliated organizations of Government workers desire to express their deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the splendid and effective services rendered by the officers, Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to all Government workers in this emergency, thus demonstrating beyond contradiction the value and necessity of affiliation with the organized labor movement of such Government employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Request That Cases of Non-Compliance of Employers with Decisions of NRA Labor Boards Be Placed Before President Roosevelt

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act provides for the establishment of machinery to carry out the provisions of the law, and

WHEREAS, The President has appointed first the National Labor Board with its subordinate agents, and the National Labor Relations Board with its various branches, for the purpose of administering Section 7-a of the NRA, and

WHEREAS, There have been numerous violations of Section 7-a brought before these various boards; and

WHEREAS, Complainants in many cases after weeks of waiting have had their cases adjudicated and a demand made on the employers for reinstatement of workers discharged for joining unions; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the employers have refused to comply with the decisions of the various agencies set up by the President; and

WHEREAS, The discharge of workers under the above-mentioned conditions, to-

gether with the failure of prompt and effective action, has destroyed the confidence of many wage workers in the NRA and intimidated them from affiliating with labor unions of their own choice; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause a compilation of such cases as come within the above class to be made and present it to the President of the United States so that he will understand the impatience labor now has with those employers who have defied the Government in its efforts to bring about industrial recovery.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Automatic Machinery

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate M. J. Gillooly, American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, For many years the attention of all those interested in insuring employment opportunities for American workers has been directed to ascertaining the means and applying methods which will eliminate the destructive results of the installation of machinery taking the places of and doing the work of human beings; and

WHEREAS, It is contended that today from three to four million workers are unemployed, or better said, denied employment, wholly due to the installation of labor saving devices; and

WHEREAS, While the owners of this machinery have profited greatly through the cheaper labor cost of production, they have neither shared their profits with the workers nor have they set aside any reserves to care for the human beings who have been thrown on the scrap heap; and

WHEREAS, Governmental agencies, state and national, allow employers to deduct from taxes from five to twenty-five per cent for depreciation of physical properties, no allowance is made to provide funds which might be used to care for human depreciation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of fifteen to devise ways and means of providing for some method for those denied work, as a result of the installation of labor saving machinery; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, upon the completion or findings or recommendation of this committee, be authorized and di-

rected to convene a meeting of representatives of all national and international unions to act on such report.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Taxation

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates Raymond F. Lowry and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The last three years have witnessed a great revolt on the part of the real estate taxpayer which has taken the form of tax delinquency, tax limitation laws, and a demand for a reduction in rates even at the expense of essential public services; and

WHEREAS, At a time when the problems of our democracy are particularly pressing and forced leisure time is greater than ever before, educational opportunities are being curtailed below a standard which a civilized nation with our advantages should endure; and

WHEREAS, Many States have adopted the sales tax as a way out of their difficulties, notwithstanding the fact that the sales tax is an unjust way to raise revenue and is inappropriate at a time when the purchasing power of the consumer needs to be conserved; and

WHEREAS, Taxes based on ability to pay are the most appropriate way to finance education and other essential public services, since these taxes are the most just and the best adapted to preserve the balance of the economic system; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has many and important advantages in levying and collecting taxes based upon ability to pay, unhampered as it is by the danger of prejudicing the chances of business engaged in interstate competition, and possessed as it is of information or means of acquiring information as to the property and income of its citizens; and

WHEREAS, While Federal and State governments are the units which can best levy taxes based upon ability to pay, the local units of government are the ones which have responsibility for most of the important governmental functions; and

WHEREAS, Huge amounts of interest and many salaries including those of school teachers are still tax exempt, and there are other conspicuous gaps in our income and inheritance tax laws; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-fourth Con-

vention, request Congress to grant substantial Federal aids to the States for the support of education; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically oppose any extension of sales taxation in this country and urge, instead, the extension of income and inheritance taxes which are based upon ability to pay; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That it strongly support legislation to close the gaps in our State and Federal income and inheritance tax laws.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Advocating That the Navy Department Prepare All Plans for Vessels Built in Government Yards

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, The declared policy of Congress, in Section 1 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, clearly sets forth as one of its principal purposes "to relieve unemployment and improve standards of labor"; and

WHEREAS, The \$238,000,000 naval building proviso should, therefore, be governed by this fundamental principle of this Act; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Navy Department in purchasing plans from private shipbuilders for vessels building in Government yards to this extent deprives many competent naval architects, marine engineers and draftsmen of the opportunity to earn a livelihood; and

WHEREAS, As a further result, all work progress of this program has already been unnecessarily delayed for more than fifteen months, with the consequent suffering and privation in the ranks of the unemployed extending to all trades; and

WHEREAS, Much of this delay could have been avoided and these groups would not have found it necessary to face the hardships of another winter of destitution if the Government had proceeded to promptly make their own plans; be it therefore

RESOLVED, In the interest of the general welfare and in keeping with the fundamental policies of the National Industrial Recovery Act, this Convention go on record authorizing the President of the American Federation of Labor to bring

this matter to the personal attention of the President of the United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the 50-50 arrangement involving the building of naval vessels and auxiliaries, the drafting work shall be pro-rated on the same basis.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protest Against Charter Issued in Los Angeles by Laundry Workers' International Union

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles (California), Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor granted a charter for a local union of Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers in Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, This local union has been nearly destroyed by the operations of certain men who were identified with, and active in the Communist movement in Los Angeles, and although through the machinations of these Communists that local union has practically been disbanded, the Central Labor Union in that city, in co-operation with the representative of the American Federation of Labor, is entering upon what appears to be a successful move to reorganize it; and

WHEREAS, Since this movement started these Communist leaders have attempted to prevent its progress, without success; and

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the American Federation of Labor, through the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, that the Laundry Workers International Union has issued a charter, to a group of Cleaners and Dyers led by these Communists, the first meeting under which was held on Thursday, September 27, 1934, thereby giving to these Communists not only an opportunity to prevent the further organization of Cleaners and Dyers, but an opportunity to operate under the cloak of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it.

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this subject matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council, or the proper committee of this Convention, for an investigation and a correction of the conditions created by the granting of this charter by the Laundry Workers' International Union.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Burt, Laundry Workers: As an executive of the Laundry Workers International Union I would be derelict in my duty to my organization if I did not take the floor on this resolution. I want it distinctly understood at the first that there is no room in the International Laundry Workers' Union for Communists or Communism. I want to make that plain and distinct, because wherever I have found it has taken root and started its influence of "boring from within." I have done my utmost to stamp it out, and I assure you I have stamped it out without any consideration for the welfare of those who are imbued with its principles.

We of the International Laundry Workers' Union know what these people are, we know what they stand for, and we know their tactics. We have no place in our organization for such people. I made an investigation before I was willing to grant the charter to these people. I went before their Executive Board and I am going to say that on that Executive Board I only found one who had communistic ideas—at least that was the only one that expressed them to me—and I told them in no uncertain terms that we would not stand for any communistic talk or activity in our organization, that if they were granted a charter they must act in accordance with the counsels and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and if they didn't do that and didn't wish to go along with our principles we didn't want them in our organization. I further stated that if they did not go along the charter would be immediately revoked.

It has come to my attention in the City of Los Angeles there are 1,200 Cleaners and Dyers, and there is a chance to organize these workers, but as Federal labor unions they have been a sore eye to the organization. They have caused considerable trouble in the Labor Movement, and I want to say that as far as the former local union of Cleaners and

Dyers in Los Angeles is concerned it has been filled with racketeering, its leaders and those at its head are racketeers and their names are on the records of the District Attorney. I might name some of these people. A Mr. Glassman's name has been connected with racketeering in Los Angeles. He has control of the local union down there. Before he took control they had built up a membership of 800 people, but through his policies that organization dropped to around 45 members. The members in the industry there lost confidence in Mr. Glassman. Then we have Mr. Murphy, another gentleman that is connected with the organization mentioned in this resolution that is being torn to pieces by this group. Mr. Murphy has a record in the District Attorney's office, where he was connected with racketeering, and he was at the head of the organization.

I might say that the present official of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles went to the District Attorney's office and said he had in mind two men he wished to place at the head of the organization, Keller and Lewison. And what was the reply of the District Attorney? It was that the activity of those men would not be condoned because of their racketeering record. We have also the names of Harry Abbott, Pete Collins and Billy Delaney. All of these men have been associated with Glassman in the Cleaning and Dyeing Industry.

Among the workers in the Cleaning and Dyeing industry in Los Angeles I have been told if these people are organized they will be able to organize the Cleaning and Dyeing Industry one hundred per cent. I have no objection to this matter going to the Executive Council, because if there are Communists among the members of that Local I want to know it. I want them weeded out because they will cause discontent among those who wish to go along with the Labor Movement. I will be only too glad and willing, in the name of the Laundry Workers' Union to give the Executive Council every assistance possible in coming to a proper decision in this matter.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles: It has not been my purpose to take any of the

time of the convention with this resolution. After talking to President Burt I understand that there would be no comments made upon it if it were referred to the Executive Council.

I am somewhat surprised at his ranting about racketeering. I assume it was his purpose to justify the granting of that charter and to justify the giving of the cloak of respectability to certain gentlemen in Los Angeles—the cloak of the American Federation of Labor.

He admits that he appeared before the Executive Board of an organization that was organized by the Trade Union Unity League. The officers of this new union that met on Thursday of last month, by the organizer of the American Federation and myself, with the authority of this Federation, had their cards taken away and they were driven out of the local. They held their meeting in the office of the Trade Union Unity League. At the time that organization was at its peak Glassman was not in the organization. These men were in control, and they were the ones who took it to the Trade Union Unity League and destroyed it.

It was my intention in bringing the resolution here to have it referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of making an investigation. There will be no complaint on our part if the American Federation of Labor decides to give the jurisdiction to the Laundry Workers. I know we shall be very happy to have them take over that trouble, but certainly we do object to giving a charter to men to be in control of a local union who had only one desire, to have the cloak of the American Federation of Labor so that they might carry on their activities under it. If these men come to the Labor Council as delegates they will not be seated on their record as active members of the Communist Party.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Application of Laundry Workers International Union for Jurisdiction Over Cleaning Industry

Resolution No. 169—By Delegates Roy Burt, Anna J. Brown, Laundry Workers'

International Union; Walter C. Brooks, Federated Trades and Labor Council, Fresno, Calif.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union has within its membership those who are employed in the cleaning process of garments, linen, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This membership is composed of those who clean by the process of soap and water, also by gasoline, and also by chlorine; and

WHEREAS, The three processes, namely, cleaning by water, by gasoline, or by chlorine, are in the same industry, and those employed therein should be under the jurisdiction of one and the same International union; and

WHEREAS, The three processes of the cleaning industry (water, gasoline and chlorine) are being adopted and established under the same roof by the one corporation, and consequently should and must be under the jurisdiction of one International; and

WHEREAS, That unless all those so employed in the cleaning industry are members of the one and same International union there will be continuous confusion, discord, and controversies regarding jurisdictional authority; and

WHEREAS, The employer will use one organization against the other should there be more than one International union; or, where one group is affiliated with an International union and another group should be working as an independent organization, or a Federal labor union; and

WHEREAS, We know by past experience that many of those employed in the cleaning industry processing with gasoline, or chlorine, and chartered as a Federal labor union have failed to stabilize themselves or maintain their organization; and

WHEREAS, In those locals affiliated with the Laundry Workers' International Union in which there are members employed in all three processes of the cleaning industry, those Locals so constituted have maintained their conditions and often increased their benefits under the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Many of the Cleaners' Local Unions under a Federal labor charter, having failed to properly function, have made application to the Laundry Workers' International Union for affiliation with that International body; and

WHEREAS, Wherever a charter of affiliation with the Laundry Workers' International Union has been granted to the applicants the members in the industry have been able to stabilize them-

selves and work in a more organized state than under their former charter; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in this Fifty-fourth Annual Convention assembled, that jurisdiction over the cleaning industry is herewith granted to the Laundry Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the Laundry Workers' International Union be authorized to change its title so that it will read, and include, the International Union of Laundry Workers, Cleaners and Dyers of America, with jurisdiction over all inside productive employees who are engaged in the cleaning and servicing, both wholesale and retail, of soiled garments and soiled linen.

Your committee recommends the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration and action.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Burt: I wish to state before the delegates of this convention in a very brief way the necessity for the affiliation of the Cleaners and Dyers and the Laundry Workers under one international union. The policy of the American Federation of Labor is, I understand, that they shall be under the same international union, and especially is this true, or should be true, of the character of the industry known as the cleaning industry, in which garments are cleaned in one division by gasoline and in the other division they are cleaned by water. Both are cleaning processes.

We have culinary crafts who have control of the cooks and waiters; we have brewery workers who have control of the cereal workers and soft drink workers; we have carpenters who have control over the inside carpenters and the shop carpenters. We can go down the line through the international unions of the American Federation of Labor and find them having jurisdiction over the divisions of their industry, and it is absolutely necessary, in order that the cleaning industry may be saved from its chaotic condition that the Laundry Workers Union, which has been part of the American Federation of Labor for thirty years, be given jurisdiction over this division of the cleaning industry in

order that they might not be continued on to cause jurisdiction disputes. I wanted to make these few remarks in order that the delegates would understand our position with regard to the cleaning and dyeing industry.

Delegate Ernst: Does he claim jurisdiction over the dish washers because they wash the dishes?

President Green: The report of the committee must now be interrupted so that we can proceed to the disposition of the special order of business.

Election of Officers

At 4:30 o'clock p. m. President Green stated that the hour for the special order of business had arrived, and asked Delegate Tighe, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to preside.

Delegate Tighe in the Chair.

Chairman Tighe: The convention will be in order. The Chair recognizes Delegate John L. Lewis.

Delegate Colleran: Before you go into the nomination of candidates I would like to make an announcement.

Chairman Tighe: The business before the house is the election of a president of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Colleran: I wish merely to make an announcement.

Chairman Tighe: There is nothing before the convention but the election of a president of the American Federation of Labor. Delegate Lewis will please come forward.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the convention—A few moments ago there was held in the rear of the hall a mass meeting of those who will nominate candidates this afternoon, and it was agreed the speeches would be brief. They all agreed they would not take any longer than I will in nominating a President of the American Federation of Labor, so I will be brief.

I am most gratified to here, upon this platform, in behalf of the same candidate for President that I had last year, make this nomination. I am still for this same candidate. I had the pleasure of presenting his name to this convention upon a number of occasions. Each year I have taken satisfaction in the thought that he had justified the confidence placed in him by the convention, and had honored the man who presented his name to the convention.

Year by year as our conventions are held and our movement grows and expands, and year by year as the American Federation of Labor takes a more pronounced and influential part in promoting the interests of the workers, in promoting the interests of our country and in protecting and championing the objectives of democracy, the position of the President of the American Federation of Labor becomes more exacting and more important.

Many of us are prone to say upon occasions that the current convention is the most important convention that has been held perhaps within our own memory, and it is largely true. We grow in comprehension, born of experience we come to more profoundly understand our own problems through study and contact with those problems, and we come to comprehend to a greater degree year by year the amazing and marvelous influence of the labor movement here in our own country.

We know today better than yesterday how important it is to develop and produce competent, efficient, outstanding leaders who can defend the ideals of trade unionism and present its objectives either from the public platform, the open forum or through the public press. Such leaders we have had in the American Federation of Labor, and we have been fortunate in our leadership. We can all say with pride that since the passing of the great Samuel Gompers the officers of the American Federation of Labor have carried on his policies, championed the ideals for which he stood and at all times, with undaunted courage and admirable fortitude, have refused to give way in the face of the enemy.

The people of our country at the present need the stabilizing influence of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions and its great membership. The record of this convention, if you please, in outlining stable policies, in championing definite American institutions and endorsing resolutions based upon a sane policy is the best proof in substantiation of my words.

The present President of the American Federation of Labor has endeared himself to the Organized Labor Movement by his unselfish devotion to its cause. Organized Labor need not apologize for any of his acts, whether they be of commission or omission. William Green is recognized here in our homeland as being a great American, as well as being a great leader of labor. He is definitely a defender of human rights, and he is a champion of democracy. I am proud upon this occasion, at the conclusion of this momentous and memorable convention, which has decided so wisely with reference to the policies of labor, to present for your consideration as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, the name of William Green.

(The audience arose and applauded the nomination of President Green.)

Chairman Tighe: The name of William Green has been presented to this convention as a candidate for the office of President. Are there any other nominations?

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William Green.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

(The audience again arose and applauded as President Green resumed the chair.)

President Green: My Fellow Delegates and Friends—I am deeply touched by this

demonstration of your approval and support. I thank my colleague and friend, President Lewis, for the presentation which he made when he nominated me for the high and exalted office of President of the American Federation of Labor. It is difficult indeed to translate one's feelings into words on such a momentous occasion as this. The pull is very deep upon your heartstrings and upon your emotions.

When one considers that through the stress and storm of the years he has been privileged to serve a movement such as is represented here by strong men and women, expressing deep convictions and deep opinions, and then to be elected for the tenth or eleventh time unanimously, as you have done it this afternoon, one indeed would be unresponsive if he were not touched very deeply.

This is a great convention. It is indeed a rare privilege to be permitted to participate in the work of this congress of labor. We have lived up to the standard set, we have acted in accordance with the best traditions that lie behind by our fifty-four years of experience. The great heart of Labor is sound, it beats still in unison with the hopes and aspirations and ideals of the working men and women of the United States and Canada. We have legislated here in their interest, we have met every issue bravely; we have not at any time side stepped any problem and we have refused to permit our great historic movement to be used as a vehicle through which those representing subversive influences could carry on their propaganda.

In my judgment, we have acted wisely and well. This is a real convention of the American Federation of Labor, a real convention where strong men have presented their views with such a commanding appeal as to influence the judgment of others and we have arrived at conclusions only after calm and careful deliberation. Democracy has been in action, we have seen it here, every question adopted has been adopted in accordance with democratic rule and democratic principles.

Let no man on the outside suffer under any delusions. We will go from here

united. We fight our battles here, not after we return to face the common enemy. We fight our battles here and in the field of Organized Labor we are going out to meet the enemy we have been in conflict with for, lo, these fifty years. So the banner has been held aloft and we will carry it on and on until it floats triumphantly over every industry where men work for wages.

I am happy over the decision of the convention, particularly that wonderful, historic decision authorizing the Executive Council to go out and organize the unorganized. It is but natural to think and understand that where workers are forced to serve in mass production industries they become mass-minded. They think together and they think collectively, and we must pursue such a flexible policy as will enable us to organize them as solid units into this great Organized Labor Movement.

A nucleus of an organization has been established in many of them. We are ready almost to organize national organizations in those industries referred to in the committee's report. Hundreds of locals have been formed in the automobile industry, in the aluminum industry, in the cement industry and in others. We are going out to establish those organizations, organized according to the policy of the American Federation of Labor until we have won the victory that we started out to win a half century ago, to organize the unorganized, and if I can give of my strength, my body and my mind further than I have given it, it will be freely and unreservedly given, because the trade union movement is a religion to me.

And now, in accepting this unanimous call to service again I pledge here publicly and solemnly the best I have, all I have, and it will be given to you in an effort to make good.

I thank you.

Now the Chair will call for the nomination of a First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor—I desire at this time to present to you the name of one I have not only had the privilege but the pleasure of presenting to various previous conventions of this body, one who for thirty-four years has served the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as its General Secretary, one who for twenty-one years has served on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

During all those years of service no one can point to any act of his other than what would be expected from an honest trade unionist. I know that you have listened to many other people this afternoon, and in order to facilitate the business before the convention I am going to present to you the name of the First Vice-President without more ado, namely, Frank Duffy.

President Green: Are there other nominations?

Delegate Hesketh: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Frank Duffy for First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Duffy for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention, and in conformity with that statement I declare Frank Duffy elected First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nomination for a Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ornburn, Cigarmakers' International Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates. I desire to nominate a candidate for the office now to be filled that needs no eulogy from me. He has been privileged to serve as chief executive officer of his own organization since the

year 1904. He has served as an executive officer of the American Federation of Labor since 1917. His record speaks for itself. He is capable in every respect; he is a student, he is known to the majority of the delegates to this convention for his integrity and honesty. No one would deny that he is one of the most courageous leaders of our movement. What further qualifications could a candidate for Second Vice-President possess? It is a real pleasure for me to offer to this convention that undaunted leader of Labor, the President of the United Garment Workers, T. A. Rickert.

Delegate Gordon, Garment Workers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for T. A. Rickert for Second Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for T. A. Rickert, as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Thomas A. Rickert elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: When I mention the name of the gentleman I am going to nominate there will be no need of further recommendation. I am going to nominate—I will call him a young man. He has been a young fellow for a great many years, but he is a still a young fellow. I have had the pleasure, not only of serving with him on the Council, I have had the pleasure of traveling with him in Europe, meeting him upon all sorts of occasions in his representation of Labor. I place in nomination a real trade unionist, Matthew Woll.

Delegate Volz: I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll as Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Matthew Woll elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steamfitters: I consider it a very distinctive honor and at the same time a very delightful pleasure to place in nomination for Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters and Decorators: I move to instruct the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for John Coefield for Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John Coefield as Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare John Coefield elected Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—It is with pleasure that I arise at this time, not only as a delegate to the convention, to present the name of a candidate for the office of Fifth Vice-President, but as the President of the International Union of Operating Engineers, and as a mark of good fellowship I offer to this convention the name of A. O. Wharton, President

of the International Association of Machinists, for the office of Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Henning, Machinists: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton as Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Arthur O. Wharton elected Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: To proclaim in extenso the qualifications of the candidate I am about to name for the office of Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor will simply mean the reiteration of a twice-told tale. His record is an open book. Measured by every standard and by every test, either as President of the American Federation of Musicians or Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, he has measured to every responsibility and vindicated the confidence of his friends. I have the honor of presenting the name of Joseph N. Weber, of New York.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph Weber for Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Joseph N. Weber elected as Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: My candidate needs no introduction to this body. I submit for your consideration the name of my co-worker, G. M. Bugniazet, Secretary of the Electrical Workers, for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Paulson, Electrical Workers: I move to instruct the Secretary to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the statement of the Secretary, I declare G. M. Bugniazet elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Farnan, Maintenance of Way Employees: I have the very pleasant duty of naming a young gentleman for the office of Eighth Vice-President. It would be a pleasure to recount to you his achievements and his accomplishments in behalf of the great Labor Movement at this time. I shall not avail myself of the privilege, but in accordance with the precedent that has been set I merely say it is a pleasure and a distinguished honor for me to place in nomination George M. Harrison for Eighth Vice-President, the office he now holds.

Delegate Fljozdal: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for George M. Harrison for Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary, I declare George M. Harrison elected Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Black, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this convention: In the wisdom of this convention we have seen fit to increase the number of the Executive Council. This action has been taken also in the wisdom of this convention, with the hope and anticipation that it will add to the future strength of labor. I could go on for a considerable period of time giving the record of the candidate I am about to offer in nomination, but I will not take your time to do that. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I name Daniel J. Tobin for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate O'Connell, Teamsters: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Ninth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary, I declare Daniel J. Tobin elected Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I arise at this time to nominate a man whom I

believe and whom I know is capable, able, qualified and competent to fill the position of a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. He has been a trade unionist all his life. He has been an International officer of his organization for over twenty-two years. He has been International President of that organization for over nineteen years. He has been a delegate to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor for the past nineteen years. He has taken an active part and an interest in the work of the convention. It gives me great pleasure to submit the name of the General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, William L. Hutcheson, for Tenth Vice-President.

I hope you will elect him, and in doing so it will be no innovation in the annals of the American Federation of Labor, for some years ago Peter J. McGuire, the General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and General President Edmondson was the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. So the action of the convention sustains the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in years gone by.

Delegate Moreschl, Laborers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson for Tenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of Secretary Morrison, I declare William L. Hutcheson elected Tenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate McHugh, Printing Pressmen: Mr. President and Delegates, please be sure at the outset that I shall conform

with the suggestion made by Mr. Lewis in nominating President Green as to the matter of time. I come here to offer to you the services of a young man who, twenty-seven years ago, came as a delegate from this city, as a journeyman, to a great convention of our International Union held in New York City. It was his first convention. He inspired that delegation by his wisdom, by his logic, by his fairness and his apparent willingness to work hard for the organization of which he was then but a delegate.

He was elected in a convention in a city to which he was a total stranger. He came to California as a young man just receiving his journeyman's card, made good as a local member and as a local officer. Then the movement here was so sure of his ability that he was sent to that convention in the City of New York. When he was elected the organization which it is my pleasure to represent and speak for today, was practically an organization on paper.

Immediately this young man went into action, and for the past twenty-seven years, with practically no opposition at any time, the membership of our International Union has returned him to the office of President.

He has been active in the Labor Movement, giving services outside his own craft to all of the unions in the American Federation of Labor. He was a soldier in the World War, a Major in the Engineer Corps, and when the Peace Conference was held in France, after the last shot was fired in the World War, he was stationed in Paris. The late President Gompers selected him as the liaison officer between the labor group then holding sessions in Paris, and President Wilson selected him likewise to represent the Government in the same capacity.

I do not need to go into any further details of his work during the twenty-seven years he has been an officer of our International Union. He has been continually a delegate to the American Federation of Labor. I leave it to the judgment of any delegate as to his integrity, his ability, and his loyalty to the trade union movement.

I have the honor, on behalf of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, to offer to you for this new office a man who has been serving you all the time as one of the rank and file, Major George L. Berry.

Delegate Haggerty, Bookbinders: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Major George L. Berry for Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George L. Berry as Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement made by Secretary Morrison I declare Major George L. Berry elected Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: It is a great privilege and an honor to place in nomination for the office of Twelfth Vice-President a man of ability, a man of courage, a leader in progressive thought, a man of action, one who by his knowledge and experience can add much to the greatness of American Labor, contribute to the solidarity of Labor and bring about a greater measure of economic and social justice. That man is the President of the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis.

A motion was made that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for John L. Lewis, for Twelfth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote for John L. Lewis for Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the

Secretary, I declare John L. Lewis elected Twelfth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Feinberg, Garment Workers: I arise at this time to perform an exceptionally pleasant task, the placing in nomination of a young man for a seat in the highest council of the American Federation of Labor.

In doing so I may say in all sincerity that I am paying tribute to a man who has rendered distinguished service to the cause of the workers in our own industry and to the cause of our Labor Movement as a whole. The position he occupies today is that of chief executive of the vast army of workers comprising the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. He has occupied almost every position of confidence and responsibility in our organization, from an executive member in his local union to vice-president, general secretary-treasurer, and now he is both president and general secretary of our International Union.

He is a comparatively young man, but he has already devoted 28 years of his life to the Labor Movement and he has proven his worth and ability as a man of courage, vision and boundless energy. I am sure the election of this young man to the Executive Council will not only be a credit to the International which he represents but a valuable asset in co-operating with the great leaders of our American Labor Movement. I also feel confident that the statement which I am about to make will be substantiated by our great leader, President William Green, and by many if not by all members of the Executive Council, that the strategy, hard work and efforts this young man has displayed in the last few years of stress and struggle for the toiling masses of our country has been a credit to our own International and to the Labor Movement of America as a whole. He is one of those who in the trying days of our International, when we were surrounded by enemies of Labor from within, proved himself an outstanding fighter against all perverse and destructive Communist elements who sought not only to destroy our union but to destroy the entire American Labor Movement.

Not wishing to occupy any more of your time I wish to conclude by saying that I am fully convinced that, if elected, he will make a distinct contribution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and will fully justify the confidence of his numerous supporters and friends in our movement.

Mr. President, I have the honor to nominate as a candidate for the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Brother David Dubinsky, President and Secretary-Treasurer of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: It is apparent, when the President of the American Federation of Labor called for a candidate for Thirteenth Vice-President that there are still some among the Americans who are superstitious. I desire to say to the delegates of this convention that while I believe in signs I am not at all superstitious when it comes to seconding the nomination of Dave Dubinsky for Thirteenth Vice-President, and I move you that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Dave Dubinsky for Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for David Dubinsky as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary, I declare David Dubinsky elected Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: To me it is an extreme pleasure of presenting to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor the name of a man with whom I have been associated in the affairs of the organization which we both have the privilege of belonging to for two decades. He has for the past two years been acting President of the Bricklayers,

Masons and Plasterers' organization. It affords me deep pleasure to place in nomination for Fourteenth Vice-President Harry C. Bates.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: When the question of enlarging the Executive Board was before the convention, we understood that one of the purposes of enlarging the Board was to give all industries or all groups within the American Federation of Labor, as far as possible, representation on the Executive Council. Much stress was laid on that phase of the question during the argument, although we realize that the selection of representatives on the Executive Council should be largely on the ability of these men. The group I represent is the food industry. Out of fifteen Vice-Presidents, there isn't a single man representing any part of the food industry. You have no butcher on the Council, no baker, no culinary worker, and I believe we are as essentially a part of the American Federation of Labor as the carpenter, the bricklayer or any other organization, and I say that with all due respect to the other organizations. Now, I have in mind a gentleman who has been with us for a considerable period of time, during which period he has proven himself an A1 character. He has been in public life in the city of Seattle for a number of years and has been active in the Labor Movement. He was made Secretary of our International Union upon the death of our late lamented Jere L. Sullivan, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you the name of Robert B. Hesketh, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees for Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Hesketh: I appreciate very much the kind words that have been said concerning me by my colleague from our International Union, I am very well satisfied, and so are our delegates that the convention has seen fit to extend the representation of the Executive Council. I feel honored by even being nominated for a position on that Council. I feel that the food industry should be represented there. However, you have seen fit to nominate a builder, a bricklayer. A bricklayer builds with bricks, we build with

food. In order not to upset the harmony that seems to prevail I most graciously retire in favor of the bricklayer, hoping that at some future time you will put someone on the Executive Council from the food industry.

Delegate Stretch, Bricklayers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Harry C. Bates for Fourteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary, I declare Harry C. Bates elected Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Duffy, Letter Carriers: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen of the convention—I will be brief, in accordance with the precedent set and with the expressed wishes of the convention. My purpose is to submit the name of a delegate who has attended the last eighteen conventions of the American Federation of Labor. He is known to all of you, and so I will satisfy myself by speaking briefly of his services and activities as our National President. He gravitated from the steel mills as an adolescent boy into the civil service.

During the last thirty-three years he has served on our Executive Board, as a member of the Board, as Vice-President, and for over twenty years as our National President. Under his able leadership and wise counsel the Letter Carriers' organization has soared to heights far above their anticipation years ago. Our salaries have been doubled under his administration. The hours have been reduced from fifty-six hours a week to not more than forty-four hours a week.

Immediately after he became President of the Letter Carriers' organization he

used his influence to have the organization affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. He is the choice, not only of the Letter Carriers but of the Civil Service groups represented in this convention, who have a strength of approximately 150,000 members. Those who have heard him on the rostrum speak on the shorter work day will undoubtedly recognize that he is a profound student of Labor problems. We offer him, and trust, like the preceding speakers, that he will be elected unanimously. I present to you that profound student of economics, our National President, Edward J. Gainor, for Fifteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Hyatt: I wish to second the nomination just made on behalf of the first organization of Civil Service employees that ever affiliated itself with Organized Labor, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. These Civil Service organizations are confronted with a task of the utmost importance, of course, to themselves, and to the Labor Movement as a whole, and that is to synchronize and rationalize the policies of our National Government to those of the Organized Labor Movement.

We have just come through a desperate fight, partially successful, and we are going through another one. It is necessary that in the high councils of the Labor Movement there should be one of our own group. Mr. Gainor is known to you as the chairman of the Committee on Shorter Work Week. In this and previous conventions, you had a number of demonstrations of the depth of his point of view toward the Labor Movement and the economic problems with which it is now faced.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to place in nomination a candidate for this position on the Executive Council, a gentleman that is known to all the members of this organization, one of the most useful delegates in this convention, one who has made great contributions to the new forward-looking policy the American Federation of Labor has adopted at this convention. It is my pleasure to place in nomination Charles P. Howard, President of the International Typographical Union.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: I desire to second the nomination of Charles P. Howard.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: President Green and delegates to the convention—I came to the platform to conserve time, but for quite another purpose as you will later learn. Two years ago when there was proposed in the convention of the American Federation of Labor an amendment to the Constitution which had for its purpose increased representation upon the Executive Council I supported that proposal, in the belief that it would advance the interest of American workers and the American Federation of Labor.

At that time I stood on the floor of the convention and stated to the delegates that I had no ambition to be a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. And so that I might not be charged with attempting to amend the laws and receive the benefit of that amendment, I completely eliminated myself in my own mind as a possible candidate. I consider there is no man in the American Labor Movement who is so big that he cannot be honored by a place upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I consider that the highest privilege in this world is to serve your fellow man in attempting to improve the conditions under which the men and women who do the work of the world are compelled to live, but I could not, under the pledge I had made to myself, accept the honor of this nomination. Mr. President, I decline the nomination.

Delegate Hesketh: I move on behalf of the Shorter Workday Committee that the Secretary cast the ballot of this convention for Edward J. Gainor as Fifteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainor as Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the action of the convention and in com-

pliance with the announcement of the Secretary, I declare Edward J. Gainor elected as Fifteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I find it very difficult to confine myself to a brief eulogy at this time of the distinguished member of this body who occupies at present the responsible position of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. He is a worthy successor of a long line of predecessors, and I am sure that I but give expression to the thought that is in the heart and mind of every man present and those back home, when I say it is a great satisfaction to know that never during all the years has the finger of suspicion been pointed at any of the officers who have held this responsible position.

There is nothing that I know of in this golden State of California that gives me greater pleasure than to be permitted to participate in this important function of the Federation. This officer, during all the years he has served you as national Treasurer, has given in full measure all the energy and great ability he is blessed with. His high character and splendid attainments are apparent to all with whom he comes in contact, and during the years he has held this position perhaps many millions of dollars have passed through his hands.

I am in a position to know something about his knowledge of investments and the manner in which he exercises detailed care over the money that has been placed in his possession. His conduct throughout has been manly, consistent and sincere. His readiness to sympathize and his generosity of heart are the component virtues of a great and simple character, and so, Mr. President, it affords me great pleasure indeed to place before you this man's name for the position of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, the distinguished President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, Martin F. Ryan.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I desire to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the hour of adjournment is approaching and I move

that we remain in continuous session until our business has been completed—

Delegate Knight: I move a suspension of the rules and that the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Martin Francis Ryan to watch over the Treasury for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Martin Francis Ryan as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Martin Francis Ryan elected as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that the rules be suspended and that the convention remain in session until the conclusion of the election of officers and of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and selection of the next convention city.

The motion was carried.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: The hour of adjournment approaches. Soon the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be history. The delegates who have attended this convention will return to their homes. It remains for the future to appraise the value of the work of this convention. Of the fifty-four annual conventions that have been held, in almost forty of these annual conventions there has risen upon the floor of the convention a delegate who has presented the name of a man who served this organization as its Secretary, and perhaps in all of those conventions this is the one question that has secured the approval of each succeeding annual convention.

During the forty years' service rendered by this official the American Federation of Labor has been confronted with crises which required courage and in each of

these crises the leadership of the American Federation of Labor has exhibited the required courage. I appreciate that, even though there were not a limit to time at my disposal, it would be quite impossible for me or any delegate to this convention to say a word that would add to the record of service of the delegate whose name I am about to propose as a candidate for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

I am confident, however, that the delegates to this convention realize that the problems of the future will require the same courage as have the problems of the past. I am certain the delegates in this convention realize that during the next twelve months it will be necessary for the executive and administrative officers of the American Federation of Labor to meet and attempt to solve these great problems, and I am sure there will be unanimous agreement with me when I say there is no greater service I could render to the American Federation of Labor than to present the name of Frank Morrison as a candidate for Secretary.

(The delegates arose and applauded Secretary Morrison when his nomination was announced.)

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I move that the rules of this convention be suspended and that the President be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: In accordance with the decision of the convention, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

In conformity with the announcement made and your decision I officially declare Brother Frank Morrison elected as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

(The delegates again arose and applauded.)

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates, I want to express my appreciation of the splendid reception you have

given me, because I have again been elected Secretary of the American Federation of Labor at a time in the history of the Federation when I think I can be of still greater service than ever before, I feel that in the coming year the Internationals and the Federation will make a steady progress and that we will come back to the next convention with a still better report with regard to the membership than we had this year.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart, and I will say to you that every ounce of my strength and time will be devoted to make this a greater and better Federation of the workers of our country.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. There are two to be elected to the British Trades Union Congress and one to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We will have an election for each one. Nominations will be made and elections take place. The one receiving the majority in each election will be declared elected.

Delegate Collieran, Operative Plasterers: I want to take this opportunity of thanking the American Federation of Labor delegates to the last convention for making it possible to be their representative to the British Trades Union Council this year.

While I am on my feet and to keep the records clear as far as harmony is concerned, while there was to have been a third candidate, that third candidate feels that he should withdraw his candidacy at this time, but he wants you to know that he will be a candidate next year, Mr. McSorley of the Lathers.

Vice-President Woll: I rise to place one in nomination for one of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. I am impressed with the fact that perhaps at no time in history has there been so much confusion and misunderstanding, not alone upon the affairs of the world but on labor particularly. I have time and time again referred to the great important work of this convention in policies outlined and plans formulated. I feel that in selecting one

to represent the American Federation of Labor among our brother trade unionists abroad it is essential that we select one fully competent and capable, not only to present tendencies and developments, plans and procedures as prescribed by the American Labor Movement, but one also who understands that which our brothers abroad are doing.

Therefore, because of the importance of one to be competent and capable, to fully, adequately and justly represent the American Labor Movement in a position of that kind I rise to place in nomination one fully competent and conversant by experience and ability to accomplish that end. He has been the long trusted official, as Secretary-Treasurer of the International Photo-Engravers for nearly twenty years, and I am happy and proud to place in nomination Henry F. Schmal for Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Volz: I move you that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for delegate Schmal for Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Henry F. Schmal as Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and in conformity with the announcement of the Secretary; I declare Henry F. Schmal elected as one of the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

Now the Chair calls for nomination for the other delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Gorman, Butcher Workmen: For delegate to the British Trades Union Congress I nominate the Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Brother Dennis Lane.

Delegate Moreschl, Laborers: I move that Secretary Morrison cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Lane.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Dennis Lane as Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: "In accordance with your decision and in conformity with the announcement of the secretary I declare Brother Dennis Lane elected for Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: It has been customary for many years to recognize a representative of the movement in the city in which the convention has been held. There is a man in this city, I believe, who has done more to make it pleasant for the delegates than has been done for many years in any other city.

He is secretary of the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council. He is the man who meets and greets every one of you. He has worked hard night and day to make this convention a success. I take pleasure in placing before this convention a representative of the Federation for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Jack O'Connell.

(The delegates all arose and applauded Delegate O'Connell.)

Delegate McHugh, Printing Pressmen: I move that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate O'Connell for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Ernst, San Francisco: I would like to be permitted to second the nomination of John O'Connell of San Francisco. We in San Francisco are particularly proud of John O'Connell. There isn't a time we cannot get service from John. It has been said that you send men to foreign countries to learn. I am going to say that John O'Connell will not go to Canada to learn, but to teach, because what John O'Connell doesn't know about Organized Labor isn't in the book.

The motion offered by Delegate McHugh was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous

vote of this convention for John A. O'Connell as Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and in conformity with the announcement of the secretary, I declare John A. O'Connell duly elected for Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

I want to announce to the delegates that in electing Brother O'Connell you will send him to Halifax. That is the place where the next convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will be held. I suggest that when the gentleman goes to Halifax he tell those Canadians how to entertain delegates to a convention and be sure that he looks after the ladies.

The next order of business will be the selection of a city in which to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I rise at this time to name a city that is known to a large number of the delegates present, a city, I am sure, in which all those who have ever been there have enjoyed themselves. I am sure the weather will be pleasant in October and the Boardwalk wide enough for you all to parade. I nominate Atlantic City.

Delegate Baer, Fire Fighters: I was in hopes that this unpleasant duty would not have to be performed at this time, but before you take part in the debate on the city of your choice for your coming convention I desire to make a statement.

In May this year the members of our organization in the Fire Department of Atlantic City attempted to form an organization. We were given the full and complete promise by several members of the city administration and we went forward with the organization practically 95 per cent strong. We attempted to bring about an organization that would be a credit to the American Federation of Labor.

The Chamber of Commerce and the Boardwalk and hotel interests of the city were friendly, but to our surprise, after the invitation had been spread broadcast,

after all plans had been made, a ruling was issued by the executive head of Atlantic City, Mayor Babcock, that no organization within the ranks of the fire fighters would be tolerated in that city if that movement affiliated with the International Association of Firefighters or the American Federation of Labor. We asked for a conference. They told us that their mind was a closed book and no further consideration would be given the matter. We appeared before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which was meeting in Atlantic City at that time. I am here to thank the Executive Council 100 per cent for the work they did in behalf of our organization and the trade-union movement as a whole. When we appeared before the Council it was unanimously decided by the Council that if the mayor of Atlantic City did not rescind his ruling with regard to our organization there would be no convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City. I am asking you to give us the help we are in such dire need of and not to consider Atlantic City at this time.

Delegate Martel, of the Typographical Union, placed in nomination the city of Miami, Florida.

Delegate H. C. Anthony, of the Rubber Workers, after relating something of the progress that has been made in organization work in Akron, Ohio, placed that city in nomination.

Delegate Beaudry, in a short address, nominated the City of Montreal, Canada, and asked that its claims be given consideration by the convention.

Delegate Martel, after stating that he had merely desired the nomination of a place of meeting other than Atlantic City, withdrew the nomination of the City of Miami, Florida.

The nomination of the City of Montreal was withdrawn.

Delegate Hutcheson stated that he had no intention, when placing Atlantic City in nomination, to in any way hamper the organization of fire fighters being made in that city.

Delegate Tracy, of the Electrical Workers, moved the matter of the selection of

the convention city be placed in the hands of the Executive Council.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Everyone realizes that the delegates to a convention of the American Federation of Labor expend in a city something like two to three hundred thousand dollars, and if the mayor of Atlantic City who has refused to recognize the right of fire fighters to organize into an organization of their own choice, realizes that his city will most certainly lose the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, it is possible that he will change his mind. It appears to me that it would be the wisest action for this convention to adopt the motion offered by Delegate Tracy and refer to the Executive Council the question of the choice of a convention city in 1935.

The motion to refer the selection of the 1935 convention city to the Executive Council was carried.

President Green: Now unless the convention declares otherwise we will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

Vice-President Woll: I want to rise to a point of order. The convention before adjournment last night, as the record will disclose, provided for a night session and if we are not to have it then the convention must so declare.

President Green: The Chair had forgotten that.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: How much more have we?

President Green: We have the balance of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, perhaps twenty or twenty-five resolutions as far as I am able to determine. We have the report of the Committee on Building Trades, the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies and the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I move you that we stand adjourned now until 8:30 o'clock tonight.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 6:50 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 8:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day—Friday Night Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 8:30 o'clock p. m.

Absentees—Gillmore, Freng, Mullaney, Horn, Obergfell, Kugler, Muri, Kasten, Horan, Nelson, Van Heck, Alteire, Cohen (Sol), McMillan, Gilbert, Hillman, Schlossberg, Rosenbaum, Potofsky, Strelbel, Belanca, Doyle (Jas. J.), Feeney, Baer, Dooney, Dannenberg, Lucchi, Greene, Goldman, Lawlor, Spector, Burt (R. R.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck (R.), Ryan (Jos. P.), Hoffman, Maxwell, Hynes, Ryan (Jas. J.), Wickman, Close, Smith (V. F.), Burns (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), Hannah, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sparks, Jones (Geo. W.), Gavlak, De Veze, Sumner (C. A.), Mitchell (M. V.), Cullen (P. J.), Kiser, Cashen, Carter (P. M.), Lowry (R. F.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), McKeown (A.), Hatch (Jas. H.), Fay (Geo. H.), Billet, Fay, Hoch, Gross, Fellry, Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), McAnally, Watt (R. J.), Rogers (J. L.), Clinedinst (L. B.), Mastriani (C.), Meany (Geo.), Osborne, Phillips, Iglesias, Bailey, Easton, O'Brien (Paul), Burr (R. M.), Gresty, Nance, Hirschfeldt, MacDonald, Jackson (D. W.), Schwartz (H. W.), Joel, Cuthbert (T. R.), Walsh (Jas.), Campbell (Geo. C.), Gross (R. A.), Cushing (Geo. F.), McIntroy, Burns (W. C.), Mitchell (H.), Meyers (Chas. A.), Woods (G. E.), Eby, Watson (H. M.), Augustine, Ames, England, Ellis, Rice, Graham (F. J.), Coulter, Pitner, Shave, Quinn, Gornto, Bale, Doyle (E. F.), Campbell (Jos. C.), Jackson (G. B.), Draper, Hoocker, Bowes, Bower, Townshend, Davison (J. R.), Marsh, Ringius, Wright (J. A.), Johnson (C. O.), Matthams, Dorsey, Holmes, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Mercer, Dahlager, Franklin (R. G.), Covert, Kontas, Schwartz (H.), Geraghty (J.), Jenkins, Kmetz, Lauder, Smith (S. M.), Stubbee, Johnson (F.), Duyungan, Townes, Lowe, Gorman (B. A.), Wagner, Money, Doane, Costello, Whitson, Taylor (C.), Di Capio, De Long, Barnes (G.), Flores (M. V.), Lumm, Wolfe, Gerhart (F. B.), Flynn (M. J.), Manash, Dowd, Bertucci, Watson (S.), Dellums, Holland, Hampton, McElligott, Dent, Gartrell, Matlin, Kelly, Garibaldi, Hull, Kidwell, Boyd, Croner, Ryan (Jas.), Mitchell, Yetta, Higgins, Moore (F. E.).

Delegate Porter, Federal Labor Union No. 18609: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of personal privilege. I merely want to make plain in the record of the convention that as sponsor for a resolution yesterday which proposed a Labor Party, this resolution has nothing whatever to do with the resolution submitted

in behalf of the Communist Party. I am quite sure that the Communist Party vigorously opposes the creation of a Labor Party by the American Federation of Labor and, for the sake of the record, I want to make perfectly clear that this resolution has nothing whatever to do with Resolution No. 120 on behalf of the Communist Party.

President Green: We will proceed with the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

When we interrupted the proceedings for the special order this afternoon, we were discussing the question of jurisdiction affecting the Cleaners and Dyers. There was a delegate on the floor that I said I would recognize and I will be glad to do that now. The report of the committee provides for reference of the resolution to the Executive Council.

Delegate Maisus, Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 18182: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I want to take this opportunity to explain a number of misstatements on the part of the Laundry Workers' International Union, in their attempt to seek jurisdiction over the Cleaners and Dyers. It may be interesting to note here the report of the Executive Council on the progress of organization within the cleaning and dyeing industry. I want to read a part of this section to the delegates here:

"In July, 1933, there were only five Federal Unions in the trade. Today the Federation numbers 91 unions in all parts of the country.

"The cleaning and dyeing trade comprises approximately 200,000 workers, the majority of whom are employed in wholesale plants and are known as inside workers." I am reading from the report of the Executive Council. It is estimated that 20 per cent of the inside workers are in the membership of the cleaners and dyers. If you put those figures accurately

you will find approximately 40,000 cleaners organized in Federal Labor Unions throughout the United States. The Laundry Workers' International Union has a delegation in this convention with 53 votes, which means an approximate membership of 5,000. This is the first time I ever heard of an organization six times as large as another organization placed in the position of trying to defend itself as to whether this organization is weak or not. I want to say that the rapid change in the organization is due to the existing conditions in the cleaning and dyeing industry as compared to that in the laundry industry. Mrs. Pinchot, the wife of the Governor of Pennsylvania, recently covered very accurately the conditions of the Laundry Workers when she said those conditions could not possibly be any worse.

Often we have been asked why it is that the laundry workers are paid anywhere from six to eight dollars a week and the cleaners and dyers get three times that much. My contention is and always has been that the use of soap and water in the cleaning and dyeing process is not the process that is used by the members of the International Union of Laundry Workers. If we were to believe the statements made by the Laundry Workers' representatives, we would find that everyone using soap and water would come under the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers and, if such were the case, everyone who washes his face with soap and water in the morning, in order to be a good union man, would have to come under the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

Delegate Warren, Carpenters: I move the previous question.

President Green: You cannot move the previous question when a speaker has the floor.

Delegate Malsus: I merely want to cite the difference between cleaning and dyeing and the laundry trade. I am sure the Executive Council will take this into consideration in making their further report and I would certainly ask you that rather than have the cleaners and dyers taken

into the Laundry Workers' Union, they be established in their own International Union, and we will figure out later what to do with the laundry workers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and J. J. Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

WHEREAS, In the great effort to bring about recovery from industrial stagnation, through the establishment of more stable employment and a fairer division of the proceeds of industry for the creation of sufficient purchasing power, there has been enacted Section 7-a as an essential provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The most gigantic conspiracy in the history of our country, fostered in the main by a group of opposing industrialists and some reactionary politicians, has been set afoot to frustrate free organization among the workers; and

WHEREAS, To prevent workers from functioning collectively, as contemplated by the Recovery Act, recalcitrant employers, antagonistic to the purposes of Section 7-a, have illegally advocated, promoted, fostered, financed and organized, under various names, company unions, and, through company officials and agencies, maintain such company unions under utter domination of the employers, thus evading real collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, Labor Boards, notwithstanding their findings that the employers have violated Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act through illegal interference, coercion and intimidation of employees, have not estopped nor discouraged employers from so offending, as witness the findings of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 vs. The Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin; and

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board, although holding the Kohler Company guilty of interference with the right of free organization among employees and of violating Section 7-a in organizing its company union, nevertheless, when ordering the election to determine representation for collective bargaining, gave the illegally begotten company union recognition equal to that rightfully bestowed on the legitimate Federal Labor Union No. 18545 by according the illegal company union a place on the ballot in the election for the employees' choice of representation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the illegal and illogical position taken by the National Labor Relations Board in permitting a company union to be selected as an agency for collective bargaining after the company had been found guilty of unlawfully and illegally creating such company union for the purpose of thwarting the rights accorded employees under Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, demands that the National Labor Relations Board declare that any company union created in violation of Section 7-a be denied the status and the right to act as a representative for collective bargaining; and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless such position is made clear and definite by the National Labor Relations Board, the American Federation of Labor must take the position that when such administrative tribunal fails to accord to workers their rights under Section 7-a, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will be wholly justified in refusing to participate in such unwarranted elections, and to depend on the force of their economic weapons for securing the recognition supposedly guaranteed by Section 7-a; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to use every means at their command to cause the discontinuance of the destructive and illegal practice on the part of Labor Boards of giving unwarranted recognition and encouragement to such illegal company unions and to employers organizing and maintaining them, and to bring the injustice of these nefarious methods to the attention of the President of the United States to the end that workers who take seriously the guarantees of recovery regulations may obtain the relief to which they are entitled.

Your committee is of the opinion that trade unionists can not participate in elections and then challenge the result, unless it can be shown that the election was not a fair, open election, without discrimination against any worker. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, the Executive Council in its report on page 100, under the caption "Collective Bargaining," says it is in regard to Section 7-a that the most cruel disillusion of the workers regarding the NRA has

occurred. The National Industrial Recovery Act has been in operation for about a year and four months, and through that period the workers have viewed it with a mixture of hope and discouragement. There is nothing wrong with the Act, as has been stated on the floor here time and time again, but there is a great deal the matter with the administration of the Act. We have heretofore had a number of cases before us between the organized workers and the employers in which tribunals of adjustment have fallen down miserably. I want to cite one case, and while it is only one of the many cases that are occurring throughout the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, this happens to be one to which I am so close that I know considerable about it. That is the case of Federal Labor Union 18545 against the Kohler Company.

Resolution No. 109 does more than complain of the election that has been held. In the first place, it condemns the practice of the boards recognizing the company unions as bargaining agencies.

Second, it demands that the National Labor Relations Board declare the company unions created in violation of Section 7-a be denied the status and right of acting as representatives of collective bargaining.

Third, the resolution gives notice that Labor must use its economic power to oppose the injustice of foisting company unions upon Labor.

Fourth, when company unions are in existence and the administrative tribunal fails to accord to workers their rights under Section 7-a, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will be wholly justified in refusing to participate in such unwarranted elections.

Fifth, that our officers continue their efforts to prevent recognition of illegal company unions by relations tribunals of the government.

Sixth, that the unjust practice of giving illegal company unions a legal status be brought to the attention of the President of the United States.

In order to give you a comprehensive picture of what is going on, let me cite this Kohler case. I don't want to take up the time of the convention in going into details, but we had all of the many steps that were taken in the organization of that union, and up to the time and all through the campaign, the company trying to destroy the very same things that obtain in relation to many other organizations that have been enrolled in the last year or a year and a half. That Kohler Company has always been anti-union, as was so vividly presented here by Delegate Friedrich, of Milwaukee, earlier in the convention. For years we have tried to organize that group. It was not until after the enactment of the National Recovery Act that we met with some success, because we told those people that now, due to the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act, they would have the protection of the government under the NRA, and that the American Federation of Labor would be able to cope with the situation and protect them in their rights to organize into a union of their own choosing.

Immediately after this Federal Labor Union was organized the company began organizing its company union, and for fourteen months that organization has appealed to the National Labor Relations Board, it has appealed to the President of the United States. Efforts were made in a sort of bungling fashion by the then administrator of the NRA of the National Labor Relations Board for the State of Wisconsin. We did think that while we preferred the Wisconsin Disputes Act, nevertheless we had some hope when the National Labor Relations Board came into being that we would get some sort of justice. That board was appealed to and they sent an examiner to Sheboygan to hold a hearing and all the facts were there presented. Subsequently an argument was had before the National Labor Relations Board itself and the National Labor Relations Board found the Kohler Company guilty of violating Section 7-a in the organization of their company union.

Let me just take a moment or two to read a couple of paragraphs from the decision made by the National Labor Relations Board:

"The third complaint is that the company has interfered with the right of self-organization of its workers. Activity looking toward the formation of the union began in July, 1933. The union secured its charter late in August. There then followed Labor Day, with its display of union membership and activity in a public parade. On September 6, immediately after these two events, the chief chemist of the Kohler Company, together with two others, one a 'working foreman,' for the first time decided to express to the management of the company the idea that an inside workers' organization should be created. The Kohler Company had never before had such an organization among its employees. At about dusk on the evening of September 6, these three employees waited upon Mr. Walter Kohler, the company's president, at his office, and asked his permission to form within the plant an organization of the workers. This meeting seems to have been very brief, and Mr. Kohler referred the men to his assistant, Mr. H. J. Thorkelson. Mr. Thorkelson frankly states that he had theretofore made a study of various company union plans and further states that he assisted the men in drafting a constitution for their proposed organization.

"From the time when this conference with Mr. Thorkelson ended, well on in the evening of September 6, events began to move with curious rapidity toward the formation of what became the Kohler Workers' Association. Thus, at 8:30 in the morning of the very next day, the three men who, according to their story, had the night before expressed a thought about such an organization, were meeting with an organization committee of 82 workers, and at this meeting produced application blanks for membership in the proposed organization and an elaborate constitution in mimeograph form. They had furthermore arranged that this 8:30 meeting should be addressed by the president of the company,

and in accordance with their plans, Mr. Kohler appeared. Not only was this organization meeting held, but on the same day meetings were scheduled for the four shifts of the plant."

After analyzing the entire situation, the National Labor Relations Board makes this finding:

"Thus it is clear that the company participated in forming and engaged actively in promoting the new organization, that the workers had no opportunity of expressing an unfettered choice as to whether or not they wished to belong to it, and that the company not only indicated its favorable attitude toward the organization but stood ready to finance its existence. Under such circumstances the organization could not have that independence which is essential to a true collective bargaining agency, and the sudden and extensive promotion of the plan at a time when an outside union was just being formed can only be considered as a deliberate design to influence the allegiance of the employees and to interfere with their free and unhampered self-organization which Section 7-a guarantees. The wrong done by the company, can, however, be remedied by an election."

I have listened to the committee's report and they recommend non-concurrence because when an organization enters into an election they are expected to abide by that election. Before I came to this convention we had a conference with the representatives of the National Labor Board, and we told those representatives that by no means would we go into an election if the company union were made a candidate for the election, also that certain election rules must apply. As a matter of fact, however, those who conducted that election permitted chambermaids and stablemen and street workers in the village of Kohler and all the rest of the people that had nothing to do with the production work of the Kohler factory to come in there and vote. These votes had been protested. The National Labor Relations Board, after having declared the company union guilty, gives labor a candidate, an illegitimate child, that they

themselves had declared illegally created and had found the Kohler Company guilty of violation of Section 7-a, and then I come into this convention and I am told we can do nothing about it, because these men have submitted to that vote, to go into that election. Those people up there are not all as wise as some of the delegates here, and they did the thing they thought they had to do and the thing that the National Labor Relations Board advised them to do. There was no thought in the minds of anybody that could reason at all that this election would be conducted in that way.

I say to you that if this thing is not halted, then there will be a great deal more havoc in the labor movement the country over, similar to the situation that prevails in Kohler.

The other day some of us were criticized because we dared to say that the Department of Justice was not 100 per cent, because we dared to criticize the Department of Justice for not prosecuting cases, and this morning I am advised and the papers had the story that the Department of Justice had just refused to prosecute in the Houde case.

Now, of course Mr. Donald Richberg, may say, "I told you so, I am right when I say that the decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the Houde case does not change the interpretation placed upon Section 7-a on the question of majority and minority rule." We haven't got very much out of these boards, and this resolution is asking the American Federation of Labor to do certain things. We are not satisfied with being told that some organization had gone into an election. What we are asking for is that this Federation bestir itself and make known to those in power and to the people who administer this Act, that we do not recognize company unions and we do not want them to put company unions illegitimately created and upon which the employers have been convicted on a status of equality with honest to goodness labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, I don't think that the committee, in its curt analysis of this

thing—let us assume that these people up there made a mistake in going into that election at all. That, I say, does not give the National Labor Relations Board the right to say that a company union is illegal, that the company violated Section 7-a, and then give it a status of a legitimate candidate to be voted for. We are asking through this resolution No. 109 that we condemn the practice of giving recognition to company unions as bargaining agencies. I don't think the resolution ought to be non-concurred in. I am demanding that the unjust practice of giving illegal company unions a legal status be brought to the attention of the President of the United States and that the American Federation of Labor bestir itself, if they can't do anything in respect to the Kohler situation, to protect other groups from having the same thing perpetrated upon them that Federal Labor Union 18545 is suffering.

It took a lot of time and pains and money and President Green has devoted a lot of attention to perfecting that organization. We have been pleading and begging and demanding for fourteen months for protection under Section 7-a, and the best we got out of it was the National Labor Relations Board to say to us, "Here is a company union, vote for it."

I think that something more can be done. I think that the officers of the Federation of Labor intend to do something more about these illogical, unwarranted and illegal practices that are being perpetrated by some of the boards that are created in order to enforce Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Your committee in its report so far has approved of resolutions condemning violation of Section 7-a. It has declared company unions to exist contrary to the National Industrial Recovery Act. It has instructed the Executive Council in several of its reports on resolutions to secure more adequate legislation and to make enforcement more applicable and more protective.

Now the question which the committee's report passes on is one whether, after

trade unionists have gone into an election in a plant to determine who shall represent the wage earner, shall after the election challenge the results of that election unless it can be shown that election was held under unfair methods. Your committee had no other alternative than to report as it did.

It has been a practice for some time to hold elections to determine who shall represent the employees. Those elections in every instance have been held in plants where company unions existed. The purpose of the election was to show to the National Labor Relations Board that the majority of the employees desired to be represented by those of their own choosing. That gave the trade unionists in the plant the opportunity of overthrowing company union representatives as the ones who could speak for labor in that plant.

Now, to take any other position would be most inconsistent. If we are to demand that there shall be elections in plants to determine who the employees want as their representatives, and then complain because the unions lose the election, because the majority of the employees prefer another organization, we make ourselves not only inconsistent but impossible in the fight we are making through these plant elections to overthrow the company union as the organization representing the employees. There is no other logical position for your committee to take than the one it did. Let me again read the report:

"Your committee is of the opinion that trade unionists cannot participate in the elections and then challenge the result, unless it can be shown that the election was not a fair, open election, without discrimination against anybody. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution."

There is no other consistent position which the trade union movement can take, in the committee's opinion.

Delegate Holmgren, Railway Carmen: I move the previous question.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council—

President Green: Delegate Friedrich, you don't expect to cover the same ground that has already been covered, do you?

Delegate Friedrich: No, I don't. This resolution, incidentally, mentions the Kohler Company. It is not a resolution protesting the result of the vote of the Kohler Company. If you will read the resolve you will see that in none of the resolves is the Kohler Company mentioned. The purpose of the resolution and the resolves in that resolution is to protest against the action of the National Labor Relations Board in saying, first, that a company union has been illegally created and then in the same breath saying that even though it has been illegally created, we are going to place the name of the company union on the ballot to be voted for. That is the thing we are warning against. We say if a company union has been illegally created it should have no place on the ballot, which is conducted in accordance with the NRA, and under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board. That is the whole purport of the resolution and protest against that sort of action.

The report of the committee was adopted on a viva voce vote.

Company Unions

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456.

WHEREAS, Company unions are instruments of the employers to prevent real union organization, to place the workers at the complete mercy of the employers, to destroy any resistance to the conditions imposed upon them and to isolate workers from the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Since the advent of the NRA the number of workers driven into company unions have reached the alarming total of 5,000,000; and

WHEREAS, Those leaders of the American Federation of Labor who are working closely with the NRA are jointly responsible for the growth of company unions, due to their approval of codes, such as the auto code, which contains a merit clause nullifying the closed shop; the steel code, which recognizes representatives from company unions; and due to their compliance with the no-strike policy of the NRA and their aid to the

National Labor Board in breaking strikes which resulted in either strengthening already existing company unions or foisting new ones on workers; and

WHEREAS, NRA election frauds and other schemes to force workers into company unions and the recent action of the National Labor Board in breaking strikes which resulted in either strengthening already existing company unions or foisting new ones on workers; and

WHEREAS, NRA election frauds and other schemes to force workers into company unions and the recent action of the National Labor Board in adding to it more corporation officials in whose industries company unions now exist, show the aim to be to force company unions on the workers wherever possible; and

WHEREAS, Only through the organization of powerful unions controlled by the rank and file can the workers gain improvements in their conditions; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to take immediate steps to arouse workers in the United States to the menace of company controlled unions, against the NRA and government boards which seek control over the activities of existing unions, against all other causes which are responsible for the growth of company unions, and to wage a fight for the rights of the workers to organize into unions of their own choice, to choose their own representatives, to strike and picket; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to give all possible aid to workers in company unions who are seeking to destroy these instruments of the employers, which drive down their wages and living standards.

Your committee in recommending non-concurrence in the resolution, because of the obvious misstatements in the preamble, directs your attention to the record of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of Company Unions.

From the moment when this type of employer created and controlled organization was forced upon wage earners to forestall or prevent trade union organization, the American Federation of Labor has used every means at its command to strip the mask of hypocrisy from those who advocated and fostered this employer method of strangling the wage earners' efforts to protect their welfare and

smother their liberties and their independence.

The "yellow dog" contract and its unsavory relation, the "yellow dog" company union, had a common ancestry and in many instances a common parentage.

Both have been born and bred for the purpose of destroying the basic American principles of equality of rights, opportunities and privileges for all.

As a result of trade union efforts, the "yellow dog" contract was made legally null and void by the legislatures of a number of states. Finally this form of alleged labor contract was eliminated from the relationship of workmen and employer through a section of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act. The vital part of Section 2 of that Act was incorporated in Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

The American Federation of Labor and the representatives of its affiliated organizations have been active and vigorous in attacking the extension of "yellow dog" company unions since the National Industrial Recovery Act was enacted. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the affiliated national and international unions have made constant use of every enforcement agency of the Government to have Section 7-a of the Act enforced.

Every available channel of publicity has been used calling public attention to the sinister danger which threatened the success of the National Industrial Recovery Act, unless means and measures were applied by the Government which would prevent the existence of "yellow dog" company unions in violation of the principle of the equality of rights and privileges for workmen and employers alike, and an apparent contempt for the law on the part of numerous employers.

During the year the trade union movement faced an issue which arose from the appointment of representatives of company unions to sit as representatives of labor with trades unionists on industrial relations boards. In every instance

trade unionists refused to sit with such company union representatives, or to in any way recognize them as true bona fide representatives of organized labor.

As a result of active and vigorous presentation of the position of the American Federation of Labor, understandings were reached with the administration of the National Recovery Administration which placed the company union representatives in the category where they belonged—the representatives of employers instead of the representatives of the employees.

Because of the leadership which the American Federation of Labor has taken in exposing and combating the "yellow dog" contract and the "yellow dog" company union, your Committee recommends that the convention reaffirm its historic attitude upon the subject, and also reaffirms its approval of the activities of the Executive Council in continually calling public attention to the un-American and freedom destroying purposes of both of these employer methods which have been applied on their part, for the purpose of shackling labor's hands so that it could be more easily exploited.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Wage Differential for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, Many southern employers of labor are seeking to get the Federal government committed to a policy of racial wage differentials, on the grounds of the Negro workers having a lower standard of living, and a traditional status lower than that of white workers, and also a lower productive efficiency, which would ultimately place the Negro in a low wage caste; and

WHEREAS, All scientific socio-economic studies show that standards of living invariably correspond to the income of groups, and have no racial relation; and

WHEREAS, Productive efficiency of workers can only be effectively determined in terms of individuals and not races; and

WHEREAS, Unbiased economic and industrial opinion of efficiency engineers in-

dicates that Negro workers have the capacity for the same standards of skill and production as white workers have; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of a racial wage differential under the New Deal would put the stamp of approval upon the industrial degradation of Negro workers by the Federal government which would tend to hold back the industrial progress of the Negro race; and

WHEREAS, A racial wage differential would set up the basis of a deadly competition between the white and black workers, which would practically render the organization and maintenance of a militant and effective labor movement in America impossible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record as definitely and unalterably opposed to the principle of the racial wage differential, because of its menace to the Negro and White workers alike, and herewith call upon the Congress and President Roosevelt to refuse to sanction this backward and vicious economic policy of selfish and inefficient southern business interests.

In lieu of the resolution, your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the action of previous conventions which have approved of the payment of equal wages for equal work, regardless of sex, race or color.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting International Charter for Sleeping Car Porters

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The Sleeping Car Porters have functioned, since they were organized in 1925, through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, international in scope, though affiliated with the American Federation of Labor under Federal charters since 1929; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company is an international corporation which operates its sleeping cars in Mexico and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There are now thirteen Federal Locals of Sleeping Car Porters affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with ten or more sleeping car locals in preparation for affiliation as Federal locals, which fully satisfies the conditions and requirements for an International charter; and

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act, as amended by the Seventy-third Congress,

specifically states under the general caption: National Board of Adjustment—Grievances—Interpretation of Agreements, Section 3, paragraph (a), "That the said Adjustment Board shall consist of thirty-six members, eighteen of whom shall be selected by the carriers and eighteen by such labor organizations of employees, national in scope, as have been or may be organized in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 of this Act," and renders it imperative that railway workers, in order to function effectively in bargaining collectively in the negotiations of agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions, be embraced in an organization national in structure and scope; and

WHEREAS, The tax of Federal locals is too heavy a burden upon the Sleeping Car Porters to permit them adequately to handle the grievances and represent Sleeping Car Porters that are located in Pullman districts, extending from Miami, Florida, to the twin cities of Minnesota and from New York City to California; and

WHEREAS, The only sound structure of organization of Sleeping Car Porters is one which is co-extensive with the industry in which they are employed and the corporation with which it must fight for the right of self-organization and the selection and designation of representatives of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Railway Labor Act, as amended by the Seventy-third Congress, five or six thousand sleeping car porters and maids have joined the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, representing the large majority of the porters and maids in the sleeping car industry; and

WHEREAS, The sleeping car porters will soon institute action, through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to secure a conference with the Pullman Company, to make and maintain an agreement on wages, hours and rules governing working conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in view of the aforementioned facts and reasons, that the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in San Francisco assembled, herewith grant an international charter to the Sleeping Car Porters, the same to include within its scope of jurisdiction the red-caps, ushers and train porters.

As the subject matter of this resolution requires administrative action, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their earnest consideration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068: Mr. Chairman and

delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—The Application of the Sleeping Car Porters for an International charter is based upon several grounds. First, the Pullman company for which the Sleeping Car Porters work is a corporation which conducts its business on an international scale operating sleeping cars in Mexico, Canada and the United States of America.

Second: Federal unions in an industry where the workers are unified on a national scale tend to increase and foster a psychology of isolation and separation. This tends to prevent these workers from building up economic strength.

Third: Federal unions require taxation which is too heavy for the Sleeping Car Porters to bear in view of the fact that the Sleeping Car Porters are now operating under a national labor organization. When the Sleeping Car Porters went into the American Federation of Labor in 1929 they then had a national labor organization. We could not unscramble that national labor organization, therefore we had to bear the expense incident to operating a national organization. At the same time we had the official relationship with the American Federation of Labor of Federal unions.

Fourth: The amendment to the Railway Labor Act by the Seventy-third Congress requires that railroad workers, in order that they may effectively deal with the employers, must function through national labor organizations. Permit me to read one section of the Act under the general caption, "National Board of Adjustments, Grievances, Interpretation of Agreements, Paragraph A:

"That the Special Adjustment Board shall consist of thirty-six members, eighteen of whom shall be selected by the carriers and eighteen by such labor organizations of the employees national in scope as have been or may be organized in accordance with Section 2 of this Act."

Therefore, you see, delegates, that railroad workers, in order that they may function effectively in building economic

strength, in order that they may collectively bargain with the railroad company, must have a structure that is national in scope.

Fifth: The Sleeping Car Porters have now thirteen Federal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We have the required number on which you can build an International labor organization.

Sixth: The Sleeping Car Porters are prepared and ready to pay taxes on five thousand sleeping car porters, bona fide members that we have organized. Federal unions could not have organized five thousand sleeping car porters, but we were functioning through a national labor organization and consequently we were able to organize that number. In the next thirty days we will be able to organize ninety to ninety-five per cent of the sleeping car porters of the Pullman Company.

Consequently we qualify in every respect for an International charter in terms of numbers of Federal locals, in terms of bona fide members, in terms of ability to pay the per capita tax, in terms of financial ability to operate an International organization.

Now, the Sleeping Car Porters have made application to the Executive Council for an International charter several times before. The first application was turned down on the ground that the International Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance claimed jurisdiction over the Sleeping Car Porters. I shall not comment on that jurisdictional claim because of the fact that the Executive Council refused to give over the Sleeping Car Porters to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance.

The second application which was made to the Executive Council was turned down on the ground that we did not have enough bona fide members and were not financially able to operate and conduct an International labor organization. However, that position is now changed in view of the fact that we have organized over five thousand members and are qualified to operate and conduct an International labor organization.

We made a third application for an International charter to the Executive Council. No action has been taken on this third application. However, the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors has also made application to the Executive Council for jurisdiction over the Sleeping Car Porters. Now just a word about that claim. The claim of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors for jurisdiction over the Sleeping Car Porters is based upon the ground that there are porters who work in charge, operate sleeping cars in charge; that is to say that they do conductor's work and receive a differential in pay over the standard sleeping car porter of about \$13.

In connection with that position may I say that there are probably not three hundred sleeping car porters who operate in charge, and even the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors recognizes the policy of the Pullman Company to use sleeping car porters as "in charge porters," because the agreement of the Sleeping Car Conductors says that where there are two or more sleeping cars the sleeping car conductor shall be in charge. The implication is that where there is one car a sleeping car porter may operate "in charge." A sleeping car porter who operates "in charge" is not operating in charge all the time. He may operate "in charge" one month and then may be removed and work on a standard sleeping car as a full-fledged porter. Moreover I don't think you will find fifty porters in the country who operate "in charge" over two or more cars. In other words, the sleeping car porters who operate "in charge" are operating on one car, and the agreement of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters recognizes that policy of the Pullman Company. Before the existence of Sleeping Car Conductors the sleeping car porters worked "in charge." They have worked "in charge" since the organization of the Sleeping Car Conductors. Therefore, this point on the part of the organization in claiming jurisdiction over the Sleeping Car Porters is unsound inasmuch as sleeping car porters are not responsible for working "in charge." The Pullman Company assigns them to that work and therefore there is nothing that can be done about it.

As a matter of fact, it is simply a change in the economic and industrial conditions of the Pullman porters and the Pullman conductors. May I say in this connection that the Sleeping Car Porters have absolutely nothing against the Sleeping Car Conductors. As a matter of fact the Sleeping Car Porters are interested in the Sleeping Car Conductors holding their jobs and the Sleeping Car Porters will co-operate with them in helping them to hold their jobs so far as possible. However, the Sleeping Car Porters have spent over a quarter of a million dollars during a period of nine years to organize five thousand or more men into a legitimate, bona fide labor organization, and the Sleeping Car Porters feel that they are entitled to national and international charters with control over their own affairs, and they feel that they are competent in terms of ability, of character and of vision to operate such an organization.

We also feel the delegates to this convention would certainly be in favor of a group of men who have fought and suffered and sacrificed for nine years to build up an organization, that they would be in favor of these men conducting their own international organization. May I say that during this period over five hundred Pullman porters have lost their jobs. Consequently you can readily see that a very definite sacrifice has been made to build up this organization. Now this historic convention has established some precedents. In other words, it has broken a precedent in enlarging the Executive Council, which is constructive and fundamental. It has also taken a position on industrial unionism, which is another fine and far-reaching and significant position. It ought to take another position and to break another precedent in awarding the first international charter to an organization composed of Negro workers. This organization is the first one that has made application to the American Federation of Labor for an international charter. Therefore it would be not a mere gesture, but it would be something fundamental for the Executive Council to award an international charter to this organization, inasmuch as the Sleeping

Car Porters qualify in every particular and in every way in order to receive such a charter.

President Green is familiar with the struggle of this group. He has spoken in public meetings for our organization in New York and Chicago. He knows what the group has gone through. He knows what it has borne, the ordeals the movement has endured, consequently I am confident that this Federation will be appreciative of the progress that this movement will make if it is granted an international charter.

Now we are going to enter a letter to the Pullman Company in the next few days for a conference for the purpose of discussing an agreement concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions. We are going to do that whether we get an international charter or not. In other words, we have more than 70 per cent of the sleeping car porters in the Pullman service. Therefore, we are qualified under the law to get a conference with the Pullman Company. We are confident that we will be able to get an agreement. However, we would be far more effective in presenting our case if when we went for this conference with the Pullman Company we had an international charter from the American Federation of Labor. It would give a splendid moral effect to the whole effort that would be made on the part of our organization.

May I say also that even if the Executive Council awarded the Sleeping Car Porters to the Conductors, it is very doubtful if the Sleeping Car Conductors would get one porter. The porters would not submit to the jurisdiction and the reason is that the Sleeping Car Conductors have never made any effort to organize the porters. Moreover, there is, unfortunately, in the constitution of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, a color clause. That naturally creates a psychology which will cause the Sleeping Car Porters not to be favorable to placing their destinies in the hands of an organization that has a color clause in its constitution. These are facts that cannot be ignored, and consequently, in conclusion, I want to appeal to the Executive

Council that it award the Sleeping Car Porters an international charter, and, if that is done, the Sleeping Car Porters will be an organization which will be an asset and a credit and a contribution to the labor movement of America.

Of course I know the procedure on international charters and the awarding of charters of any sort by the Executive Council, inasmuch as the Executive Council has to delineate the lines of jurisdiction. Consequently, I am not arguing for a change in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Warfield, Sleeping Car Conductors: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention—The remarks made by Delegate Randolph being in a way in support of the committee's report, make my position here a little easier. Of course I am speaking in favor of the committee's report. I only want to say a few words to clarify the issues. Delegate Randolph has unwittingly, no doubt, made some statements that are not quite in accordance with the facts, and I want you to have the facts. He said that the contract that we hold with the company recognizes the proposition of operating porters "in charge" by having a rule providing that where two or more cars are operated then there will be a conductor, which is an inference that when there is only one car the porter may be the operator. We have no such rule. We have not been able to stop the operation of porters "in charge". That is something that has come about recently. Of course for many years porters have operated on **short parlor car runs**, but they were never operated in place of conductors. We took no exception to that practice, but in the later years, particularly since the beginning of the depression, the Pullman Company has changed its policy so that now porters are being substituted for conductors in many cases. There are probably five hundred operating at the present time, and every porter is required to familiarize himself with the duties of a conductor in order to hold his position as a porter.

We are not depriving the porters of an organization, we are offering them one, an international organization that will

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give them all the benefits that we have for ourselves. He says there is a clause in our constitution about the color line. The clause to which he refers merely conforms with the requirements of the company for conductors. Only white men are eligible for the work of conductors. But the reason we have asked for jurisdiction over porters is this: on account of the constantly increasing number of porters taking the places of conductors we are faced with extinction of our class of service unless something is done. But we do not propose to stop that practice for that reason. What we do propose is to take jurisdiction over the porters so that it will prevent dual representation.

If the porters were to secure an international charter we would have the impossible situation of two international organizations within one company, both of them trying to write rules governing wages and working conditions for employees in the same class of service. So in order to make things operate more smoothly we have asked for this jurisdiction.

I want to say further that Delegate Randolph was wrong in saying we had never made any effort to organize the porters. We did make an effort back in 1919, but we were prevented from perfecting that organization on account of the jurisdiction claims by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Association, so we had to drop it for the time being. We have never ceased our efforts to help these men organize, but the time has come when if we do not have jurisdiction over the porters we are going to have an impossible situation when it comes to writing rules governing wages and working conditions, because the two organizations trying to do the same thing for different classes of employees are bound to have friction. There can be nothing else.

Since Delegate Randolph has been willing to submit this to the Executive Council, I have no further remarks to make and I am willing that he and I should go before the Executive Council to straighten this thing out.

I thank you.

The report of the committee on resolution No. 144 was adopted by unanimous vote.

Request for Appointment of Negro Organizer

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The recent industrial upheavals in America show the desire of Negro workers to be organized and to fight side by side with their white brothers, and also the disposition and desire of the employing class to utilize Negro workers as a reserve force to hold back the rising tide of a militant labor movement, seeking to establish industrial democracy as we now have political democracy; and

WHEREAS, Many International unions have found it indispensable to seek the support and co-operation of Negro workers to help them develop solidarity to hold their lines and advance their lines in the interest of securing day-to-day improvements in working conditions, wage increases and shorter hours; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of Negro workers are joining the needle trades, the mine workers' organizations and other groups, but that the great masses of Negro workers are not touched by the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There is no Negro organizer of labor now under the direct supervision of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, go on record as authorizing the Executive Council and President William Green, to put on one or more paid Negro general organizers so that they may promote, in co-operation with the National, International and Federal unions, a nation-wide program of organization and education among Negro workers.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the convention's suggestion for favorable consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Massachusetts Unemployment Census

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The best available statistics have warranted the assertion that

not less than 10,000,000 workers are still unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Conservative statements of William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, to the effect that not less than 10,000,000 workers able and willing to work were unable to work and were recently criticized and challenged by officers of the United States Chamber of Commerce; and

WHEREAS, The State of Massachusetts is just completing a state-wide unemployment census, the advanced tabulations of which census indicate that there are at the present time to less than 12,000,000 workers unable to secure employment; and

WHEREAS, This complete census of unemployment will be of great value to the officers of all National and International unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to obtain and send to all National and International unions a copy of this census.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Revival of CWA

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Because of the widespread unemployment which is rapidly being added to daily, some immediate means for relief must be provided for by our Government to take care of the many unemployed workers this coming winter; and

WHEREAS, The present method of dispensing Federal Emergency Relief does not meet the needs of the majority of worthy people; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of dispensing relief through FERA, many worthy people hesitate to apply for relief because of the necessity to lower their personal pride by doing so; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the President of the United States to again revive the CWA under the same rules and regulations as was in effect under the CWA which was adopted November 15, 1933.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act for Protection Against Occupational Diseases

Resolution No. 154—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, History tells us that the original and principal reasons for all attempts to make practical use of inventions and discoveries, especially in the field of science and mechanics, were for the purpose of securing a more agreeable, easier and better existence; in other words, to lighten the burden of Labor by making use of these achievements; and

WHEREAS, With the advancement of times and conditions came a gradual change in purpose, when incentive to philanthropic improvement very soon gave way to the natural desire of individuals to attempt to quickly enrich themselves by resorting to ruthless and questionable methods, without any consideration for the well-being and health of their fellowmen; and

WHEREAS, Recent years have seen the development of inventions and discoveries in industry, in the different trades and in agriculture to a surprising degree, while but very little and hardly any provision has been made by the forty-eight States of the Union and in the District of Columbia to guard the health of the workers, who are in daily contact with and are constantly exposed to many of the insidious substances in solid, liquid and gaseous form. Many so employed have contracted serious diseases, some incurable, and others leading to premature death; many others met with serious accidents while at work through being so affected; and

WHEREAS, Admitting that the originators of inventions and discoveries had only progress and advancement in mind, it cannot be denied that greed to obtain financial advantage has slowly but surely undermined any benefits to be derived; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention in the city of San Francisco, in the name of Labor and for the purpose of promoting the health and the welfare of the workers select a committee of competent men and women from either among the delegates or from among the rank and file, including such additional experts from other sources as may be required to devise, formulate and perfect a plan to induce concerted legis-

lative action to be taken in the different States and for the District of Columbia and the Possessions to secure proper protection for the health of the workers and adequate compensation for all of those unfortunates that have become affected by occupational diseases and met with accidents while working for a living; and be it further

RESOLVED, That to secure and obtain additional and effective protection through the Federal Government against the menace of resorting to ruthless and questionable methods as applied in industry, in the different trades and in agriculture, this same committee be instructed to thoroughly examine, as to its real value, the herewith submitted copy of the "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act," and if they find it necessary to strengthen, improve and perfect it in all of its details, and after that to confer with the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to practical and feasible changes to be made in the descriptive labeling of containers filled with certain dangerous substances, as at present provided for and in effect under the "Rules and Regulations" of that Commission. All such changes are to be made in strict conformity with the requirements as laid down in the "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act," after its approval by the Committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, That after the committee has completed its work the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall then have the approved "Proposed Federal Industrial Poison Act" introduced in the Congress of the United States to be enacted into law.

Your committee has been particularly impressed with the health destroying conditions which have accompanied the use of mechanical and other devices in the painting and in other industries. Your committee is in full sympathy with the purpose of the resolution, and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for their study and for such legislative, administrative, and other action as is necessary to prevent the use of any health destroying condition being permitted in industry.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Continuance of CWA

Resolution No. 155—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, In spite of the efforts of organized labor with the co-operation of our Government to eliminate the curse of

unemployment, many of our workers are still idle and look toward the coming winter with a great deal of anxiety and apprehension; and

WHEREAS, the program of the Civil Works Administration put into operation during last winter proved a great help to many of our members; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to use its best efforts to the end that this work be taken up again during the coming winter in order that as many as possible of those now unemployed may be given an opportunity to work and earn a living for themselves and their families.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Seamen

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate George M. Fouratt, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been in existence for over forty years and has exercised jurisdiction over Masters, Mates and Pilots holding license issued by the United States Local Inspectors, State Pilot Commissioners or State Local Inspectors for steam, sail or motor vessels, throughout the United States and its possessions; and

WHEREAS, Said National Organization holds a charter from the American Federation of Labor exercising the jurisdiction aforementioned and has in fact been exercising said jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, A dual organization has come into existence and attempted to organize men who are within the jurisdiction of said National Organization; and

WHEREAS, Said dual organization is known by the name of Associated Marine Workers in the Port of New York, controlled by Captain William A. Maher; and

WHEREAS, To permit said dual organization to invade the jurisdiction of said National Organization would be contrary to the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is founded; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Seamen of America has given a charter to said dual organization; now therefore be it and it is hereby

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record in opposition to permit-

ting any dual organization to invade the jurisdiction of a union holding a charter from this organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby directed to take such steps as will protect the jurisdiction of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and prevent said associated International Union of Seamen of America from interfering with or purporting to exercise any jurisdiction contrary to the charter issue of the said National Organization.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to bring the parties referred to into a conference for the purpose of adjusting the questions at issue.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fouratt, Masters, Mates and Pilots: Mr. President and brother delegates, It is unfortunate that the Resolutions Committee brought in the report on Resolution No. 160, of which I am the maker, that it has just read. In bringing in this resolution I thought the Resolutions Committee would call upon the mover of the resolution for evidence to substantiate his contentions. I have not had the opportunity to appear before the committee and show them that the issuance of a charter by the Seamen's International Union of America to the Associated Marine Workers in the Port of New York was a direct infringement upon the jurisdiction of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and also upon the Longshoremen's International Association.

The Seamen have never attempted to charter any harbor groups heretofore in the Port of New York, and the attempt to install a charter covering licensed and unlicensed men, as well as bargemen in the harbor of New York at this late date can only be construed as an attempt to sabotage two legitimate Federation of Labor organizations.

The history behind the formation of the Marine Workers in the Port of New York is illuminating. I would like to explain just how this came about. About twelve years ago Captain Maher was an executive officer of my organization and

he was expelled on account of actions unbecoming a trade unionist. He presented an agreement to the railroad-operated boats in the Port of New York which was contrary to our national constitution. He also called an illegal strike, and to this day the members of our organization and their families have suffered because of that untrade-unionlike manner in which he handled that situation. There was nothing to do but to expel him, and by the court we expelled him and put him out of the Labor Movement in the Port of New York.

What did he do? He started a dual organization. He had a few followers and he gathered in the dual men in all bona fide Labor organizations in the Port of New York. He took in captains, marine engineers, cooks, waiters, stewards, firemen, oilers, longshoremen, bargemen, anything he could get hold of, and I want to say here, as a member of the American Federation of Labor, that this man is untrue to the Labor Movement. After he got this racket going he stated publicly and openly that he would rather be affiliated outside the American Federation of Labor than under the banner of the International Longshoremen's Association or the national organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots under an American Federation of Labor charter. Captain Maher has operated a dual organization for twelve years, conducted on the I. W. W. plan and composed of all classes from captains down to longshoremen, which is in direct opposition to the legitimate trade-union principles of the American Federation of Labor.

At this point I would like to read an excerpt from the minutes of one of my meetings in the Port of New York, dated September 17, 1919:

"Brother O'Connor stated the captains of steam lighters were encountering serious delays and troubles in trying to discharge their cargoes at different piers in the harbor on account of harbor boatmen being employed, as longshoremen refused to work with them and the checkers refused to check the freight, claiming the harbor boatmen were not members of the American Federation of Labor.

Brother O'Connor requested through the chair that he be given the information as to whether or not this statement was true. The general manager stated the harbor boatmen were not members of the American Federation of Labor.

"A lengthy discussion on this matter followed, during which the General Manager, Captain Maher, stated that he would sooner be affiliated with the harbor boatmen outside of organized labor than he would be with the I. L. A. inside organized labor. A motion was carried to request a special meeting of the Marine Affiliation be called to straighten out the matter."

Friends, there are times when the question of jurisdiction is not so clear, but in this instance everything is quite plain. The International Seamen's Union of America has never claimed jurisdiction over deck officers. Is this the beginning of an attempt by the Seamen's International Union of America to claim that all men going to sea belong to them?

The following jurisdiction has been exercised by the national organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America: all masters, mates and pilots holding license issued by the United States Local Inspection, State Pilot Commissioners, or State Local Inspectors for steam, sail or motor vessels throughout the United States and its possessions. The jurisdiction of the Seamen's International Union of North America consists of bona fide seamen exclusive of licensed officers working as such, namely, sailors, all men working in the deck department, firemen, all men employed in the engine department, cooks, all men employed in the steward's department, all of whom must be eligible to become citizens of the United States.

I want to call your attention to Article IX, Section 11 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. The last provision in that section states:

"And it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade or profession they shall joint the union

of such vocation, trade or profession, provided such are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

This leaves the following question before the convention: Is the American Federation of Labor going to sanction the issuance of a charter to a man who has publicly flaunted its authority? Second, is any International Union within the American Federation of Labor going to be allowed to deliberately encroach upon the jurisdiction of another International Union? Friends, these are pertinent questions, and I am going to offer an amendment to the committee's report in order that you may all express your opinion on this matter:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify the Secretary of the Seamen's International Union of America to order the revocation of the charter issued to the Associated Marine Workers in the Port of New York, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be consulted before any charter be re-issued to this group.

I make this amendment because of the fact that we have a letter addressed to our organization from our esteemed President, William Green, wherein he states that "the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has no authority to arbitrarily order or direct National or International Unions to withdraw the charter of an affiliated Local Union. The laws and practices of the American Federation of Labor provide that, where there is complaint made by an International Union of transgression of jurisdiction on the part of another National or International Union, the representatives or officers of the two organizations shall meet in conference and earnestly endeavor to converge their differences."

Brothers, at this point I might say that regardless of the correspondence emanating from the American Federation of Labor to the Seamen's International Union, both to my organization and to the International Longshoremen's Association, the International Seamen's Union has made no endeavor up to this point—and

that is some time past—to get together with us. Now the committee says in this report that we should get together. There has been no indication of any sincerity on the part of the representatives of the Seamen's International Union to get together with us. They are just simply evading the issue, and that is why I brought this amendment in to put it on the floor of this convention, where I believe it properly belongs.

Vice-President Woll: I rise to speak in opposition to the amendment to the committee's report and in support of the report of the committee, and I shall not take up much time of the convention, for I think the delegate who has just finished addressing the convention has amply and fully presented the case in so far as the committee is concerned.

First of all, I want to direct attention to the fact that the two delegates from the Seamen's Union are not here tonight. One of them has not been able to attend this convention at all, for reasons assigned and expressed earlier in the convention. I refer to Mr. Victor Olander. The second delegate of the Seamen's Union is not here this evening, and those who know Andy Furuseth know well why he is not here this evening. Hence there is no one here at the convention to present the point of view of the Seamen's organization, and it should be understood that the presentation thus far made is but an ex parte presentation without opportunity, not because of the fault of the delegates, but because of unfortunate situations arising. I mention that so that we may not be confused as to the issues.

As to the committee's report, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. Why and how? With instructions to bring the parties referred to into conference for the purpose of adjusting the questions at issue. Your committee is not aware of the fact that the Seamen have refused to go into conference. That allegation has been made and it is an ex parte statement. We don't know whether it is true or not, but whether it be true or not, the committee refers this matter to the Executive Council with

instructions to direct both organizations to go into conference.

Why did the committee make that recommendation? It makes it because the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor requires that that procedure be followed, and if the delegate who quoted constitutional provisions in support of his contention would have referred to Section 11 of Article III of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor he would have found this paragraph:

"No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

So that the committee's report is in keeping with constitutional requirements and directs that both parties be called into conference by the officers of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of effectuating an adjustment, and failing in that, then for the Council to act, leaving either party to appeal to the subsequent convention on whatever decision has been made. I feel there is nothing more to be said. The committee could do nothing other than bring in the recommendation we did, nor can the convention, if it wants to follow the rules prescribed, do other than adopt the committee's report.

President Green: While I am waiting for the next speaker to come to the platform I wish to make an announcement that will please you. The Longshoremen's Board will make public now, at ten o'clock, its award. The Board gives the Longshoremen the six-hour day and the five-day week; wages 95 cents per hour, with overtime at \$1.40 per hour. I know that will please the delegate who is going to speak to you, as well as all of you.

Delegate Peterson, Longshoremen: I may say in regard to the news that Brother Green has brought that we have been waiting anxiously for it for more

than fourteen months. We have certainly had our share of trouble since last July, and I am certainly grateful that we had a good Board. We are the first major organization on the Pacific Coast that has broken into the six-hour day column.

Speaking in favor of the amendment that was offered by Delegate Fouratt, we have been hearing in these past few days that the NRA is no good, that this, that and the other thing is no good, that all we do is to refer and dilly-dally along, that there is no compliance, that nobody tries to do anything, and here we are attempting to do exactly the same thing—refer and let it drag on and on.

This organization of which he spoke, the Associated Marine Workers of New York, is an I. W. W. organization that has been working contrary to every legitimate Labor Union in the Port of New York for the past twelve years. The man at the head of it can best be characterized as a gentle racketeer. Last May the Seamen's Union, who had never claimed any jurisdiction over any harbor workers in the Port of New York, issued a charter to these men. There are possibly some things connected with the code that caused the Seamen's organization to become offended at the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the International Longshoremen's Association. Every effort was made by the Masters, Mates and Pilots and by the Longshoremen's International Association to contact Mr. Victor Olander, who has spent most of his time in the East, to secure adjudication of this dispute. As Captain Fouratt already read to you, the Executive Council has no authority to revoke a charter issued by any international union to a subordinate union. The only authority that revoke a charter of that kind is the convention of the American Federation of Labor. That is why we brought in the substitute motion, because we don't want that charter to remain in existence for another year, with dilatory tactics, because this man is openly bragging all around the Port of New York and trying to solicit membership, claiming that now he is at last a legitimate American Federation of Labor man, and for twelve years he has stated that he didn't want to have any-

thing to do with the American Federation of Labor. I say I would rather see them charter anybody on earth than a man who has no respect for the Federation except that it becomes necessary for him to "horn in" under these code proceedings and to line his own pocket.

We have a letter from our International President, Joseph P. Ryan, in which he states he had tried to contact Victor Olander but had not been able to meet him or in any other way get any expression from Mr. Olander. I am very sorry that Mr. Furuseth is not here tonight, because I am very much interested in his interesting discussions on the rights of human beings. I would like to discuss the rights of organizations along with Mr. Furuseth.

We have worked and co-operated with the Seamen's Union here on this West Coast. When this strike of the Longshoremen started there were less than five hundred members in the whole Seamen's Union, and now they have seven or eight thousand. Only yesterday an agreement was consummated which definitely took that class of work we are talking about out of the hands of the Seamen's Union in the Port of San Francisco and placed it in the hands of the International Longshoremen's Association, where it properly belongs. These men are longshoremen if they are on a floating structure or a dock. As long as they are doing that class of work, lifting and handling cargo, they are longshoremen and I don't believe that the American Federation of Labor or you delegates really believe that you should countenance the existence of an organization of these men that are doing our kind of work for another year. Therefore, we are asking you to do one thing, and that is to revoke the charter of this organization and then throw the whole matter into the Executive Council and let the Executive Council decide who is right and who is wrong. I believe that is the fair thing to do and I hope you will vote to do that.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: I just want to clarify the atmos-

phere. It is evident that there is a dispute between several affiliated organizations over what has occurred. Your committee in its report recommends that the Executive Council bring the parties together for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment. This convention is not called upon by your committee to decide anything more than an observance of the time-honored practice where a dispute of this kind exists, that the parties to the dispute shall be brought into conference for the purpose of adjusting their complaints and their differences. The report of the committee is a report which this convention should adopt.

Vice President Woll: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that the amendment offered to the committee's report is in violation of Section 11, Article III, which requires conferences of contending parties in complaints before action is to be had upon them.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order is well taken. A grievance of this character, one national union against another, cannot be considered by the convention until conferences have been held by the interested parties. The Chair must therefore sustain the point of order raised by the chairman. The question now recurs upon the report of the committee.

Delegate Morris, Longshoreman: A point of information—if this report of the committee is adopted and the Seamen's Union refuses to come into conference, then this charter will remain as it is for another year? Am I correct in that?

President Green: Let me explain that the Executive Council will not permit the officers of a national union to refuse to participate in a conference looking to the settlement of a grievance. Representatives of the Seamen's Union, under the action of the convention, must meet with the representatives of the Longshoremen's Union at the earliest possible date. Then if they fail to agree, the matter can go to the Executive Council for consideration and final action.

Delegate Morris: Another point is this —If the Seamen should refuse or if the matter is not adjusted, will the Executive Council have power, if they see fit, to revoke the charter between now and the next convention?

President Green: They will have power to order the charter revoked if they see fit to assume that authority. The question now recurs upon the motion to adopt the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Welders

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and W. E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, Our experience reveals that certain local organizations affiliated with International and National organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have at times permitted the employment of welders not affiliated with any of the various International or National unions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such a tendency is tending to break down the ultimate organization of the welders in accordance with trade jurisdiction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as instructing the International and National organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that where they have no welder members that in preference to the employment of non-union welders that welders be procured from some affiliated International or National organization so as to further the spirit of organization among the welders in the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Music

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates A. L. Eggert, Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Paul, Minn.; Edward P. Ringius, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minn.; Joseph N. Weber, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, Chas. Leland Bag-

ley, Vincent Castronova, Otto J. Kapl, American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, Music, the most ancient of the fine arts, having its inception in the soul of humankind at the birth of Creation, thereby irrevocably establishing it as the inherent birthright of such humankind, has been seriously threatened by—

1. The invasion of so-called "canned" or synthetic music machines, by which is transmitted the audible reproduction, or sound photography, of musical renditions, debasing the art and its cultural requirements, destroying employment opportunities and educational possibilities of this and coming generations, in addition to denying the people in general the inspirational qualities and uplifting tendencies which can only be induced by "in person" contact;

2. The economic depression, further embarrassed the professional musician, who, as such, has been deprived of employment in a field, to enter which requires a proficiency attained only after constant and intensive study and practice from an early age; and which period of depression has removed from the people the beneficent influence of "living" music hitherto enjoyed by them and provided by municipal and tax-levying bodies until discontinued in general on the plea of so-called economy; and

WHEREAS, The loss of "living" music has brought privation and distress to its professional exponents, because of loss of employment in their chosen vocation; has throttled the ambition of aspiring youth in the field of music, and in consequence has reduced commercial advantages of educational and industrial institutions directly pertinent to the art and its specialized requirements; and has added to the mental depression of a sorely tried people denied its inspiring and encouraging qualities; and

WHEREAS, Music in "living" form is a vital necessity, occupying an imperishable position in the affairs of mankind, providing in times of dire distress and unrest that soothing and encouraging influence so necessary to revive hope and inspire with courage and determination to overcome trying obstacles to the end that future normalcy and equilibrium—effectively acknowledged by the presence of peace, happiness and prosperity—may be assured through the medium and assistance of "living" music; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the certain resolution, designated as Resolution No. 16, adopted by the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, August 21, 1934, to-wit:

"Resolution No. 16—Introduced by delegates representing Musicians Union No. 30, St. Paul.

"BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor support the American Federation

of Musicians, the affiliated brotherhood of the American Federation of Labor, and do all within its power to assist the former in its efforts to persuade our Government to subsidize the art of music and establish a permanent foundation for same in the nature of an annual budget for the purpose of supporting symphony orchestras, bands and operas in "living" form in such communities and to such an extent as may be dictated by a good and wise judgment, that the educational, social and industrial welfare of the people may be advanced, thus restoring and perpetuating the cultural refinements and dignity of an art attained by centuries of progress, that this generation, and generations yet to come, may receive to the full its measure of munificence; be it further

"RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians be advised immediately of the action of this, the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, anent this resolution.

"The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. The report of the committee was adopted."

be approved and adopted by this, the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and that it be transmitted to the proper legislative authorities with instructions to formulate an appropriate bill for presentation to, and earnest consideration of, the Congress of the United States.

In connection with this resolution your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations give full support to all cultural activities undertaken by municipalities, states, and the Federal Government, and that the Executive Council be instructed to consider ways and means of furthering the development of cultural programs, with particular thought to the cultural requirements and opportunities for wage earners.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Minimum Wage Rates—NRA Codes

Resolution No. 168—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter and J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The Administrator of the National Recovery Administration has adopted as a policy that codes can contain but one minimum wage rate; and

WHEREAS, This is proving detrimental to successful understanding of minimum wage rates; and

WHEREAS, It has a tendency to destroy the equitable adjustment of wage provisions of the various codes; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of two or more minimum wage rates to cover skilled and semi-skilled labor is essential to eliminate unfair competition, which is the basic principle of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the various labor organizations of the American Federation of Labor define a definite policy to be advocated in establishing a principle of two or more minimum rates for all codes approved and those to be approved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, October, 1934, go on record as favoring the establishment of two or more minimum rates for all codes approved and to be approved under the National Recovery Administration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these minimums provide for skilled, semi-skilled and common labor.

The introducers of the resolution having requested permission to withdraw the resolution, your committee recommends that the permission be granted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Code for Zinc Industry

Resolution No. 172—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Thousands of members of locals under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have not been granted a Code of Fair Competition in the zinc industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as urging an early adoption of a Zinc Code of Fair Competition governing the zinc industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as protesting the 30 cent minimum as submitted in the last draft of the Zinc Code a few weeks ago.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Foreign Metal Ores Importation

Resolution No. 173—By Delegates Victor F. Smith and A. E. Wilkerson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The possible importation of foreign metal is a constant threat to the prosperity of the domestic metal mining industry; and

WHEREAS, At present the buying public who are disposed to give preference to domestic industry have no means of doing so; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers that the Department of Commerce, or other competent authority, be requested to establish regulations requiring that all bullion produced from foreign ores and all articles manufactured from such bullion be so marked as to distinguish them from the domestic product; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the American Federation of Labor with the request that it use its influence to have these regulations established.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the situation referred to in the resolution, and to take such action as the facts justify.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Masters, Mates and Pilots' Protest Against Dual Group

Resolution No. 182 — By Delegate George M. Fouratt, National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

"WHEREAS, The recognition of bona fide labor organizations has been and is now a vital issue to Labor; and

"WHEREAS, The instituting and attempted establishing of a shipping code has given a group composed of the remnants of defunct organizations an opportunity to create doubt in the minds of the licensed deck officers; and

"WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America has been and is now the only bona fide organization of the craft affiliated with this Council and the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, Claims are being made by this conglomerate group that they are in some manner affiliated with or connected with the American Federation of Labor,

to the injury of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America; now therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That we deplore the effort on the part of some insignificant group calling themselves United Licensed Officers to create dissension, doubt and division; and be it further

"RESOLVED, We herewith denounce this attempt to injure an affiliated organization and call to the attention of everyone that the United Licensed Officers organization is not now and has never been affiliated with the San Francisco Labor Council, and has no existence to our official knowledge."

WHEREAS, This was and is an expression in conformity with the aims and efforts of the American Federation of Labor to prevent attempts to weaken, harass or destroy bona fide affiliated organizations; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in San Francisco, California, October, 1934, fully appreciating the danger such efforts present, endorse the said resolution adopted by the San Francisco Labor Council denouncing such attempt.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Charges Against Members of Longshoremen's Association, Portland, Oregon

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; Gust Anderson, Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon; George D. Early, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.; C. M. Dahlager, Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.; James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Twenty-eight members of the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 37-78 of Portland, Oregon, are being held on charges of murder, the charges growing out of the death of a strikebreaker who was shot by another strikebreaker; and

WHEREAS, The prosecution of the twenty-eight members of the International Longshoremen's Association is but a continuation of the persecution and the relentless warfare which was conducted by employing interests, aided by certain public officials and by vigilante groups, during the recent waterfront strike; and

WHEREAS, Prosecution and persecution of the defendants is in our opinion inspired by a desire to strike a blow at all organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Portland Central Labor Council, which organizations are in position to know all the facts in the case, are unanimous in their support of the defense of these twenty-eight unionists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we declare our belief in the innocence of the twenty-eight International Longshoremen's Association members of Portland, Oregon, who are charged with murder, and that we urge that the full moral support of the organized labor movement be given to their defense.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Health Insurance

Resolution No. 186—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its program for social justice has recorded its approval of old age pensions and unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic hazards of sickness continually threaten the security of the worker and his family; and

WHEREAS, Recent studies show the need for a better distribution of adequate medical services; and

WHEREAS, There is an increasing discussion of health insurance as a means of distributing adequate medical services; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor institute a study of health insurance.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Participation in Campaigns to Promote Program of Federal Housing Administration

Resolution No. 189—By Delegate M. J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Massachusetts.

WHEREAS, The country has for more than five years suffered a blockade of the mortgage money market that has resulted in much unemployment and adversely affected all trades and professions and resulted in a shortage of 5,000,000 homes as shown by Government surveys, and the deterioration of 16,500,000 buildings to the point that no fewer than 3,500,000 homes need everything from new foundations to new roofs; and

WHEREAS, The Congress, by the enactment of the National Housing Bill has broken this blockade and has made possible the use of billions of idle money for building purposes by providing insurance for loans for repairs, improvements and new construction; and

WHEREAS, The Hon. James A. Moffett, Federal Housing Administrator, has gone squarely on record against attempts to use the Act to batter down wages, and for the restoration of the 1926 wage levels in the building trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon our members and their friends to get squarely behind and actively participate in the Better Housing campaigns now being launched in their respective communities as part of the Better Housing Program of the Federal Housing Administration; and be it further

RESOLVED; That the action of Administrator Moffett in urging the restoration of 1926 wage scales as a means of increasing the purchasing power of the millions normally employed in or dependent upon the building trades be commended to public officials generally.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Importation of Shingles

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the establishment of Codes of Fair Competition providing decent wage scales, efforts are being made to revive United States industries and overcome disastrous effects of the depression; and

WHEREAS, The Federal unions of the American Federation of Labor representing workers in the Red Cedar Shingle branch of the lumber and timber products industry, are suffering loss of employment at reasonable wages through the importation of shingles from British Columbia manufactured by Orientals at lower wages and under poorer working conditions than the National Recovery Act tolerates; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Washington State Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, that we register a vigorous protest with the Federal Government against permitting products to enter the United States that are manufactured at a lower wage rate than is required for like work in the United States under the National Recovery Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the Federal Government to prohibit shingle brokers of the United States discriminating against the United States products through manipulation of brokerage fees.

Your committee is of the opinion that this resolution was prepared for a State Federation of Labor convention. In lieu of the recommendation your committee recommends that this convention endorse the principle and the policy of adequate protection for all wage-earners from unfair competition, from price cutting, and from all unfair practices.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Representation on Emergency Relief Projects Committees

Resolution No. 197—By Delegate J. A. Wright, Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, California.

WHEREAS, The selection of men for emergency relief projects is at present in the hands of a director, who is under an Emergency Relief Committee, generally composed of nine members; and

WHEREAS, It is at present the custom to give labor only two representatives on this Board, and it has been known that even with this low representation of Labor men have been placed on these Boards supposedly to represent Labor, but who actually were not so qualified; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its duly authorized officers, enter strenuous protest to the proper Government authorities against this unfair practice; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these Government authorities be requested to change the set-up of these boards to the end that, with the exception of the chairman, Organized Labor be permitted to elect from its ranks 50 per cent of the representatives on these boards, and that duly authorized employers' organizations be permitted to select the other 50 per cent, with the exception of the chairman; and after the Board has been so established,

It shall be their duty to select from the citizens of their community another member, who shall be chairman.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Importation of Newsprint Paper

Resolution No. 196—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor; Ben T. Osborne, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has seen fit to place in operation an Act known as the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, This Act was set in motion for the purpose of protecting American industry and workers in said industry; and

WHEREAS, Certain articles in the Recovery Act refer to foreign competition of any imported article going into the United States on an unfair basis; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Convention that newsprint paper which is manufactured in mills where wages and conditions prevail that constitute unfair competition to manufacturers operating under the Recovery Act should be prevented from being imported into the United States, and in the event that manufacturers of such newsprint paper refuse within a reasonable length of time to bring the wages and conditions of labor in their mills in line with the NRA code requirements, then political or other lawful activities be instituted to prevent the importation of their products.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a thorough investigation of the subject matter referred to in the resolution, and to take such action as may be required to fully protect the American workmen's interests.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Co-operation to Bring About Use of Union Made Cooperage in Whiskey and Wine Industry

Resolution No. 203—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has revived the cooperage industry; and

WHEREAS, The whiskey and wine industry are using non-union cooperage; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request all whiskey distillers and wineries to buy only union made cooperage.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Modification of Immigration Laws

Resolution No. 206—By Delegation of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The abolition of elementary civic liberties and the suppression of fundamentals of democracy, including free speech, free assembly, a free press and free religious confession, in a number of Fascist-dominated countries in Europe, have forced a great many citizens of these countries to flee for their lives and freedom; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America has, from its inception, proudly offered to all oppressed and persecuted, politically and spiritually, in other lands the privilege of asylum and the protection of democracy within its boundaries; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fourth Convention assembled in the City of San Francisco, call for the immediate modification of the existing immigration laws and regulations so as to allow the free entry of fugitives from Fascist and Nazi terror and to all such as are persecuted in any land on racial, religious or economic grounds, or on account of their loyalty and allegiance to the bona fide trade union movement.

Your committee is aware of the cruel persecution which hundreds of thousands are suffering in Europe because dictatorships have supplanted free institutions and representative government by the people with the free exercise of their rights. No page of European history carries a blacker mark than the one which records the inhuman persecution of wage-earners and others because of their industrial activity or because of their race or religion which has marked the rule of dictators now in control in European countries. Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration

and such action as seems most appropriate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Code for Barber Trade

Resolution No. 208—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, P. H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, C. T. Crane, Journeymen Barbers International Union.

WHEREAS, Code No. 398, for the Barber Shop trade, was approved by the President of these United States, April 19, 1934, thus evidencing clearly and definitely that the occupation concerned was fully embraced in the provisions of the NRA; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of those engaged in this occupation would have been properly cared for if permitted to function as other codes have been privileged to do; and

WHEREAS, June last, by proclamation issued through General Johnson, this code and its principal provisions were suspended and have not been revived or restored since, nor permitted to operate efficiently and effectually; and

WHEREAS, The original approval and temporary operation of this code have demonstrated clearly the wholesome and beneficial results which would have accrued both to those engaged in this service as well as the patrons of this service if it had been permitted to continue in effect and operation; and

WHEREAS, Suspension of this code has brought about greater confusion and demoralization in our craft than existed prior to the enactment of this code; and

WHEREAS, Not only the best interests of the wage earners, but as well the enhancement of the public interests, and general well-being demand adequate protection by appropriate trade standards and conditions of employment to all dependent upon this service; and

WHEREAS, There is no justified reason in law and fact why this service occupation and code should not be accorded every advantage, benefit, and protection accorded to all other occupations, industries, and enterprises, by having this code again revived and restored immediately, and all of its provisions restored; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize and direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring to the attention of the President of these United States the foregoing statement, and that it place before the President the urgent appeal and necessity for the immediate revival and res-

toration of Code No. 398, or the approval of one similar in character, purport and objects; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to render to the Journeymen Barbers International Union of America, and its officers, every other form and character of support to accomplish the foregoing results without delay, and that such authorization include the approval and enactment of further legislation, if that may be required to bring about the foregoing results.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Importation of Foreign Made Products

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate H. C. Anthony, United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319.

WHEREAS, Due to the low labor and materials cost in foreign countries and the practice of these countries placing their cheaper made products on the market at a much lower cost than is possible to manufacture the same products under fair labor conditions in this country; and

WHEREAS, This practice is causing thousands of our workers to be thrown out of employment, causing much misery and suffering among our workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the enactment of legislation which will limit, regulate and/or prohibit such imports, either by tariff or quota, on all commodities which are manufactured in foreign countries to be shipped into the United States and sold by wholesalers and retailers at a profit and below the cost of like commodities manufactured in the United States.

Your committee in lieu of the resolution recommends that the convention reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor adopted at previous conventions upon the subject of the tariff in respect to the competition of cheap foreign labor. We further recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, for its continued support of the policy relative to the competition of goods manufactured by cheap foreign labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Firemen and Engineers

Resolution No. 213—By Delegate A. W. Hoch, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers are attempting to organize their craft in the city of Los Angeles and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, Such organization work is being seriously retarded by a lack of understanding as to the jurisdiction of the firemen and engineers over certain jobs brought about by misrepresentation of the jurisdictions by the two parties concerned; and

WHEREAS, We feel this situation detrimental to the cause of labor in general and the interested parties in particular; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, draw jurisdictional lines between the two crafts in question. It is a matter that has been hanging fire for several years, and we feel that unless this matter is disposed of amicably it will work incalculable harm to the crafts in question. Already the condition has manifested itself in the hesitancy of men to affiliate themselves with organizations where the jurisdiction is clouded.

As it is your committee's understanding that there is an agreement between the two International Unions upon the subject presented in the resolution, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that they lend their assistance in bringing about a satisfactory understanding.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Competition With Private Industry

Resolution No. 215—By the United Garment Workers' Delegation.

WHEREAS, It is, and has been, the pronounced intent of the present Administration to revive and to restore industrial activities and to promote the general well-being, not by stifling or by curtailing but by encouraging and aiding private business and enterprise; and

WHEREAS, This wholesome and helpful pronouncement does not find realization and acquiescence in all Departments of the Government—and especially in the recent developments wherein government departments are entering the garment in-

dustry in the making of overalls, pants, shirts and other clothing heretofore produced by private enterprise; and

WHEREAS, This governmental invasion of private business and enterprise not alone threatens the clothing industry, in so far as it relates to the manufacture and sale of overalls, pants, shirts, but threatens all kinds and classes of garments and wearing apparel, including shoes and the like, all of which are now produced by private industry and free from governmental competition; and

WHEREAS, This governmental competition and the deliberate perversion of pronounced administrative policies by subordinate departments not only demoralize the industries and occupations immediately concerned, and not only undermines and lessens the opportunities of employment of workers employed in these occupations, but threatens all private industry and enterprise and the relationships, terms and conditions of employment of all employed in private employment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, protest against the attempt of any department of government venturing into private industry and in competition with private enterprise where such industrial venture is not made imperative by public necessity or governmental requirements; that it authorizes and directs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make an immediate inquiry into the situation and complaint hereinbefore presented, and that its findings be presented to the President of the United States with the appeal and for the purpose of having the practice and development herein complained of immediately and effectively stopped and the wrong inflicted adequately and fully corrected.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, and such action as is advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Your committee desires to introduce a few resolutions on its own behalf.

Resolution of Sympathy

Resolution No. 218—By Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, A. G. Walkden, a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, was stopped on his way to this convention by the notification of the serious illness of his wife; and

WHEREAS, Even as he turned backward in the hope that he might be at her bedside and be with his wife when the great change came and she went out into silence, even that hope was denied our brother by the message of her death; and

WHEREAS, We are greatly moved by our nearness to this great human experience which must come to us all, illuminating the facts of life with a penetration that distinguishes the temporary from the eternal, the forces of conflict and competition for control as opposed to the vitalizing spirit of growth, love and fraternity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor express the sympathy which the delegates to this convention feel for our fellow trade unionist, A. G. Walkden, in his great sorrow and loss and that we express our heartfelt regret that we were unable to know him and meet with him that we might have for him that personal affection which personal contact would have engendered; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to personally transmit the foregoing expression of fraternal feeling and sympathy to A. G. Walkden, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to our Fifty-fourth Convention.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Resolution No. 219—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The most hearty welcome which was extended to the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor by the San Francisco Labor Council, the City of San Francisco, and the State of California, have been most gratifying and pleasing to the delegates and guests of the convention; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of San Francisco have been tireless throughout the time of the convention in providing for the comfort and pleasure of the delegates, their wives, and guests and by their hospitality have greatly facilitated the business and pleasure of the convention; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in behalf of the delegates and officers in attendance, their wives and guests, tender hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of the City of San Francisco and State of California, and to the following:

Honorable Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor

Archbishop of San Francisco, Edward J. Hanna

Mayor Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of San Francisco

Director Harold Butler, International Labor Office

Secretary Walter M. Citrine, British Trades Union Congress

Vice-Commander Charles R. Mabey, American Legion

Commander VanZant, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Senator James J. Davis

Representative Richard Welch

Colonel Wood Axton

Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, Divisional Administrator, NRA

Judge Joseph A. Padway

Mr. Max Winter

Mr. B. Charney Vladeck

Dr. A. Melklejohn

Members of Musicians' Local Union No. 6, San Francisco, and Miss Helene Hughes of Radio Station KFRC

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation to the Clergy of San Francisco, for the spirit of good will which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to officers and delegates attending the Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend our thanks to the Press for the space they have afforded and the fairness with which they have reported the proceedings of the Convention, and to the citizens generally for the fine spirit manifested by them toward the delegates and visitors to the Convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the full committee:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary
A. A. MYRUP
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
JOHN POSSEHL,
P. J. MORRIN,
WM. H. McHUGH,
CHARLES P. HOWARD,
CLARENCE E. SWICK,
M. J. COLLERAN,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
J. C. LEWIS,
JOHN J. MARA,
FRANK KASTEN,

Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey: I now move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Woll: Time will not permit an extensive review of the work of your committee, but necessity impels your chairman of the Resolutions Committee, supported by its secretary, to make this brief observation. At this convention your Committee on Resolutions was required to consider approximately 200 subjects. In the considering of these propositions, it has become evident more each year that the democracy of the American Federation of Labor and the forum of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are coming more and more to be used by organizations and agencies without the Labor Movement. It is becoming evident more each year that efforts are being made by organizations and agencies outside of the Labor Movement to inject thoughts and proposals designed to destroy, to weaken, if not to divert the efficiency of the Labor Movement.

We believe that the executive officers, as well as the Executive Council, might well consider some system or method by which this danger and this element of carrying on this work might be mitigated, realizing the full danger of placing a censorship, but yet safeguarding the convention of the American Federation of Labor against the exploitation to which it has been subjected.

Another observation is that the great number of subjects submitted cannot possibly permit any committee to give the attention that should be given to the subjects that are presented to it. It is our point of view that the Executive Council, or the executive officers, or both, might well consider some system or some method by which resolutions might be presented some time before the convening of the conventions, or by some other method in order to permit a more considerate, a more mature, and a fuller consideration of matters submitted to the committees, including the Executive Council's report. We merely submit those as our observations, because the work is becoming greater, more burdensome every year and, sooner or later, we will have to devise some reform method in that

regard. We wish merely to present the thought now so that all, including the members of the Executive Council, might study the subject and deal with it if necessary at the next convention.

President Green: The suggestions made by the chairman of the Resolutions Committee are quite appropriate and proper. The experience of this convention shows that these recommendations and suggestions are pertinent and that they ought to be given serious consideration by the Executive Council and by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. This committee has worked hard, and diligently and faithfully. All the committees have worked hard. I know I but voice your sentiments when I say that I express your deep appreciation and my deep appreciation for the splendid service rendered by the committees. The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. Chairman, under instructions from the Committee on Labels, I was ordered to prepare a brief supplemental report. I would like to offer it at your convenience.

President Green: Very well, I will call on you later. I now recognize the Chairman of the International Labor Relations Committee, Brother Thomas Burke of the Plumbers and Steamfitters' International Union.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Burke, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

The International Labor Office

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 85, 168-169, your committee reports as follows

The Executive Council reports on the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 131 by which the President was authorized to accept membership in the International Labor Office, the appointment of John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, as the Labor representative in the United States delegation to the International Labor Confer-

ence held in Geneva in June, 1933, and to the opportunities and responsibilities devolving upon the American Labor Movement by this affiliation on the part of the United States Government. The National Trade Union organization nominates the Labor Delegate to these annual international conferences which adopts and recommends draft conventions fixing minimum labor standards. These international standards have a potential influence on all countries whether they are mandatory or only recommendations.

We believe that the American Federation of Labor will benefit by closer contacts with the International Labor organization and its international clearing center for labor information. In pursuance of this object it becomes imperative that the American Federation of Labor shall be most adequately represented by a full and complete delegation such as is provided in the practices and customs of the International Labor Office.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 169-170, your committee reports as follows:

We note with gratification that the Pan-American Federation of Labor has kept in communication with Latin-American countries and that a number of countries are making progress in establishing democratic institutions and government. It is only under a free government that wage earners can organize and make social and economic progress. In Cuba and Nicaragua there is again opportunity for wage earners to organize in free trade unions, and to federate for mutual advantage. However, since the report states refugees and other advocates of revolutionary and radical organizations in Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay and sections of other countries are still seeking to destroy confidence in the American Federation of Labor, it is obvious that the future will determine whether the wage earners will succeed in establishing constructive trade union movements or whether they will be merged with political revolutionary groups.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor through the Pan-American Federation of Labor continue to offer counsel and support to those organizations that are seeking the welfare of wage earners along constructive union principles.

We appreciate that the depression handicaps all national Labor Movements and prevents regular conferences and therefore urge that communication by letter and report be consistently maintained. There are social and political matters in which the wage earners of the American continents are vitally concerned and it is important that we maintain a method by which we can remain in contact for mutual information for policy making.

We note that arrangements for the Sixth Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor are still suspended and hope that changing conditions will soon make it possible to resume regular meetings. An organized channel for Pan-American labor policy formulation would strengthen the Labor Movements in all countries concerned and make Labor a more potent influence in the Pan-American Union and International policies in the Western Hemisphere.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Burke: This completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is signed:

THOMAS E. BURKE, Chairman,
WILLIAM GREEN,
MATTHEW WOLL,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
JOHN COFIELD,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
MICHAEL GREENE,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN,
EDWARD FLORE,
Committee on International
Labor Relations.

Delegate Burke: I move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Weber, chairman of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Vice-President Weber: It is necessary that I make a short explanation to the convention. Our committee met several times and considered the highly controversial subject matter that is contained in Resolution No. 25. We prepared a lengthy report, and then we found that the same resolution had also been referred to the Committee on Resolutions and that committee had reported thereon to the convention. That makes it unnecessary for our committee to report on that resolution, the subject matter of which has already been disposed of by the convention.

However, we are exceedingly grateful to the Committee on Resolutions for performing a part of our duties, and at the same time for giving us the opportunity to use some of their leisure time.

In addition to Resolution No. 25, Resolution No. 163 was referred to the committee, and the secretary of the committee will report thereon.

Delegate Frisvold, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

The committee amended Resolution No. 163 by offering a substitute for the last "resolve". The amended resolution reads:

Affiliation of Local Unions with State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 163 — By Delegate J. Steve Nance, Federation of Trades, Atlanta, Georgia.

WHEREAS, The necessity of organization of all workers to protect the rights of the common people of our country is more needed today than ever before; and

WHEREAS, Organization of the workers into various forms of organization inimical to the best interests of the workers themselves, and in many cases subversive to American institutions, is being fostered by enemies of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Influences opposed to the advancement of the workers frequently use such organizations to mislead the public and to attempt to discredit the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Many State and Central Bodies are often handicapped in explaining to the public the true position of such organizations who have no connection with the bona fide labor movements, when many subordinate unions of affiliated Internationals are not themselves affiliated with the State and Central Bodies of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor earnestly request all affiliated National and International unions to insist that their Subordinate Unions affiliate with their respective State and Central Bodies so that these bodies may not only have the value of the advice and council of all Local Unions but also at the same time place the movement in position to state to the public that only affiliated organizations actually represent the American labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State and Central Bodies become and remain continuously active to acquaint and explain to the public the true nature of company unions, namely, that they are merely smoke screens used by employers to deny workers the right to choose their own representatives, and, that in addition to this, they also explain the true activities of Communistic unions, which have for their purpose not only destroying bona fide labor unions but the political and social institutions of our country as well, and that State and Central Bodies be instructed to do this so that the public may have the opportunity to correctly judge the economic and constructive value of the policies of the American Federation of Labor as compared with the subversive policies of company and Communistic unions.

Delegate Frisvold: The substitute for the last "resolve" is offered with the consent of the introducer of the resolution.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frisvold: This completes the report of the committee, which is submitted and signed:

JOS. N. WEBER, Chairman
CARL T. FRISVOLD, Secretary
J. C. HOLMGREN
JOS. MARSHALL
THOS. C. CASHEN
EDW. BIERETZ
A. ADAMSKI
JAMES C. QUINN
C. C. COULTER
ALEX McKEOWN
R. E. WOODMANSEE
O. W. CARTER
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT
GEO. MEANY
JOHN A. O'CONNELL
JACOB S. POTOFKY
J. W. BUZZELL
WM. J. MORAN

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Frisvold moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the services of this committee, and the committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The Chair now recognizes President McDonough, of the Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate McDonough: Secretary McCain will present the report for the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate McCain, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Anti Kick-Back Law

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption which will be found on page 74, your committee notes with satisfaction that an Act has been passed by the Federal Government that will, to a large extent, put a stop to unscrupulous contractors and other employers compelling employees to kick-back part of their wages in order to hold their jobs.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council Report

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Housing Act

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, which will be found on page 79, your committee concurs in the report of the Executive Council and we urge they continue their endeavors to promote the provisions of this Act, and to use all their power and influence to prevent any reduction in the wages of building trades mechanics which has been advocated by certain parties.

We also urge that the Executive Council use their influence in trying to have the Administrator of the Federal Housing Act to immediately set up the machinery which will provide loans to launch the housing projects as provided for in the Act.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Housing

On that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, which will be found on page 143, your committee concurs in the report of the Executive Council on this matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate McCain: This concludes the report of your Committee on Building Trades.

Respectfully submitted,

M. J. McDONOUGH, Chairman
W. J. MCCAIN, Secretary
JAMES J. RYAN
JOS. V. MORESCHI
WALTER A. REDMOND
F. A. FITZGERALD
M. W. MITCHELL
HARRY C. BATES
WM. J. MCSORLEY
D. H. RYAN
GEORGE T. MOORE
JOS. A. MULLANEY
CHAS. M. PAULSEN
W. H. FALLON

Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate McCain: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: I want to express our appreciation of the splendid service of the committee. They are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The secretary of the Committee on Union Labels wishes to make a supplementary report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Union Labels begs leave to submit the following supplemental report pertaining to matters heretofore inadvertently overlooked:

RESOLVED, That your committee directs the attention of this convention specifically to that part of the report of the Executive Council's report under the subject of union labels, appearing on pages 152-154 thereof, and deeply appreciates the manner which the Council has stressed this important issue.

The Executive Council has, with much research, examined into the historic evolution of the question and presented facts which every earnest trades unionist may study and retain with great profit.

In this connection we add this suggestion and recommendation:

Let every craft or organization using the label see to it that the same is registered in every State in the Union for the protection which it will insure and for the educational value to the general public which is bound to follow.

JOSEPH OBERGFELL
CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER
WILLIAM REZNICEK
JACK GILL
C. E. RISLEY
PETER BEISEL
WALTER DUNLAP
ANTHONY MERLINO
ROBERT BRUCK
MICHAEL KELLY
NATHANIEL SPECTOR
LOUIS E. LANGER
I. W. HASHKINS
W. G. DESEPTÉ
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
MATTHEW BURNS
LILLIE BARBOUR CLINEDINST
JAMES A. TAYLOR

Committee on Union Labels.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: I express our appreciation for the service rendered by the

committee, and the committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention. That completes the work of all of the convention committees. The Chair desires to announce that there will be a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the Whitcomb Hotel on Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Now we have completed the work of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. More business has been transacted at this convention than at any previous convention held during the past ten years. I think perhaps I can safely say that more resolutions were considered, more real business transacted by this historic convention than was transacted by any previous convention of the American Federation of Labor ever held. We have worked diligently and assiduously, with painstaking care. We have examined every subject brought to the attention of the delegates in attendance at this convention. We have restated the principles of the American Federation of Labor. We have, in addition to that, stepped further forward in a progressive movement designed to encourage and strengthen the hopes and the aspirations of the toilers of America. We are going out from here united as a solid phalanx. We are united in purpose, and we will carry out the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. We will make the actions of this convention vital, living, actual practices and principles.

The Chair recognizes Secretary O'Connell of the local Entertainment Committee.

Mr. John O'Connell: Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the local Entertainment Committee, I desire to thank you all for coming to San Francisco. It is my sincere wish that you have all enjoyed your stay here. If there have been mistakes made, I am very sorry, but from the accounts I have heard from the men and women in attendance at this convention, it seems that everybody is pleased. I hope when you leave San Francisco, you will take away pleasant memories of this beautiful city of ours.

Next year, through the indulgence of the delegates to this convention, and my good friend, William Green, your President, I am going on a journey to Halifax. I don't know whether that is spelled right or not, but it is at the other end of the country, and it is farther north than San Francisco, and I would rather go to a colder climate than one that is much warmer than we have had here.

And so I desire to thank you for your faithful co-operation in making the entertainment program the success that I think it was. Without your co-operation I dare say we could not make this kind of a report at this particular time. I desire to thank you sincerely for coming to San Francisco. I hope I have fulfilled all the promises I made to you in the city of Washington last year when I had St. Louis for a contender.

I want to bid you all bon voyage. May God bless you, the "devil" miss you, and the Father of all take care of you.

President Green: I know we are all glad that our genial secretary of the Committee on Arrangements, Brother John O'Connell, is going to Halifax rather than to the other place.

Treasurer Ryan: I desire to make a motion in connection with Brother O'Connell—That this convention extend to Brother O'Connell and to the Entertainment Committee a rising vote of thanks for the splendid manner in which they have entertained the delegates, visitors and guests at this convention. He has done far better than we could have done in St. Louis, and I want to say to you, John, that we appreciate very much the manner in which you handled the convention.

The motion was seconded by a large

number of delegates and carried by a unanimous rising vote.

Treasurer Ryan: I trust I am not at all out of order when I rise in the closing moments of our convention to call attention to the patient and honest manner in which our chief executive of the American Federation of Labor has presided over this convention. We must all know and understand that he has grave responsibilities and heavy duties resting upon his shoulders, and I think we all are conscious of the fact that he has carried on in a most able, efficient and honorable way.

My purpose is, as a delegate to this convention, to make a motion that we extend to President Green a rising vote of thanks for his kindness and appreciation for the splendid manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of this, one of the greatest conventions of the American Labor Movement that has ever been held.

The motion was seconded by a very large number of delegates.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, put the motion, which was carried by a unanimous rising vote, the delegates applauding enthusiastically for some little time.

President Green: Thank you very much. The Chair is of the opinion that the motion is carried.

Are there any further remarks? If not, it now becomes my solemn and impressive duty to declare the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 11:00 o'clock p. m. Friday, October 12, 1934, the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

W. N. Mappin

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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